





THE ANTIQUARY.



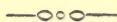
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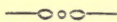
THE
ANTIQUARY:

A MAGAZINE DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF THE PAST.



*Instructed by the Antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise.*

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, Act ii., sc. 3.



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JANUARY, 1889.

Recent Archæological Discoveries.

BY TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

IF we put aside the erratic Cyriacus of Ancona, scientific exploration of Eastern antiquities may be said to have begun in the seventeenth century. In the Elizabethan age seafaring men, as Master Edward Webbe, had spun wondrous yarns about the Grand Turk, or the Palace of Prester John; and still earlier, Marco Polo and the veracious Mandeville had narrated their adventures in the more distant East. They dealt, however, with the condition of Oriental affairs which existed, or was imagined to exist, in their own day.

In the seventeenth century began that international rivalry in antiquarian investigation which has never since ceased. It was at first confined to France and England.

Our Charles I. charged Sir Kenelm Digby, his admiral in the Levant, with the task of increasing the royal collection of ancient sculpture.

In the same way the Duke of Buckingham employed Roe, the English ambassador at the Porte. Thomas, Earl of Arundel, however, in pursuance of his design "to transplant old Greece into England,"* was the first to draw *chefs-d'œuvre* of sculpture from Hellenic lands. He employed diplomats and merchants in the Levant, and, above all, private agents,† as William Petty. Through Petty he acquired from Smyrna the "Parian Chronicle" and other marbles, which his grandson gave to the University of Oxford,

* Peacham, *Complete Gentleman*, quoted by De Laborde, *Athènes aux XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*.

† De Laborde, p. 68.

a gift that for a time at least seemed scarce appreciated by its recipients.* Petty's transaction has been stigmatized as an intrigue, for Peiresc, ὁ πᾶν Peiresc, complained that these marbles had been taken from his agent.†

This rivalry led to much barbarous mutilation of the larger works of art. For instance, Du Loir and Corneille Le Bruyn mention a great statue of Apollo at Delos as sawn through by the English to facilitate transport. In the meantime the ambassadors of the Grand Monarque, accredited to the Sultan, paid more than one visit to Athens; and the Jesuit missionaries, as Père Babin, have left us narratives, though of no great worth.‡

In 1675 Spon, a French physician, and Wheler, an English botanist, set out together harmoniously to explore Greece and the Levant. The experiences of the former were published at Lyons in 1678, and four years later appeared Wheler's *Journey into Greece*. The rude cuts in this work give a poor and erroneous impression of Hellenic monuments, and are of little use. About the time, however, of Spon and Wheler's visit, Charles-François Olier, Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador at the Porte, came to Athens, and under his auspices Jacques Carrey, a Frenchman, and also another artist§ (anonymous) made drawings of various sculptures, notably those of the Parthenon.

Carrey seems to have been a poor draughtsman, and the art of Pheidias is but dimly reflected in his sketches. Deficient as they are, however, they are highly prized, for they were taken before the Parthenon was shattered by the Venetian bombardment.

The scientific examination of Grecian architecture was reserved for the next century, the age of Stuart and Revett, of Chandler, and the other explorers whom the Society of Dilettanti sent forth.

Such exploration was for the most part confined to what still appeared above ground,

* "Lapidem in *subterraneis* Musei Bodleiani asseruatum." Flach, *Chronicon Parium*. Half, however, of the slab had been destroyed before it reached the University.

† Stark, *Systematik und Geschichte der Archäologie der Kunst*.

‡ De Laborde, p. 181.

§ See *Denkmäler d. deutschen Inst.*, Bd. I., Heft 2.

though Herculaneum was discovered in 1738, and Pompeii ten years later.

In the present century the ransacking of vast cemeteries, and the colossal excavations undertaken by the Governments of Germany and France, have revolutionized the whole study of antiquity. In this century activity in discovery has not been confined to France and England. Germany and Denmark were represented in the so-called "International Society" that in 1811-12 explored Ægina and its temple.

As for the Italians, the Duke of Serradifalco examined the acropolis of Selinus. After the great discoveries in Etruscan graves at Vulci, in 1828, the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica was founded, and was supported by scholars in every part of Europe. Since then Russia and America have entered the lists.

While the French School at Athens dates from 1846, the German Institute was founded in 1874, and two years later the first volume of the Athenian *Mittheilungen* appeared. Long before this, however, the holders of German travelling scholarships had been following in the footsteps of Thiersch and Ludwig Ross. The American School of Classical Studies has been in existence since 1882.* By its side at Athens has arisen the British School, a fellow-worker rather than a rival.

The tone of controversy and of criticism has improved since the days of Salmasius. Nay, in our own time De Laborde anathematizes the "mutilations d'un Elgin,"† and compares the British nobleman to Nero's freedman Acratus.‡ Yet other Continental critics have admitted that the condition of the Elgin marbles, as compared with their fellows remaining on the Parthenon, justifies their relegation to Bloomsbury; and in the preface to his *Voyage Pittoresque* Choiseul Gouffier admits that he had hoped to carry off the marbles of the Parthenon, but had been forestalled by Lord Elgin.

This better tone arises from no lack of interest or of competitive spirit. Almost every civilized nation is striving to extend

the knowledge of Hellenic life. In most countries such enterprise is considered one of the functions of the State. In England, on the other hand, those who have sought Government aid for antiquarian research too often have been referred to the spirit of Herodes Atticus. The Government of the United States, too, seems to have overlooked an excellent method of disposing of that superabundant wealth the proper bestowing of which is one of the most curious difficulties of the day. All, however, whether in public or private station, labour with equal zeal. Russia is at work in the southern part of her territory; Italy in Crete and Magna Græcia; Greeks have been busied at Dodona, Epidauros, Eleusis, and Athens; Americans at Assos, at Sikyon, and in Attica; English in Egypt, Caria, and Cyprus; French in Boeotia and the islands of the Ægean; and Germans—why, Germans everywhere.

Let us glance at their labours, beginning, like Eckhel, with the west.

Of all the Greek colonies in Southern Italy, none surpassed Sybaris in wealth and influence. Cut off suddenly in the height of luxury and prosperity, she might well be believed to hide in her buried bosom a vast hoard of archaic art. The citizens of her rival, Kroton, bore off no doubt what they could carry with them; but remains of temples, of walls, and of sculpture must have sunk beneath the waters of the Krathis. Attempts have been made of late to recover these hidden treasures, or, rather, to ascertain in the first place the exact spot on which to search. As often happens in such cases, the seekers have found, not perhaps what they sought, but what is of equal value. They have unearthed the necropolis of a vast ancient city, thought to be the representative of Italian civilization centuries before a Greek set foot on the Peninsula.

As in the last century, patriotic Italians attributed Rome's civilization to ancient Etruria, and claimed as Etruscan each vase from the tombs of Italy, so in the present case the Italian scholars exclude both Etruscan and Greek, and ascribe the art of the unknown city to an indigenous Italian race. The Greeks, indeed, are out of the question. The Etruscans, too, would seem to have no better claim; yet this is a matter on which

* See an interesting paper by Mr. Wheeler in the *Classical Review* for January, 1888.

† *Athènes*, Préface, p. xvii.

‡ *Athènes*, p. 69.

Helbig's voice should be heard. We may well wait till he has pronounced an opinion.

Let us next turn to the mainland of Greece itself, to a spot connected with the earliest traditions of Hellenic worship.

"Oh! where, Dodona, is thine aged grove,

Prophetic fount, and oracle divine?

What valley echoed the response of Jove?

What trace remaineth of the Thunderer's shrine?

All—all forgotten!"

Byron's questions have been answered by M. Constantin Carapanos, who has discovered numerous dedications to Zeus Naïos, and Dione at Tcharacovista, a village hitherto supposed to be the site of Passaron, the capital of the Molossi. That the capital should have been situated on the extreme boundary of the State was, as M. Carapanos justly remarks, extremely unlikely. On the other hand, such a position was eminently suited for a centre of worship common to all the surrounding tribes, while at the same time its sanctity would exempt it from the dangers of hostile incursions.

At the eastern foot of Mount Tomaros, about eleven English miles to the south-west of Jannina, lies an extensive plain. Into this plain from the east runs a long spur of Mount Cosmira. On this is placed the acropolis, while below it lie the theatre and the sacred precincts. The great explorer, Colonel Leake, describes what was in his time visible of the temple, though without identifying it. Bishop Wordsworth, who visited the spot in 1832, actually did predict that excavations would prove it to be the site of Dodona. This prediction has now been confirmed by the inscriptions brought to light by M. Carapanos.

The theatre, one of the largest and best preserved in Greece, is, as usual, cut out of the slope of the hill. Near by are the ruins of three buildings, the most easterly of which was the temple of Zeus, afterwards transformed into a Christian church. About ten metres to the west of the temple is a building, almost square, divided by internal walls; and still further to the west, a larger rectangular building measuring forty-two and a half metres by thirty-two. These edifices are considered by Carapanos to have been connected with the means of divination. He was led to this conclusion partly by their situation and form, and partly from the dis-

covery of a great many bronze coins in the first, and a great quantity of debris of various bronze objects in both. In the temenos to the south was a sanctuary of Aphrodite, the daughter of Dione. Accompanying the text of the work by M. Carapanos, is a magnificent atlas of plates. Besides views and plans of the site, these plates represent the statuettes, bas-reliefs, and other works of art obtained by the excavations. Many of them belong to the sixth century, some to the seventh. Of the bas-reliefs or bronze plaques some are valuable specimens of archaic art, others are of singular beauty.* On one of the cheek-pieces of a helmet, whisker and moustache are rendered in bronze with curious fidelity. Of chief interest, however, are the inscriptions on thin plates of lead, containing the questions asked of the god by private individuals or by communities. Some, M. Carapanos thinks, contain the answers of the god. But this is very doubtful. The priests probably knew well enough the advantage of compelling a questioner to put his question in writing, while themselves avoiding a permanent record of the answer. The questions are naturally of all kinds, the god being resorted to as the moderns resort to lawyer, doctor, or private detective.

Eubandros and his wife, in the queerest of dialects, seek advice as to the gods, heroes, or "dæmones" they should propitiate in order that they and theirs may fare better now and in future. The reader of Thucydides will be attracted by the plaintive prayer of the Corcyræans for guidance in their efforts to secure cessation of civil discord. The various classes of inscriptions range over perhaps five centuries. They have been reviewed by Mr. E. S. Roberts in the first and second volumes of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Turning to the Peloponnesus, we find the Americans conducting, in the spring of last year, the first systematic excavations ever made at Sikyon†—Sikyon, the traditional cradle of art,‡ the centre of one of the great schools of Greek painting, and the birthplace of Lysippos.

* See Rayet, *Études d'Archéologie*.

† *American Journal of Archaeology*, December, 1887.

‡ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 15.

The rock-hewn aqueducts have been examined, the course of streets has been traced. The chief labour has, however, been directed to the examination of the theatre, the plan of which has been satisfactorily ascertained. Of sculpture, not much has been found. Four necropoleis have been discovered near the city.

In Epidauros the most brilliant results have rewarded the efforts of the Athenian Archæological Society, an association which stands next to the Society of Dilettanti in its contributions to the knowledge of Greek art. The sanctuary and sacred precincts of Asklepios have been explored, the tholos, porticoes, and, above all, the theatre. With two of these buildings, the tholos and the theatre, tradition has associated the name of Polykleitos. The examination of the theatre has thrown fresh light on the dramatic representations of the fifth century. Most noteworthy, too, are the inscriptions relative to the cures of the patients who sought in crowds the aid of the healing deity. The record of the building of the chief temple, that of Asklepios, has also been found. Three hundred names of contractors and their sureties are given, with the amounts paid. The architect, Theodotos (who was employed for three years six months and seventy days), received a yearly salary of 353 drachmas. This seems to have been the usual rate of payment also at Athens in the fifth century, though later it was twice as much. The temple belongs to the same epoch as the temples of Athena at Sunion, Nemesis at Rhamnus, and Apollo Epikurios at Phigaleia. Several statues of Nike found close by are supposed to have formed the akroteria. From the eastern pediment we have Centaurs, from the western Amazons, that bear the impress of Athenian grace and power. Figures of Asklepios of course occur, also statuettes of Athena; and a very beautiful statue of Aphrodite in transparent chiton, like the so-called Venus Genetrix of the Louvre, and supposed to represent the type of the Aphrodite of Alkamenes. Much of the sculpture belongs to the best period, and may be considered as the work of disciples of Pheidias.

Athens herself has been of late a centre of special archæological interest. Ten or

twelve years ago men's minds were directed to the German discoveries at Olympia and Pergamon, discoveries which, in the former case, throw light on a thousand years of Hellenic life, while those at Pergamon have amply placed before us the sculpture of a period previously but meagrely represented.

To the architect, the historian, and the artist these discoveries were of the utmost value, though it must be confessed that the somewhat theatrical trophies of Eumenes and Attalos are not calculated to give permanent satisfaction to the votaries of a purer style.

At Olympia the recovery of two original works, the Hermes of Praxiteles and the Nike of Paionios, was, indeed, "epoch-making." The realistic bronze head of the pugilist is again in another category important. Yet the prevailing feeling as to the sculpture unearthed at Olympia, as a whole, was perhaps one of disappointment. Men naturally expected that the decorations of the Temple of Zeus, which enshrined the masterpiece of Pheidias, would display a corresponding grace and dignity. They were not prepared for the harsh stiffness and poverty of the groups attributed by Pausanias to Paionios and Alkamenes. Nor has this attribution been universally accepted.*

Pergamon was little known and little cared for by the modern world. Olympia had no civic life, and its interests were not intimately bound up with those of any one particular State of Hellas. Athens, on the other hand, has an almost personal interest. Not only every student of Greek history, but every man and woman of ordinary education, has heard something of Athens as the representative of Hellenic thought and culture. "Athens, the eye of Greece, Mother of Arts."

What Athens was to the Grecian world, the Acropolis was to Athens itself. *There* were the shrines of the tutelar deities; *there* were preserved trophies of war and treaties of peace; *there* was stored the tribute of the allies; *there* the treasures of Athena and of the other gods. On the Acropolis stood the

* Loeschcke endeavours to avoid part of the difficulty by supposing the sculptures of the West Pediment to be the work of an earlier Alkamenes, of Lemnos. Wolters again suggests the beginning of the fifth century as the date of the sculptures of the Eastern Pediment. See *Mith. d. Inst.*, xii. 276.

marble records of the State. On the Acropolis the artist dedicated the choicest products of his art.

The history of the Acropolis, however, is sharply divided into two parts by the date 480 B.C. In that year the Persians captured Athens, and made a clean sweep of everything on its citadel. Temple and tower went down, and the Athenians, returning after their victories at Salamis and Plataea, had to deal with a *tabula rasa*. Their first task was to prepare the ground to receive new and more imposing edifices. Walls were built round the citadel, and between these and the higher part, as well as where clefts existed in the rock, a level surface was obtained by throwing in the débris of former structures. On this platform rose the Parthenon of Perikles, and in its shadow the countless host of monuments which exercised the energies of Polemon and the rhetoric of Pausanias. Much that they saw and noted is lost to us for ever. On the other hand, the soil they trod has yielded up in our day a series of archaic works of which they had not the slightest knowledge. The systematic exploration of ancient sites of worship or of burial has placed in our hands means of comparative study such as were never possessed by the writers of antiquity. Many questions which puzzled the wise men of old have in our day met with their solution through the examination of tombs and rubbish-heaps. The "kitchen-middens" of Northern Europe and the huddled masses of discarded offerings turned out of classic shrines have alike been ransacked by the modern student. In similar fashion attention has now been directed to the surface of the Acropolis, and the various strata of débris are being examined down to the native rock. The Greeks have taken this work into their own hands, and it is being carried out most successfully by the Archæological Society of Athens, under the able guidance of M. Cavadias and Dr. Dörpfeld. With regard to architectural history, as well as the development of sculpture and vase-painting, results of the utmost importance have already been obtained.

Discoveries at Tiryns and Mykenæ have led us to expect on the citadel traces of the dwelling of a monarch and the temple of a tutelary god.

Nor have these expectations been disappointed. In November, 1887, Herr Wachsmuth laid before the Royal Society of Saxony an important contribution to Athenian topography, in which he announced the discovery of the foundations of a palace extending in all probability beneath the Erechtheum.*

In the same paper Wachsmuth has refuted the statements of Pausanias (I. 22, 4), that there was but one entrance to the Acropolis. As at Tiryns and Mykenæ, a narrow entrance existed at a point farthest removed from the principal gateway. This entrance, however, had been so completely hidden by later structures as to be invisible in the time of the Empire when Pausanias wrote.

Of the appearance of the Acropolis in the time preceding the Persian invasion we had till recently but the vaguest notion. One idea indeed prevailed, viz., that on the site of the present Parthenon there stood an earlier temple of Athena. This idea has been proved to be erroneous. Till the time of Kimon the present level did not exist, and where the Parthenon now stands the rock sloped steeply down. The earlier temple stood between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, surrounded by a colonnade, built at a later time by Peisistratos. Marble was employed only for the roof, the metopes, and the sculptures of the pediments, the bulk of the material employed being Pôros, i.e., the limestone of the Piræus, covered with fine stucco. The ruins of this temple were used by Kimon partly for filling hollows in the ground, and forming a terrace,† and partly in the construction of the wall of the Acropolis, in which is to be seen part of the entablature. The more or less dressed stones of Kimon's unfinished Parthenon were in their turn used for similar purposes. That they did not belong to the same building as the entablature is proved by their being unfinished, whereas the entablature is not only fully worked, but painted.

Dr. Dörpfeld has supposed that the temple

* When Homer (*Od.* vii. 81) speaks of Athena as entering the *πυκνὸν δῶμον* of Erechtheus, the Scholiast tells us that her own temple is referred to as the place where Erechtheus was brought up. The analogy, however, of Tiryns and Mykenæ suggests that the *δῶμος* is to be taken as the palace of Erechtheus, the goddess being a guest, or, at best, only a lodger.

† So at Hissarlik the builders of the second city ("Troja") extended their acropolis by a platform to build on.—Schliemann, *Troja* (1884), p. 60.

which he has unearthed was rebuilt; that it was again destroyed or seriously injured by fire at the close of the fifth century, and once more restored so as to be in existence in the time of Pausanias. This restoration is, however, denied by others, and the testimony of Strabo, a most important witness, is decidedly against the hypothesis. For Strabo, while speaking of the sanctuaries of Athena on the Acropolis, distinctly mentions two and only two, viz., "the ancient temple of the Polias, in which is the ever-burning lamp," (*i.e.* the Erechtheum), and the Parthenon of Iktinos, where was the statue of Athena, by Pheidias. On the other hand it seems not improbable that the central chambers discovered by Dörpfeld may have been restored to serve as a treasury.*

In this connection it may be appropriate to deal with the chief representatives of monumental sculpture, the coloured pedimental reliefs in Peiraic limestone. Purgold has remarked† that most of the existing aëtomata, or groups of pedimental sculpture, belong either to the period of highest artistic development, or to a later time, as at Tegea, Samothrace and Delos. Archaic art, formerly represented only by the Æginetan pediments, has been further exemplified by the aëtoma of the Megarian Thesauros at Olympia, in which the subject was the war of the gods and giants. We now have to deal with the pediments on the Acropolis, in which were depicted the struggles of Herakles with the Hydra and with Triton. In 1882 six slabs of a relief, executed in Pôros, were found near the south-east angle of the Acropolis. These formed part of the pedimental sculpture of some building, the great antiquity of which is attested by the manner and the material of its decoration. The length of the gables in which these sculptures stood seems to have been about 5·80 metres, their height 0·79. The subject represented is the contest of Herakles with the Hydra.‡ The hero occupies the centre of the composition, wearing a cuirass and quiver. He stretches his left arm to clutch one of the serpent-heads, while with his right he raises his club to crush it.

His nine-headed foe occupies the whole wing of the pediment on the spectator's right. Two of the heads have already sunk lifeless; the rest stretch forth against the hero. The jaws are wide open, so that the tongue appears. The serpents are bearded. Their coils spring from a single body. The left wing is filled by the chariot of Herakles, facing left. Iolaos, turning his head towards the combatants, holds the reins and places his left foot on the chariot in the well-known attitude of Amphiaraios. The horses' heads are bent down. The corner of the pediment is occupied by a huge crab, the Hydra's traditional ally.

It appears that, as a rule, temple-sculptures were placed on a dark ground of red or blue. Here, however, the ground has been left of the natural colour of the stone, while the parts in relief are coloured, save where the hue of the stone was itself appropriate. Owing to the brittle nature of the material, the tongues of the serpents were not in relief, but expressed by hollows painted black, and so contrasting with their blood-red jaws.

Of the Hydra, Hesiod tells us that Herakles with Iolaos, dear to Ares, slew her with the ruthless bronze, by the counsels of Athena. The statements made in these three lines of Hesiod are singularly at variance with the conception of the same scene by the sculptor of our group. 'The thickness of the weapon brandished by Herakles suggests a wooden rather than a metal club; Iolaos, instead of the active part assigned to him,* is concerned merely as a spectator; and Athena, elsewhere the constant attendant of her favourite hero, is "conspicuous by her absence." This last point is really important. For in this our group differs, as Purgold remarks, from the two oldest representations of the scene, two Corinthian vases, one found in Ægina, the other apparently at Argos. He publishes† a Chalkidian vase found in Italy, which is very like our group. But on this vase also Athena appears in the midst. Now, the question is, Was the aëtoma copied from the vase, or the vase from the aëtoma? or both from the same original?

* See the *Antiquary* for December, 1888, pp. 233-36.

† *Ephemeris Archaeol.*, 1884.

‡ See P. J. Meier, *Mitth.*, 1885.

* See also *Apollodoros*, *Bibl. II.* 5, 2, 6.

† *Ephemeris*, 1884, Pinax 9, No. 4. (This is also No. 4 on Plate 46 of *Monumenti III.*, and Gerhard *A. V.*, ii. 95, 96.)

Purgold maintains the vase-painter was the plagiarist. All other vases dealing with the story (except one found in Bœotia, but of Attic make) have Iolaos fighting as well as Herakles. But the Chalkidian differs from the others much more by making the fight occupy only the right-hand portion of the scene, while chariot and charioteer symmetrically balance it on the left. Vase-scenes are generally grouped round a centre. Such an arrangement as we find on our aëtoma is more suited to architectonic synthesis. Of this the western pediment of the Parthenon occurs to us as an example, copied as it is on a vase at St. Petersburg. Purgold proceeds to argue that the vase-maker would insert Athena in compliance with custom. Her form is squeezed in, and partly covered by the figures on each side. Yet there was more reason for leaving out Athena on the vase than on the aëtoma, on which there was more room. In place of the earlier cuirass the vase has the lion's skin.

In the first volume of the *Jahrbuch*, Studniczka challenges this view, maintaining that the vase faithfully represents the old type, which the artist of our group for his own ends modified and cut down. On the chest of Kypselos, which certainly was older than our pediment, Herakles fought the Hydra in the presence of Athena, and Iolaos is mounted in the chariot, which is turned away from the contest. The club in this scene is repeated only in later representations. In the pediment, Athena could not have been introduced without pushing Herakles out of the centre, and contracting the space available for the most important object—the Hydra.

Studniczka further maintains against Klein that the Hydra vase is not Chalkidian, but very probably of Attic origin.

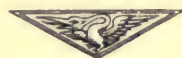
The fragments of a second pedimental group probably belong to the same building. They represent Triton struggling to free himself from the grasp of Herakles, and stretching forth his hand for aid, an excellent pendant to the contest with the Hydra.

On vases containing this subject, we have Poseidon, or Nereus, or both. Such a figure probably occupied a central position in this pediment. On the archaic frieze of Assos, Triton is accompanied by Nereids. They

would, however, be too tall to occupy the sloping part of the pediment,* which would be better filled by some sea-monster with fish-like body.

The execution is clumsy as compared with the grace of the Hermes of the Acropolis, or the stele of Aristion. Purgold therefore refers these aëtomata to the beginning of the sixth century, or more probably the end of the seventh. Studniczka thinks this somewhat too early, but admits that they must have been anterior to the marble-working period of Peisistratos.

(To be continued.)



The Sun Myths of Modern Hellas.

BY J. THEODORE BENT, F.S.A.



THE highlands of Macedonia, the coasts and islands of Greece and Asia Minor, are replete with illustrations of the survival of ancient sun myths. Our material for the study of these is twofold, namely, the national songs, the *dogmata* of the modern Greeks, which personify the heavenly luminary in many strange and perplexing variations, and the rites and ceremonies as still performed by the superstitious peasantry, which distinctly connect themselves with sun and fire worship in the past. The extent of this worship in ancient Egyptian, Phœnician and Greek days, the worship of Horus, Baal and Apollo, is known to us all. We also know how the same has survived in Scandinavia and Northern Europe generally—how May Day, the fires on St. John's Eve and the summer solstice bear testimony to the practice of sun worship in our midst. Yet these things are more or less obsolete now, whereas in Greece they are still in constant use.

Let us first gather what we can from a study of the many songs and fables of the modern Hellenes. "Beautiful as the sun" is a phrase of constant occurrence used in

* Studniczka has suggested that they might have been represented in the archaic attitude of running, with bent knees.

describing maidens of surpassing beauty. The sun is a king, and reigns in realms behind the hills. "The sun seeks his kingdom," βασιλεύει ὁ ἥλιος, is the phrase in ordinary use for describing a sunset. Sometimes, as the following lullaby for children illustrates, the sun is represented as sleeping on the mountain-tops :

High on the mountain sleeps the sun ;
In the snow the partridge lies ;
In nice soft sheets my little one
Doth close his weary eyes.

When the sun sets tinged with red, they say he is angry because his mother has not got ready for him his evening meal of forty loaves in his palace behind the hills ; when he rises red, they say he is tinged with blood after eating his neglectful mother in his wrath ; when he rises in a cloud, a death-wail sung over a corpse wonders, in the extravagant language in use on these occasions, "if the sun is angry with the stars and the moon. No, it is not that ; he is angry with Charon, who is making merry now ;" and, again, another death-wail wonders that the sun ever ventured to shine on so sad a scene.

The sun is to the modern Greek a mighty giant, like Hyperion, terrible in his anger, glorious in his beauty—all-seeing, all-powerful to help or to revenge. The sun's mother is certainly an innovation, a curious personage whose acquaintance we make in popular songs, and on whose knee he is supposed to rest at night. She is often confounded with the All Holy, the Panagia ; also she is the modern representative of Eos, the dawn ; and she opens the gates of the east that her son may pass through.

The Macedonian peasants believe that the sun has a wife called Maria, confounding her with the mother of our Lord ; they believe that she was swung up to heaven on St. George's Day : and presently we shall have something to say respecting the confusion of St. George's Day with St. John's Day and the summer solstice. On St. George's Day the inhabitants of the mountain village of Dibra hang up swings and sing songs as they swing to and fro. One of the favourite songs on this occasion is "The Marriage of the Sun." On St. George's Eve young men and maidens go forth and collect flowers in the fields "for the sun's bride,"

they say. In many places this is done on the eve of St. John's Day, showing the confusion of ideas. From Thrace to the south-west of Adrianople we have the legend that on this day "St. John went out to gather flowers, but he met his mother, who told him that others had been out before him and gathered all the flowers."

We go elsewhere and we find legends about the daughter of the sun, "beautiful as the daughter of the sun" being a common expression in the highlands of Epirus. A quaint and beautiful song relates how young Chantseres fell in love with Helioyenni, daughter of the sun, a lovely maiden who cast a glamour over him. His mother, in her grief, exclaims :

You've no pain in your head, my boy, you've no pain
at your heart,
But the sun-born maiden has dazzled you with her
eyes.

A deputation is sent to seek her hand, and she is found sitting in her hall with 500 slaves around her. She scorns the offer, and says she would not have his little body for a horse-block in her yard for men to mount their horses from, or to use for a post at which to tie up the mules. By witchcraft the disconsolate Chantseres contrives to enchant her, and she, the sunborn maid, is brought bareheaded and naked to his castle door, where she expires, and with a beautiful sentiment the legend closes. Chantseres kills himself with a golden knife and expires by her side. "The young man grew into a humble reed, and she became a cypress-tree ; and when the south wind blows softly they bend and kiss each other."

The sun, on his journey across the sky, stops to look when he hears the sweet voice of a lovely maiden, and her mother becomes exceeding wrath, fearing that the girl's lover will be driven away. The sun's eye is keen and sharp, all-penetrating. He can give details to those that ask him concerning an absent relative ; and, as in Homeric days, the Greek islander still believes that he can send messages by the sun, reminding us of the words that Sophocles puts into the mouth of the dying Ajax, who appeals to the heavenly body to tell his fate to his old father and his sorrowing spouse.

The following quaint sun-legend is told in

the mountains of Macedonia : Once upon a time there was a king, and he had a sickly son, and the king was told that the only way to cure his son was for him to marry a girl who had never been born. In their perplexity the father decided that his son must go on a journey to the realms of the sun, who, being all-seeing and all-knowing, is the only person likely to say where so strange a bride was to be found. Accordingly the young man set off, and, on reaching the sun's kingdom, he meets the sun's mother, who acts as the good fairy in his expedition, and, fearing that the sun would eat the young adventurer, she turns him into a needle. The sun, on being questioned, tells him that he must go and pluck certain apples off a certain tree, and out of these the maiden he desired would appear ; he must forthwith give her salt and bread, and she would be his. The prince accordingly did as he was told, but forgot to give her salt and bread in the first two instances, and the maiden vanished ; but on the third occasion he took care to administer the charm, and a lovely unborn maiden was his. Difficulties, however, occurred before their union ; an old nurse, who had attended the prince from his infancy, was jealous of the maiden, and contrived to steal her clothes and hide her in a well, and appeared before the astonished prince as his bride. The impostor accounted for her wrinkles and her puckered skin by saying that the sun had scorched her, and accordingly, though much mortified at the change, the prince married her, and she became the queen. The sun's mother, however, after much searching, discovered the maiden in the well, the old nurse's fraud was exposed, the young king married the fair maiden, and all ended happily.

We will now turn to some of the curious rites and ceremonies still practised in Greece, which point to the continuity of sun-worship in those parts. Hot streams are always closely connected with these ideas and legends. Even as Hercules was supposed to look after the healing streams of Thermopylæ, so now the sun is supposed to warm for the benefit of mankind certain healing streams in the island of Thermia, and we know how the Romans called the waters of Bath Aquæ Solis.

Again, we have seen how, in the question

of-gathering of flowers and the legend of the marriage of the sun, St. George's Day and St. John's are confused. In many parts of Greece on St. George's Eve it is customary to light fires in the village streets, around which the women and the children dance, singing as they do so, "Get out, ye fleas ; get out, ye bugs ; get out, ye mighty rats." For the superstition exists that inasmuch as St. George had power to destroy greater dragons, so much more has he power to destroy the lesser dragons which torment mankind. Taking this with the custom of lighting fires on all heights on St. John's Eve, the great sun festival of Midsummer, and with the idea of the sun's marriage having taken place on St. George's Day, we at once see the close connection between St. George and sun myths. In an interesting paper on Arsuf, a town in old Phœnicia (*Revue Archéologique*, 1877), M. Clermont Ganneau proves the connection between the Egyptian god Horus, who pursued on horseback and slew the dragon Typhon, and the Greek sun-god Apollo. Then he goes a step further and proves the connection between Horus and St. George, as two mythical stories both coming from Phœnicia. St. George came, we know, from Lydda, near Jaffa, the Apollonia of Greek times, the Diospolis of Greco-Roman times and the Hagiogeorgioupolis of Byzantine times. It is curious, too, that the story of Perseus and Andromeda is localized by classical writers to this very spot ; that is to say, all these stories are of distinct Phœnician origin, only the Greeks, in their love of multiplying gods and goddesses, split up the oneness of sun-worship into many branches.

Hence it is a peculiarly interesting point to find amongst the Greeks of to-day points which directly connect St. George with sun and fire worship.

Everywhere in modern Hellas the worship of the prophet Elias is closely connected with the ancient cult of Phœbus Apollo. All churches on high mountain-peaks are dedicated to the prophet, and are built for the most part on sites connected in olden days with sun-worship, in accordance with the Semitic and Pelasgic customs which formed the basis of the Hellenic mythology. A very notable instance of this is Mount Taygetus,

in Laconia, on which, Pausanias tells us, stood in his days a temple of the sun. This mountain is now called Mount Prophet Elias, and crowds of worshippers ascend the mountain on the prophet's feast day, the 20th of July, and burn around the little church at the summit frankincense, heaped up in little mounds, and they pray that no thunderstorms, common in these mountainous regions, may come to destroy the crops they are gathering in. Also Mount Carmel, in the Lebanon, is called Mount Elias, for reasons that are very obvious.

The connection between Elias and sun-worship is apparent. In the first place, the name Helios and Elias are, according to modern, and probably ancient, pronunciation, nearly identical, and formed a convenient parallel for the earlier divines to work upon when they were converting Paganism into Christianity. The holocaust offered by Elias, and lit by fire from heaven, was conveniently near to the idea of the rays of the sun bringing down warmth to the earth. The horses, which we are told conveyed the prophet to the skies, fit in very well with the sun's chariot as driven by Lord Phœbus himself, and, lastly, rain which falls after a long drought is supposed to have come at the direct intervention of the prophet. In modern Greece, the prophet Elias corresponds in every way to the mysterious Clerk of the Weather to whom we mockingly refer in our English incredulity. In times of drought you may see numbers of Greek peasants assembled in the prophet's church to pray for rain; he is the ἡμῶν or ἡμεῶν ἑξέως of the ancient Greeks, a branch of the great sun-god: when it thunders they say, "The prophet is driving in his chariot in pursuit of demons;" when the lightning flashes they say, "He is striking an evil-doer." As a meteorological deity he is omnipotent.

There is a curious MS. in a convent on the island of Lesbos which illustrates these ideas; the theologian who wrote it tried to separate from Elias these attributes and yet leave him jurisdiction over rain. It is in the form of a dialogue, and runs as follows:

Epiphany. Is it true that the prophet Elias is in the chariot of thunder and lightning and pursues the dragon?

Andreas. Far from it; this is great folly, and only an idle report which men have set

up out of their own ignorance; as also is the story that Christ made sparrows out of clay before the Jews, and when He threw them into the air they flew away, and that He turned snow into flour. These are also false like the others, and such as heretics unreasonably preach; for the prophet has not gone up to heaven, nor does he sit on a chariot; but he has power to ask God for rain, so that in a time of drought he can give moisture to the earth.

Of the ceremonies to seek the intercession of the prophet Elias there are many extant in Greece to-day. On the islands they simply climb up to the church on the mountain-top, the more devout performing the latter part of the tedious pilgrimage on their knees. Children sing songs about "Lord, have mercy upon us; prophet, give us rain," and so forth.

But in the mountains of Macedonia a curious ceremony called *perperouna* is still practised in times of drought. The word has different forms in different localities, but I am not personally enough of an etymologist to venture a suggestion respecting its origin. When it has not rained for a long time, and it is feared that the drought will be detrimental to the crops, all the children of the village collect together, and one little girl of eight or ten years of age is chosen from amongst them to be the *perperouna*. It is best, if possible, to select an orphan, for then it is supposed that the prophet will be more tender-hearted, and listen to their prayer. The child is then decorated with garlands of flowers and grass, and, accompanied by the juvenile population of the place, *perperouna* is taken round the village, and then to the neighbouring Church of the Prophet Elias; and as they walk they sing quaint little ditties, one of which I have roughly translated as follows:

Perperouna goes around
To pray to God for rain;
Grant that soon our parched ground
May be refreshed again.
That flowers may grow,
That grain may thrive,
That wine may fill the cask—
Mercifully grant, O Lord,
The petition that we ask.

Such is the rôle played by the prophet Elias in Greece to-day. He did not ascend

to heaven, says the ecclesiastical legend ; no more did Enoch, no more did St. John ; but these three remained on earth as vicegerents of Christ, to prepare the world for His second coming, and during this interval the prophet Elias attends to the proper distribution of rain over the surface of the earth. He is in certain respects very like our St. Swithin. If the prophet's day is cloudless, it indicates that the ensuing winter will be mild and the season a fruitful one, and the popular saying runs thus : "The prophet Elias puts the oil into the olives." In other respects he closely resembles the Phœnician god Baal ; and he must be considerably annoyed to find himself thus confounded with that heathen deity, over whose priests he gained so signal a victory on Mount Carmel.



Essex in Insurrection.

By J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.

THE condition of the people at the time of the third Edward may be well understood when we read such documents as the following, issued when the king designed to erect or repair some church, palace, or castle : "Be it known to you that we have commissioned our well-beloved William de Walsingham to take, in our city of London, as many painters as shall be necessary, to set them to work at our wages, and make them stay as long as shall be needful. If he find any of them rebellious, he shall arrest him and confine him in our prison, there to remain till further orders." Or, again : "Whereas our beloved lieges, the men of the town of East Tilbury, in the county of Essex, considering the great losses, damages, and destructions which have happened in times past to the same town, by the arrival of French and other enemies there, and dreading that greater may happen in process of time, both there and in the neighbourhood (especially as there is no other landing-place thereabouts for a great space), unless remedy be quickly provided for avoiding such losses, damages, and destructions ; and that others dwelling on

the coast of the sea may be encouraged cheerfully to do the like, do propose and intend (as we understand) to fortify the town aforesaid, along the coast of the sea, with a certain wall of earth with *garrettis*, and in such other methods as they can ; we, considering the pious intention of the men aforesaid, and that many benefits and advantages may redound to the said town by the said proposal, do commission Robert Gosholm, William Lee, Nicholas Denys, and John Archer, to take as many labourers and artificers as they should require, to aid in erecting the works proposed by the men of East Tilbury." Or perhaps, even more forcibly still, the not uncommon expression in the deeds of that period, "know that I have sold *nativum meum* and all his offspring, born or to be born." Such was, at the end of the fourteenth century, the condition of those whom the historians of that period call villeins, bondes, or cotiers, the servitude of the latter being aggravated by the arbitrary power of the seigneurs of the manors to which they belonged. Travellers of this period express their astonishment at the multitude of serfs they saw in England, and at the extreme hardness of their condition compared with what it was on the Continent. The origin of their degraded state was not known to these men, nay, it is even probable that many of their oppressors were equally ignorant, but it cannot excite surprise to find that there existed in the hearts of the so oppressed a strong feeling of resentment against those who treated them with such cruel injustice. In consequence of the long French wars, the country had been enormously over-taxed, but amid the glitter of military pomp, crowned with such victories as Edward III. and his gallant son, the Black Prince, had achieved, the people did not care to remember the despotic violence with which their substance had been taken from them. But in the reign of Richard II., when the splendour of these victories had waxed dim by age, and the exactions of the rulers were felt without the gilding, a change came over the spirit of the people. They knew that if the lords were necessary to them as leaders, they were not less necessary to the lords as soldiers ; and so when the owners of the great lordships and manors over-

whelmed their farmers and serfs with taxes and exactions, asserting the necessity of going to fight the French on their own ground, in order to prevent their invading England, Froissart tell us the peasants said: "We are taxed to aid the knights and squires of the country to defend their heritages; we are their slaves, the sheep from whom they shear the wool; all things considered, if England were conquered, we should lose much less than they." These and similar thoughts, spreading from manor to manor, became the theme of earnest speeches, uttered in excited and illegal meetings. The cry of the poor soon found a terrible utterance in the words of "a mad priest of Kent." "Good people," cried the preacher, "things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride?" A spirit fatal to the whole system of the Middle Ages breathed in the popular rhyme which embodied the levelling doctrine of mad John Ball:

When Adam delled and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?

From village to village the disaffection spread, stimulated by written messages recommending, in mysterious and proverbial terms, perseverance and discretion. Some of these letters, we are told, ran as follows:

"John Sheep, sometime S. Mary priest of York, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John Nameless, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and biddeth them beware of evil in Borough, and stand together in God's name; and biddeth Piers Plowman go to his work, and chastise well Hob the robber, and take with you John Trewman, and all his fellows, and no mo, John the Miller hath yground small, small, small. The King's Son of heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be wo. Knowe your friende fro you foe; have ynough, and say no, and do well and better; and flee sinne, and seeke peace,

and hold you therein; and so biddeth John Trewman, and all his fellows."

"John Ball gretyth you wel al, and doth you understand he hath rungen the bell; now ryght and myght, wyll and skyll, God spede every yee dele. Now is tyme, lady help to Jesu the Sonne, and thid Sonne to hys Fadur to make a gude ende in the name of the Trinity, of that is begun. Amen, amen, our charitie. Amen."

"John Ball S. Mary priest, gretes well all manner men, and byddes them, in the name of the Trinity, Fadur, Sone and Holy Ghost, stond manlicke togeder in trewche, and helps trewth shall helpe yowe; now reigneth pride in prise, and covetous is hold wise, and lechery withouten shame, and gluttony withouten blame. Envie reigneth with tressone, and slouth is take in grete sesone. God do bote, for now is the tyme. Amen in Essex, Southfolc, and Northfolc."

Jack Trewman's letters ran somewhat in the same style:

"Jak Trewman doth you to understand, that falsenesse and gile havith reigned so long, and trewth hath been sette under a lokke, and falseneth and gile regneth in every flokke. No man may come trewth to both syng, si dederò, speke, spende, and speede, quoth John of Bathon, and therefore sinne fareth as wildfode, trew love is a waye that was so gode, and clerks for wealth work hem wo. Now is tyme."

So also:

"Jakk the Mylner asket help to turne hys mylne righte. He bath grounden small, small. the King's Son of heven he shall paye for all. Looke thy milne doe aright with the four sails, and the post stand id stedfastness. With right and with myght, with skille and with wille, lat myght help ryght, and skille goe before wyll, and ryght before myght, then goeth our milne aright, and yf myghte go before ryght, and wyll before skille, then is our milne mysadyght."

Meanwhile, to the misery and discord at home was added the shame of defeat abroad. The French war ran its disastrous course; one fleet was defeated in battle, another sank in a storm; and no sooner had Richard of Bordeaux ascended the throne, than he found the vessels of France and Spain committing ravages upon the coasts of his king-

dom, attacking first one town and then another, slaying and carrying off as prisoners such of the wretched inhabitants as were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. In order to meet the expenses thus rendered necessary for the defence of the nation, and, it must be acknowledged, to maintain the luxury of the court, the Parliament sitting at Northampton granted a fresh subsidy, to be raised by means of a poll-tax on every person above a certain age in the kingdom. To this tax the poorest man in the realm contributed as large a sum as the wealthiest; the gross injustice of this act, of course, added fuel to fire, and the whole of England became convulsed from one end to the other. The tax being farmed or purchased by certain rich noblemen and foreign bankers, was, of course, rigorously exacted, the insolence of its collectors being but too often unbounded; opposition was everywhere offered, and in no county more so than in Essex, and there especially by the men of Fobbing, Stanford, Billericay, and Hadleigh; the memory of the hardships undergone and tyranny experienced during the rebuilding of the castle in the latter village in the previous reign, proving no doubt a strong incentive to rebellion on their part. According to tradition, the immediate cause of the outbreak was an act of gross violence on the part of one of the tax-collectors towards the young daughter of a tradesman living at Dartford, in Kent. An idea has been entertained by many persons that Wat Tyler, the arch leader of the insurrection, was the man whose daughter was insulted, and that he it was who killed the miscreant in her defence; and so a kind of honourable dignity has been given to the character of the leader—a man who in all his acts seems to have been of a rough and brutal nature. The similarity of the vocation, the surname but indicating the trade or occupation of its bearer, has caused a feeling of interest to attach itself to the leader, which really belongs to the citizen of Dartford. Of the latter nothing more is heard or known; though he had at such a period courage to avenge so deep a private wrong, he possessed sufficient sense not to achieve a notoriety among the evil-disposed and seditious; when his hammer shattered the head of the insulting tax-collector, it had

played its part in the drama of the great struggle in which, all unwittingly, it formed the first act.* The news of this fresh insult spread far and wide; the men of Essex crossed the Thames, and joined their brethren in Kent, and "Walter Teghelere of Essex" soon found himself at the head of one hundred thousand rudely armed men, breathing revenge upon the nobles and gentry of the land. What followed is well known; the stubbornness of the resistance offered by the rebels showed the temper of the people.

The men of Essex having, upon promise of manumission, retired from London to their own county, gathered together a second time, we are told by old John Stow, "a new multitude at Byllerica decided either to enjoy liberty gotten by force, or to die in fighting for the same; they sent to the King, then being at Waltham, messengers, to know if he thought good to permit them to enjoy their permitted liberty, like to their lords, and that they should not be compelled to come to courts, but only to great Leets twice in the year," unto which the King answered thus: "Oh, miserable and hateful both to land and sea, not worthy to live, do ye require to be equal to your lords? Ye were worthy to be put to most shameful death; but since ye are come as messengers, ye shall not die now, to the end ye may declare our answer to your fellows: declare to them, therefore, on the King's behalf, that as they were husbandmen and bondmen, so shall they remain in bondage, not as before, but more vile without comparison. Whilst we live and by God's sufferance shall govern the kingdom with wit and strength, we will endeavour ourselves to keep you under, so that the duty of your service may be an example for posterity, and that your equals both present, and that shall succeed, may ever have before their eyes, as it were in a glass, your misery and matter to curse, and fear to commit the like." Stow further tells us, that when the messengers were gone, "there was straightways sent into Essex, Thomas

* The Kentish jurors presented, 'that when certain levies and insurrections were made by certain contentious and unknown men about Dartford, on Wednesday before the feast of the Holy Trinity, in the 4th year of the reign of Richard II., etc., etc.

of Woodstocke, Earl of Buckingham, and Sir Thomas Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, to repress the boldness of the said commons. These commons had fortified themselves at Billericay with ditches and carriages; nevertheless, although there was a great number of them, with small business they were scattered into the woods, where the lords inclosed them, lest any of them might escape: and it came to pass that five hundred of them were slain and eight hundred of their horses taken; the other that escaped this slaughter being gotten together hasted to Colchester, and began to stirre the townsmen to a new tumult, and when they profited not there, they went to Sudbury, but the Lord Fitz Walter and Sir John Harlestone followed them, and slew as many of them as they list, and shut up the rest in prisons." It is, indeed, more than probable, that if the rebellion, begun by "*peasants and shoeless vagabonds*," had not been so soon quelled, persons of higher class, like the "esquire," Bertram de Wylmyngtone, of Kent, might have undertaken the conduct of it, and have effected its object. Even when the insurrection was crushed, it was only by threats of execution that verdicts could be obtained from the Essex jurors when ringleaders of the revolt were brought before them.

(To be continued.)



Ancient Peru.

By R. S. MYLNE, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., CHAPLAIN
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PART I.



SOFT, dim mist, which the natural curiosity of man desires to pierce, overhangs as a cloud the ancient records of Peru anterior to the date of the brilliant Spanish invasion.

Any book which throws further light upon that interesting and remote period deserves a kindly welcome from the more learned portion of the British public; and in this category of instructive and useful literature we must place the excellent translation of the old

Spanish chronicle of Pedro de Cieza de Leon,* issued by the Hakluyt Society not long since.

The work of an eye-witness in those exciting and stirring times which make history has a special and peculiar value all its own; and in the present instance is much enhanced by the fact that the great majority of the bold and fearless soldiers and sailors who left the sunny hills of Spain for the Far West were illiterate and ignorant men. They were unable, even if they had been willing, to leave behind them an intelligent account of their strange adventures, their wonderful travels, and their marvellous conquests. A minute analysis of their lives and conduct only shows that they were themselves all unworthy of the mighty victories which they achieved with so little effort and such extraordinary ease.

Cieza sailed with the rest across the wide Atlantic Ocean, and soon became aware that his companions in arms, a wild and motley crew, cared above all else for the gratification of one ungovernable lust—the continual acquisition of fine gold, which this El Dorado of the West, this mystic land of the setting sun, seemed to yield in countless heaps without stint or measure.

Anxious to hand down to remote posterity what he sees of Indian life, and hears of Indian lore, he undertakes to write his chronicle. It is divided into two parts. The first gives a brief account of his own travels; the second sketches in somewhat vague outline the early history of the powerful Incas who ruled Peru in the olden time.

With true Castilian pride he observes that the native races had "much intercourse with the devil;" but with a real taste for antiquarian knowledge he endeavours to collect together any notices of quaint manners and customs, and peculiar habits, which may chance to come across his path. He is grieved at the destructive and cruel spirit which is so often manifested in a most brutal way by the barbarous behaviour of the fierce adventurers from his own fatherland. The white man had no pity on the black, regarding him as only fit to be a slave.

In the early years of the European occupa-

* *The Chronicle of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, translated by C. Markham, Esq., F.R.S., for the Hakluyt Society.

tion the great bulk of the traffic destined for the remote coasts of the vast Pacific Ocean went through Old Panama.

In the year of grace 1521, this city, which is described as "very noble and very loyal," obtained a royal charter from the mighty Emperor Charles V., who was so much occupied with the government of his extensive domains at home that he was seldom able to turn his thoughts or attention to another hemisphere. The old town was totally destroyed in the year 1671, and the present city was afterwards erected on a different site on a long promontory surrounded by the sea. Soon it will be possible to cross the narrow but difficult isthmus by means of a canal. Cieza and his friends, however, had to go afoot, or else ride on mules. And the first thing which made a profound impression on the invading host was the extremely poisonous character of the Indian arrows. The fatal power of that baleful juice in which the natives dip their weapons of war is explained in the chronicle by a strange and wonderful theory. To accomplish their malignant purpose they made use of foul "yellow roots dug up on the sea-shore," and certain huge "ants and large spiders." To this unnatural compound they added certain "hairy worms," together with the wings of a bat, the head of a poisonous fish, with plenty of toads and deadly apples, and the tips of the tails of stinging serpents.

Surely it was no wonder that Christian troops were not proof against this terrible and heathenish mixture!

Moreover, on occasion, the mountain tribes could demonstrate that they possessed within their dusky ranks some very good shots. Cieza declares that an Indian warrior has been known to pierce a trusty knight of Spain right through the body with the barbed arrow let fly from his deadly bow. At this assertion one is reminded of the valiant Homeric hero, who slew the huge Odius:

πρώτῳ γὰρ στρεφθέντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πῆξεν
ἄμλων μεσσηγυρῶ, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασεν.*

The most spirited and life-like rendering of the Greek original in the English tongue was given long ago by Chapman, one of the best

* *Iliad*, v. 40.

classical scholars of the scholarly age of Queen Elizabeth:

He strook him with a lance to earth, as first his flight
addressed;
It took his forward turned back, and looked out of
his breast.

Besides the sharp-pointed arrows of the Indians, the Spaniards encountered in the dense woods that cover the lower slopes of the Andes, beautifully marked wild cats, and "large monkeys that make such a noise that from a distance those who are new to the country would think they are pigs. When we pass under the trees, the monkeys break off branches and throw them down, making faces all the time." Moreover, on one occasion they killed a great snake in whose capacious belly they found an entire deer, off which they made an excellent meal, devoutly thanking heaven that they themselves had not been devoured by the terrible serpent, inextricably engulfed in its slimy coils and poisoned by its deadly sting. As they journeyed towards the south the native races were found to be less warlike and more civilized. In the long valleys to the north the Indians were rich in gold, and they both sacrificed and ate human flesh. The petty chiefs of each tribe were always at war one with another. Hence the black population had in ancient times been more dense than it was in the age of the Spanish invasion.

White people found the heat intense in this tropical region, and the high valleys in the mountains were deemed by far the most suitable for the permanent establishment of European colonies. Cartago and Cali possessed a fairly good climate. From this latter place communications were opened with the coast line of the Pacific Ocean, but the great difficulty of passing the rocky mountain ridges made the much longer route preferable down the navigable river of St. Martha or Magdalene, which flowed in a northerly direction.

At a still higher level than Cali there stood the city of Popayan. Here was the seat of the Imperial Government, and a fine cathedral church. Further to the south was the city of Pasto, with its appurtenances lying on the border-land between the more northern valleys and the vast Empire of Ancient Peru. In this more mountainous district the natives

were hardy and brave, but frightfully decimated from various causes. "Some conversed with the devil, but others had become Christians." The climate now became cold, and the lofty snowpeaks of the Andes were just visible far away in the dim distance. This was the sign that they had reached the very edge of the dominions of the Inca. They at once entered upon a civilized country well guarded with frontier fortresses, whose commodious towns contained colossal palaces and gorgeous temples consecrated to the worship of the sun. They were confronted by one of those wonderful old-world civilizations with which we are familiar in the desolate ruins of Babylon or of Memphis. They were face to face with an antique system of government which in one point at least resembled the public administration of Rome. The Imperial funds, it was deemed, could not be better expended than in the construction of magnificent roads and causeways. Cieza was quite taken by surprise at the excellence of the great road which ran all the way from Quito to Cuzco. Every province had its own governor, personally responsible to the Inca himself, who was kind to the obedient, but cruelly punished rebellion.

"*Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*" At the extreme outposts of the empire colonies of men devoted to the sovereign prince were established at regular intervals; and communications were kept up with the capital by a most ingenious system of posts. Slight and active Indians were carefully trained to run a fixed distance: the instant they reached their destination others were ready to start and convey the news to the next resting-place. In this manner it is said messages of importance could be taken in eight days all the way from Quito to Cuzco, along the famous road of the Incas.

But it is now high time to pass in our brief narrative from the elevated valleys in the mountains to the unhealthy tropical climate along the sea-coast, where rain seldom or never falls. Here there was another great road almost parallel to that in the mountains. There were also numerous channels across the plains erected by the native Government for the purposes of irrigation, effectually preserving a constant supply of water for farm land. These public works, so useful for the

cultivation of the soil, remain intact in one district alone, bringing wealth and comfort to the inhabitants. For the most part, through ignorance or laziness, the conquering army let them fall into premature decay.

In sailing along the coast of the Pacific, Pedro de Cieza was much struck by the vast ruins of rich palaces at Tumbamba, and the strange legend preserved among the people concerning the landing of great giants near the Point of St. Helena on the South Sea, who dug deep wells, and ill-treated the natives, and were destroyed by fire that fell from heaven.

The principal European town by the ocean is Lima, or, as it is called in the Chronicle, the City of the Kings. It was founded by Francisco Pizarro in the year of grace 1535, during the reign of the Emperor Charles V. In the immediate neighbourhood was the famous temple called Pachacamac, commonly held to have been a place of heathen worship before the age of the Incas. Its situation is superb, surmounting a bold and rugged promontory overhanging the wide waste of waters that seem to stretch away for ever to the west; while the snowpeaks of the noble Andes form a magnificent background. Amidst the old ruins solid walls to the height of 30 feet may still be seen.

The finest city, however, in ancient Peru was named Cuzco. It stands near a couple of streams, in "a very rugged situation," 11,380 feet above the sea, near the great mountains. The temperature is very cold, and on the north side there are extensive ruins of an immense fortress, built by the Indians in remote ages of very large stones without mortar or cement. Garcilasso de la Vega describes the Cyclopean walls and towers of this strong hill fort, and Mr. C. R. Markham deems these remains the most curious and interesting now existing in Peru.

It was in this noble city that the Inca had his royal seat. Here the royal roads met, and the houses were well built of large stones well cut. There were handsome palaces for the nobles, and above all a truly magnificent Temple of the Sun, rich in gold and silver. The innermost chamber was lined throughout with plates of gold, having at the upper end a huge golden sun. On either side were the mummies of the deceased Incas, seated

on chairs of gold. A rich cornice of solid gold, a yard broad, ran round the walls. Within the precincts there were five sacred fountains with silver and golden pipes, and a garden containing flowers and fruits of pure beaten gold. The chief priest dwelt near the shrine, probably on the site now occupied by the convent of San Domingo. Hard by was a College of Virgins, selected for their beauty, who lived under strict rule like those dedicated to the honour of Vesta in the old days of Rome. The religious establishment was well calculated to impress the mass of the common people with awe and reverence. In fact, the whole town was striking and magnificent.

"Cuzco," quaintly observes Cieza, "was grand and stately, and must have been founded by a people of great intelligence."

The country around shared in some degree the privileges and wealth of the capital. In particular, the beautiful valley of Yucay was a favourite resort of the citizens, and contained a fine palace and fortress belonging to the Inca. Of the latter, wondrous ruins still remain. There are huge fragments of stone curiously carved with strange figures, representing lions and other fierce beasts, and strong men in armour.

In this extremely rugged district, the steep and perpendicular ravines, cut out of the solid rock by the rushing mountain torrents, were frequently spanned by light bridges made of twisted cord and ropes. They served their purpose well; but they needed much repair, and often had to be renewed.

In order to complete our general survey, a little must be said concerning the dominions of the Inca to the south of the capital. The principal province in this part of the empire was called Collao. The climate was cold and the land unproductive. The people lived chiefly on potatoes, and were accustomed to carry in their mouths a small quantity of a herb called coca, which they thought both checked hunger and gave vigour and strength and the power of endurance. By its cultivation and sale the Spaniards afterwards made money. In early days the native Government was careful to supply this chilly hill country with rich stores of maize, which could be easily grown in the warmer and more genial districts. On the same

principle hunting was forbidden at certain fixed intervals, so that the game and wild fowl might have time to multiply and increase, and in all the principal towns large storehouses were maintained well filled with grain, lest a famine should on a sudden overwhelm the land. The accounts were kept by means of coloured knots in delicate cords of silk or wool.

The Collas had certain customs of their own. Over the tombs of the dead they built tall sepulchral towers, with the doors always facing the east. In one of their temples, according to tradition, there had once been an idol. If this had ever been so, no vestige thereof remained in Cieza's time; and the old legend itself seems improbable, as the Inca was not an idolator and never encouraged idolatry. The chronicler further adds that the Collas know how "to take account of time," and are acquainted "with some of the movements both of the sun and the moon. They count their years from ten months to ten months."

In connection with the great lake named Titicaca, there were some strange mythological stories. In the centre was a sacred island, where the Inca erected a large temple in honour of the sun. Some said that the bright orb, which gives light to the world and ripens the golden grain, first rose from beneath the blue waters of this smooth and far-stretching lake. Others maintained that the Indians themselves were descended from the glistening sparkle of its dancing spray. So large a sheet of water was a marvel, which native lore could not explain.

Some twelve miles beyond the southern extremity of this inland sea, there was another mystery. Here was discovered another large collection of very ancient ruins. In the midst there stood erect some large stones, quaintly carved to resemble giants, and also some great doorways of colossal size and design. After minute examination, Cieza deemed them the earliest monuments of man's handicraft that he came across in any part of Peru. In his opinion there was evidence that the original plan had never been completed, and that the unfinished work had been commenced by some Cyclopean architect in distant ages long anterior to the rise of the power of the Inca.

It is, however, difficult to gather from the record any very full details.

South of the Collao, there was an extensive tract of country which soon attracted the notice of the Spanish settlers, because it was rich in silver. Of this mineral district Plata was the principal town. Porco was the name of the most important silver-mine belonging to the Inca, but in the year 1546 the Spaniards discovered, and began to work out, the exhaustless wealth of the hill of Potosi.

As the wonderful character of this rich storehouse of the precious metals became better known, a good market by degrees grew up in the plain country at the base of these marvellous hills.

Spanish settlers thronged the neighbourhood, and great fairs were held for the despatch of business, which were largely attended both by the Indians and the white people. "I observed," says Cieza, "that many frauds were committed, and that there was little truth spoken. . . . There were also many disputes and lawsuits among the traffickers." Here we see plainly how the inordinate love of gold and silver was the besetting sin of the proud Castilian or the haughty Aragonese.

The copious supplies obtained so easily from these rich mines were conveyed along the royal road to Cuzco, by the ready aid of the great Peruvian sheep, commonly called llamas. "These sheep," says the chronicler, "are among the most excellent creatures that God has created, and the most useful. . . . Truly it is very pleasant to see the Indians of the Collao go forth with their beasts, and return with them to their homes in the evening, laden with fuel. They feed upon the herbage of the plains, and when they complain they make a noise like the groaning of camels." And again, "In the city of La Paz I ate a dinner off one of these fat huanacus (a particular sort of llama), and it seemed to me the best I ever had in my life!"

In this simple enjoyment of good fare we may take farewell of our honest traveller Pedro de Cieza de Leon.

(To be continued.)



Kirton-in-Lindsey: Church-wardens' Accounts, etc.

BY EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A.



KIRTON-IN-LINDSEY is but a small town. It never can have been of great size or importance as far as population is concerned, but our forefathers did not estimate places by the number of the human beings who dwelt therein. In the Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stuart times, Kirton, as the head of a large manor, including some forty townships, was a place of much importance. As is the case with so many other of our towns and villages, it first comes within the grasp of authentic history in the Domesday Survey. There we learn that it belonged before the Conquest to Earl Edwin, that he had within it eight carucates of land at "geld," and land for sixteen ploughs. It fell into the King's hands, and from that time until the end of the last century, it was almost always attached in some way or other to royalty. In the latter time it was part of the demesnes of the Duchy of Cornwall. In the end of the last century the manor of Kirton with all its appurtenances was sold, and it is now broken into fragments. No list of the places which were in whole, or in part, included within the limits of this great franchise, has ever been published; and as there are many serious misconceptions regarding it, we give a catalogue of the townships which were in the whole or in part included within its jurisdiction, taken from Norden and Thorpe's Survey made in 1616. We have reduced the spelling of these names to their modern forms:

Aseby,	Grayingham,
Ashby,	Harpwell,
Atterby,	Heapham,
Blyton,	Hemswell,
Bottesford,	Hibaldstow,
Brumby,	Messingham,
Burringham,	Missen (that part only
Burton-on-Stather,	which is in the county
Butterwick, East	of Lincoln),
Corringham, Great,	Morton,
Corringham, Little,	Northorpe,
Frodingham,	Pilham,
Gamblethorpe,	Redburn,
Gilby,	Risby,
Glentworth,	Saxby,

Scunthorpe,
Snitterby,
Somerby,
Spital,
Springthorpe,
Stockwith,

Sturgate,
Waddingham,
Walkerith,
Wharton,
Winterton,
Yaddletorpe.

In many of these places—Frodingham, Scunthorpe, and Burringham, for instance—the whole of the area was included within the manor of Kirton, in others but a very small portion; at Bottesford, for example, there were but seventy-six acres, and somewhat less in Yaddletorpe. In Messingham there was “unum tenementum cum gardino,” and a plot of meadow consisting of one acre and a rood.

Though we have no information as to Kirton-in-Lindsey before the Conqueror's Survey, there is no doubt that it was inhabited in the Roman time, for fragments of pottery, bricks, coins, and other relics of the world's conquerors have from time to time been discovered there. It has, moreover, been surmised by more than one competent antiquary that the present market place follows the outlines of a Roman camp. Some few years ago a vault, excavated in the oolite rock, was found near the eastern side of the market-place; there was nothing to distinguish its date or character, but from the extremely rude character of the work it was surmised to be of pre-Roman date.

The church presents examples of many various styles. Its noble Early English tower is an object of great interest. The rest of the church has been much injured from time to time by those changes which are called, in irony let us hope, restoration. About twenty years ago the remains of a fresco, representing the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church, were found on the wall of the north aisle. A reduced copy of this curious picture may be seen in the writer's “English Church Furniture.” The churchwardens' accounts begin in 1484. They consist of a bound volume and a mass of loose papers. In the volume are the accounts of one of the five guilds which existed here before the Tudor changes. The guild of Corpus Christi seems to have been governed by three aldermen. In 1484 they were John Burgh, Esquier, Thomas Webster, and John Grymston. Of the two last persons we know nothing. John Burgh was a member of a

family which had been resident at Kirton for some time, and continued there until the reign of James I. The guild seems to have lent its money to various persons, in every case requiring someone to stand with the borrower as “seurtye.” In the rental of the church for the same year, we find that Thomas Burgh was bound, as rent for a house he possessed, to find “a lawmpe” before the altar of St. Katherine, that another house at the “kyrk stell” [stile] supplied a lamp for the lady altar, and “a garthe by syd of old vicarege a lawmpe before ye hie awter.”

In 1529, we have a short inventory of the church goods. One was “Oon coope of kreme svp velvet, also on vestm't for ye prest, dekyn, and s'bdekeyn.” A cope and suit of vestments of black worsted, a cope of white silk, three whole vestments—one of silk, one of “chamelet,” and one of “qwyllte.” There were also a green silk vestment, and one of blue damask, one of black “chamelete,” and another of green “croylle.”* There were two red vestments, one of “saton of breges,” that is, Bruges—the Flemish city which was long celebrated for the excellence of its textile fabrics;† the other was of worsted, and therefore we may assume of a commoner kind for week-day use. There was also another vestment, perhaps the most precious in the church's store. The ground was blue, and it was wrought over with “byrdds of greyn sylk.” The church also possessed two coverlets of red and yellow, and three altar cloths; the first green of satin of “bregez,” the second blue “paynted with ymages,” the third of white silk. These memoranda show that the church's services must have been conducted in a splendid manner. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that these vestments only represent a part of those to be seen in the sacred building. The inventory only relates to those which belonged to the parish. Each of the guilds would have sets of vestments of its own, which, judging from the analogy of

* Worst. The great chamber at Holy Island was, in 1533, hung “Cum le red crole et borders.” Raine, *North Durham*, p. 126.

† This word occurs in sixteenth century documents as Brigs, Brug, Bruges, and in many other forms. The word is in Flemish *Brugge*, i.e., a bridge.—*Murray Dict.*

other places, were no doubt of a splendid character. We know little of the Kirton guilds beyond their names, which are recorded in the will of a certain William Blyton, executed in 1498. They were called the guild of the Holy Sepulchre, of St. John the Baptist, of Corpus Christi, "may gilde" and "pluygh gilde." The late Mr. W. E. Howlett, F.S.A., had seen evidence that some of the property of these guilds which fell into the hands of the Crown in the reign of Edward VI., was, during the time of his Protestant sister, given towards the foundation of the Grammar School, which yet exists in that town.

Among the payments in succeeding years there are many interesting entries. In 1535, we have

"Payd for bred and ale when the churche he'lands were sawen, xiiij*d*."

The church headlands were certain lands in the open field which were vested in the churchwardens, who cultivated them for the good of the church. In the same year we have

"Payd for bred & alle at Trent syde when I & my neburs did dig vp stons, vd."

This is a puzzling entry. There is no part of the Trent side near Kirton where stones are to be found. It most likely refers to getting "cobbles" from Hardwick Hill, which is on Scotton Common, about a mile and a half from the river. If this be a correct guess, and it claims to be nothing more, the stones were got for paving the paths. The writer remembers seeing, nearly forty years ago, in the churchyard, "cobbles" which may have come from that place.

"Paid for costes when my fader Ba't'n & I rode to Roche."

Roache Abbey is probably the place meant. There are excellent quarries of building-stone in the neighbourhood. Bainton and the keeper of the account may have gone to purchase stone for some ornamental work in the church. The Kirton oolite, though good for building purposes, is not adapted for fine carving.

In 1543, the churchwardens received "vis. viij*d*." for "William Brigges bereall and his wytward." A wytward means a bequest. The word occurs several times in later years.

In 1546, the churchwardens purchased "a mand for hallybred," for which they gave ij*d*. A mand, or, as it is commonly spelt, maund, signifies a wicker-basket. In this case it was to be used for carrying round the holy-bread, which was distributed after the parish Mass on Sundays.*

In the same year a bell was sold for iiiij*d*., which was got off the vestry. The price shows that it was but a small one. We may therefore conclude that it was the sanctus-bell, used before the changes in religion to ring at the elevation of the host. No trace of an old vestry has been remaining within human memory. The present vestry was built about five-and-twenty years ago, when this church underwent, for the last time, destructive alterations.

In 1557, we find the following: "Yt is agreyd by [the] hole bodye of the paryshe to give for every plough j peck of peas, and for every powgh j frundell of barlye, to be sowne to the common use of the town"—that is, that each farmer, according to the number of ploughs he used, should contribute seed for the land known as the church head lands. Halliwell's *Dictionary* explains a *frundell* to mean two pecks, and says it is a Northern word.

In 1565, the churches were finally divested of the objects which had been employed in the ceremonial of the old worship. We find, therefore, the churchwardens selling two copes, a vestment, certain candlesticks, and other brassware. The total amount they received was £3 13*s*. 4*d*. In the same year they gave xiiij*d*. to certain players.

In 1569, there is a memorandum that they had to make answer as to certain copes, vestments, albs, an amice, candlesticks, handbells, and "ij tables with images." This looks as if some of the objects which ought to have been removed four years before had been kept back. To whom the churchwardens were to make answer is not stated—most probably some inquiries had been made by the archdeacon.

In 1573, we have the first mention of the church clock. The churchwardens gave ijs. to "the clocksmyth for a gods pene."

In 1580, xij*d*. was paid for "eldene." This means wood, or small sticks for fires. The

* See *Antiquary*, vol. xvii., p. 191.

word is now very rarely used, but is not quite obsolete. A member of my family heard it used in June, 1887.

In 1581, a payment of viij*d.* is charged "for mending the belles aganst Sant Hew day"—that is, the 17th of November. The bells were probably not rung in honour of the holy Bishop of Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon, but because it was the accession day of Queen Elizabeth.

In 1613, we have a charge of v*d.* for going to Spittle [Spital in the Street] to make a return "if there were any that refused to take communion;" and in 1622 a like sum for "mowing strewinge for the church at mid-somer," and xij*d.* for "two hornes for the swineherd." We learn from Norden and Thorpe's Survey of the *Manor and Soke of Kirton-in-Lindsey* that, in 1616, the "porcarius villæ" occupied a house upon the waste, which was valued at iij*s.* iiij*d.* This was considered by them a usurpation by the town of the rights of the Lord of the Manor.

In 1623, there is a payment of v*d.* for ringing on the xxiiij of March—that is, on the anniversary of the accession of King James I. A payment for "a stee" is also recorded. Every Lincolnshire person will understand this, but the word is unknown in many parts of the country. It means a ladder, and is still the common word in daily use. The author of *Ruth and Gabriel* uses it, speaking of "Two rooms below, two above, gained by steep little *stees*."* And John Hodgson, the Northumberland historian, tells us of his going on certain occasions, "a few steps up the *stee*,"† by which a bed-chamber was reached.

In 1629, the churchwardens gave iiij*d.* to "a trauiler . . . that was taken with Dunkerkes"—that is, by privateers who sailed from Dunkirk. The literature of the time abounds with notices of these pests. Webster says:

"*Bellamont*. Now, blue-bottle! what flutter you for—sea-pie?

"*Servant*. Not to catch fish, sir. My young master—your son, Master Philip—is taken prisoner.

"*Bellamont*. By the Dunkirks?" ‡

* Vol. i., p. 42.

† *Raine's Memoir*, i. 25.

‡ *Northward Ho*, Act I., Scene 3.

In 1630, they gave xvij*d.* to "a porre widow . . . that had a woulf on her arm." A medical friend suggests that this poor creature was afflicted with what was called the lupus or wolf—cancer—"because it devours rapidly the flesh like a wolf."* And in the same year we find that they "bestowed of the ringers in ayle for joye of the young prince xij*d.*" Charles II. was born May 29, 1630.

In 1638, we find signs of the Laudian movement in the direction of higher ritual. The churchwardens paid for "a reseruation fee, and for want of a hooode, and for tyme to get the same, i*s.*"

In 1646, there is a note of the swing of the pendulum in the opposite direction, for then they "laid out for the Directory Booke xij*d.*," and in the same year they gave Thomas Blow i*s.* vi*d.* for "whiping dooges." Similar payments to this occur from time to time for many years. The last entry we have found is in 1817. In former times, the dog-whipper seems to have been employed in most churches. In the Middle Ages, it seems to have been a common habit to take dogs to church.†

In 1647, we have several entries of sums given to persons who had suffered loss by the rebels in Ireland. It may be well to note, too, that in this year Arabic numerals begin to be used to indicate the payments.

In 1656, sixpence was given "to an ould preist." The meaning is not clear. What was he? The penal laws then in force were far too severe for it to have been safe for any Catholic missionary priest to have avowed himself. It does not seem likely that a clergyman of the Church of England would have been thus described. Priest was, and still is, a term applied to the established clergy in some parts of the North of England; but we never heard of it being used here until quite modern days.

It is commonly believed that during the interregnum all church festivals were disregarded; but in 1658, we find a payment of two shillings for "the ringers at Christmes day and new yeares day."

* Barthol. Parr, *London Medical Dict.*, 1809, sub voce *Lupus*.

† For further information see *Lincolnsh. Notes and Queries*, vol. i., p. 88.

The greater part of the old registers of Kirton have been lost. As far as burials are concerned, their place is in part supplied by the churchwardens' accounts, which contain entries of payments made for those persons who were buried in the church.

EDWARD PEACOCK.



Thomas Doggett.

SHIRE LANE, FLEET STREET.

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HIS eccentric comedian established in 1715 a prize of a coat and silver badge, to be rowed for annually by six Thames watermen. They must be young, and their apprenticeship must have expired only the year before. The match was to be rowed every first of August, annually on the same day for ever, from the Old Swan at London Bridge to the White Swan, Chelsea. Cunningham, by some slip, says Battersea (i. C., 182); but it was Chelsea, at a picturesque old waterside inn, one or two doors west from the famous Botanic Garden of the Apothecaries Company. Those who wish to see how much that is interesting may be said about the Swan Inns on the River Thames, and throughout London, should refer to the *History of Signboards* (i. L., 213). Doggett was passionately devoted to the House of Hanover; so much so that he fixed the race for the first of August to commemorate the accession of George I., Queen Anne having breathed her last on the morning of that day in August, 1714, and he adopted for his arms or the device upon his silver badge the White Horse of Hanover, with that much-abused word "Liberty" for

the motto. From the *Times*, August 3, 1863, it would appear that the further words are added now: "The gift of Thomas Doggett, the famous comedian." This sentence we may be pretty sure formed no part of the original bequest. To Doggett's gift it appears (*Times*, as above cited) that Sir William Jolliffe added the minor amounts now bestowed; viz., to the second man, £4 17s. 9d.; to the third, £2 18s. 9d.; to the fourth, £1 11s. 6d.; to the fifth and sixth, £1 1s. each, so that no competitor rows for nothing.

It used to be rowed in the heavy old wherry of Thames traffic, which had to be pulled up against tide, so it was a very heavy test of "stay" and endurance. The five-mile course used to occupy an hour and a half; but wager-boats have been substituted, and the time cut down to an average of thirty minutes. In 1863, Thomas Young of Rotherhithe Stairs won, saving the tide all the way up; the course was covered in a little over thirty-seven minutes, so that it was not a fast match on that occasion. The prizes are still presented by the Fishmongers' Company, of which Doggett was a member.*

Doggett was a staunch Whig, and in the *Dublin University Magazine* (LXIII., 513) it is said that his intended gift was advertised in the Drury Lane play bill of August 1, 1715, and may be seen in the British Museum. The writer of the article is evidently a man conversant with theatrical history, and gives the best account of Doggett that I have anywhere met with; but I have not been able to find the playbill of that early date. The regular file of Drury Lane bills begins, I think, in 1754 about; it may, however, be in some of the miscellaneous collections notwithstanding. My reason for taking no special trouble about it, is simply that it appears to carry error on the face of it. The announcement, professing to be a literal transcript, is as follows:

"This being the day of his Majesty's happy accession to the throne, there will be given by Mr. Doggett an

* "The stairs leading up to the banqueting-hall were covered with scarlet cloth, and the niches filled with flowers, while the vestibule was lined on one side by the Thames champions—the winners of Doggett's coat and badge, one of whom had carried off the trophy as far back as the year 1824, and looked hardy and wiry enough to be able to do it again after the lapse of forty summers."—*Times*, February 13, 1863.

orange-coloured livery, with a badge representing Liberty, to be rowed for by six watermen that are out of their time within the year past. They are to row from London Bridge to Chelsea; and will be continued annually on the same day for ever. They are to start exactly at four o'clock."

Though I have not found the playbill, I find these exact words announcing the event in the *Daily Courant* of Wednesday, August 1, 1716, which I presume to be the second occasion on which the match was rowed. Smith says, in error, it was first rowed in 1722, the year of Doggett's death (15. S., 210).

Plays in the year 1715 were commenced at about four o'clock in the afternoon, and this document says the boats start at four o'clock, so unless we assume that Doggett intended to empty the playhouse, and adjourn to the match, the announcement would seem to be quite purposeless. The first of August fell on a Thursday in 1715. Now, if Doggett had announced it in the playbill of Wednesday, July 31, one could have understood it. The *Dublin Magazine* may be right after all, but the doubt is so great that I do not consider the search to be worth spending any time upon.

The connection of the Thames watermen with the theatres was of very long standing indeed. A fleet of ferryboats was kept plying by the traffic to and from the theatres on the Bankside. Taylor, the water-poet, tells us that out of the players playing there 40,000 watermen derived their chief support; it would be considerable if a tenth part of that number subsisted by such traffic. When built the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens with some view probably to this large river traffic, for he set it with its handsome front towards the river, and gave it a good landing-stage. Vauxhall also had its water-gate, and the proprietors of the gardens thought it worth their while to give a wherry and prize cup to be rowed for annually. Cupper may have done the same at Cupper's Gardens to keep well with the watermen, who might often direct a fare to one place of entertainment rather than to another whilst on the waterway. In fact, though it is not said, one inclines to suppose, that Doggett only perpetuated by endowment some custom that had been long prevalent amongst the water-side theatres. Otherwise this close con-

nection between theatricals and wherries would be almost unaccountable. Philip Astley, the rider at the circus, Westminster Bridge, is a further instance. He gave a new wherry annually in this way. Even Edmund Kean (3 T., 138) for some reason did the same thing, possibly because the Doggett bequest was a tradition of "Old Drury," where Edmund won his immortal honours as the greatest tragedian that ever trod the boards—if you take him at the heights he reached frequently, as no other ever has, and not for the general level of perfection that could be maintained by him constantly. Let Coleridge, the miraculous, alone bear me witness—rather than all the witty but somewhat multiplex babble of Hazlitt's utterances—that to see Kean play "was like reading Shakspeare by flashes of lightning." But to return to the matter of the annual wherries, all these pleasing gifts have passed away with the sunshine of their pleasant day; extinct, in fact, and all but dead to memory, save that of Doggett, who, endowing his gift, has made it live on till now. Had Doggett ever been connected with the theatre in Dorset Gardens, one might have understood better why he should think of Thames watermen; but he never was, so far as I know. His acting in London is only associated with four localities—Bartholomew Fair, Drury Lane, its branch at the Haymarket, Vanbrugh's New Theatre; and the Theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The last had some slight connection with Dorset Gardens, through Davenant's Company; but this will not account for Doggett's institution. I think we may designate it as a kind of Shaksperian survival.

This match, on a bright morning, rowed in the sunlight of an August day, was indeed a gala sight to witness up to within fifty years of the present time; sprung, as it was, from a bequest of loyalty to the useful, if somewhat tradesmanlike House of Brunswick, it was calculated to gladden the loyal spectator's heart. In Doggett's day the stretch of river from starting-post to goal was rich in such effects as it might rejoice a Turner to paint, a Hollar to engrave, or a Whistler to etch. Not a bridge then spanned the flood but that of Old London Bridge, nor spread its arched and frowning brow athwart the stream of Thames, which then ran clear and free from the pollu-

tion of five millions upon its banks ; the king's sturgeon could still be caught annually at Putney. There were abundant trees then on the southern bank even opposite to the Temple, and Sir Edward Northey's rooks from Epsom, or their early predecessors, could rejoice in a wide prospect from the tall elms of the Temple Gardens right away to the balmy stretch of the Surrey hills. Opposite to Arundel and Somerset Houses was the open expanse of Cuper's Gardens ; to the west Milbank Fields and Tothill lay extended smilingly—more rural than Hampstead is now—with the Horseferry at intervals traversing to Lambeth Palace ; below whose park-wall ran a footway skirting the river-bank, a quite rural stroll ; Vauxhall, or "the New Spring Gardens"—so called in distinction from those at Charing Cross—were paled off merely from the adjacent fields, and scarce a house past Lambeth could be seen till you reached the "Red House," Battersea, and the jetty or causeway that long preceded the bridge there—the bridge a structure that has itself grown old since and is demolished, with all its beauty fled ; rough, rural, and irregular it may have been, but beauty for an etcher still it had. We have just overshot the White Swan, Chelsea, and, looking back, can see that Doggett's wherries are now nearing it ; whilst some *Tom Tug*,* for the nonce, becomes the hero of a day, a celebrity like my Lord Mayor for one current year, and a made man for life, let us hope. Now may we exclaim with the great parliamentary premier of English speech:

The glorious sun stays in his course, and plays the alchemist,

Turning, with splendour of his precious beam,
This meagre cloddy earth to glittering gold—

Let us append for the nonce :

And Thames' translucent waters to La Plata.

This may stand for a picture of what it once was ; what it is now, that science has improved things so much, I dedicate to dirt, mud-pigment, and to silence.

It remains to point out, as a mere matter of fact, that, since the adoption of the wager-wherry and rowing the race with the tide, the Surrey side of the river is always accounted the best place to gain at the toss, because

* Broughton (7. H., ii. 1062), afterwards a prize-fighter, was the first winner of the prize.

the Thames sweeps that way ; and next, because the men who can get amongst the barges go as the river takes them, and swim clear of the steamers and other craft.

Doggett was a staunch Whig, and often had to appease with money the "roughs" in his day ; not that they cared a brass-farthing for Queen Anne, as he truly said, but that it gave them a chance of levying black-mail. As we have shown, the picturesqueness and interest of the whole thing is dying out with the old ferries and the very trade itself of waterman. The river is, alas ! no longer a highway, but a byway, and approaching very nearly to a Fleet-ditch of larger dimension, or—shall we confess it ?—a main sewer. It is spanned already by so many hideous bridges, railway and other, that one expects to hear some bold engineer of the future proposing to cover it in upon flying spandrels, and then our Thames will become a Lethe running to its own oblivion underground. Well, well ! the Olympic games have perished ; and what is to perpetuate this contest so strikingly instituted by our Hanoverian enthusiast for his "1st of August annually for ever" ? When the bold engineer has covered the Thames in—like the New River at Holloway—it will require six young watermen bolder again than Broughton to struggle through the Stygian-vaulted water-course. Shall we suggest that Doggett be estopped with this year of grace 1888 ?*

The interest in Doggett really centres in this match ; but still in courtesy we must say a little more about his life. He was born in Castle Street, Dublin, and failed on the stage there, or, at any rate, achieved no great position, for neither Hitchcock nor Chetwood

* The name of Dogoit and Doget is said to appear in Anglo-Irish annals of the thirteenth century. Gilbertus Doget is found in an unpublished *Pipe Roll* of 1261 (6. N., 6. S. x. 349-437). Also there is a John Dogget, a Sheriff of London, 1509 (1. M., ii. 14), Cunningham spells his name *Dogget* and *Doggett*. The latter is, I think, the contemporary way of spelling it. The *Times*, before quoted, spells it Doggett. When his *Country Wake* was printed in 1696, "as it is acted at the New Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields," the name is spelt with two *g*'s and two *t*'s, so that this must have come under his own eye, and is probably correct. This is a trifle, some will say. Yes, let it be admitted. But a grain of dust has sometimes destroyed a man's sight, and that is no trifle surely. "What is truth?" said Pilate jesting. "What is a trifle?" we ask seriously.

in their accounts of the Dublin stage name him (9. D., lxiii. 513); but he made a quick success in London on the boards of Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre and Drury Lane. At the latter he became joint manager with Wilks, who was an Irishman, and Cibber. But when Booth was thrust in as a sharer in 1712, he quitted it in disgust (3. B., i. 129). He appealed to the Vice-Chamberlain, who ordered that Wilks, Cibber, and Booth should pay him out his whole share; they, at the suggestion of Cibber, laid so long a remembrance before the courtly Vice-Chamberlain, that he, alarmed at the trouble, left Doggett to get relief by the law. Doggett preferred a bill in Chancery, and finally obtained £600 for his share of the joint property, and 5 per cent. interest from the date of the last license. Thus he got scarcely a year's purchase of what, at first, they would willingly have given him without law at all, viz., £500 a year for life. He lived seven years after this decision.

Poor Doggett for some years could not bear the sight of either Wilks or Cibber, though he had to meet them almost daily at Button's; else he must forego the conversation of Addison, Steele, Pope, etc. His display of surly pride and stiffness became the amusement of the Coffee-House. A friend in jest wrote to Cibber, when he was out of town, to say that Doggett was dead. Cibber, who must always be finer rused than anyone else, pretends that he did not believe this, but wrote of Doggett as if he did; he excused his faults and eulogised his merits. The truth is he really believed the report, and replied with all the genuine warmth that he felt for his old friend. He fell into the trap, in fact, and it is much more creditable to him to have done so, than the finesse he claims could have been. His letter was shown to Doggett, and when Cibber returned to town, what follows took place and will be best conveyed in Cibber's own words (17. C., 291):

"For one day, sitting over against him at the same coffee-house, where we had often mixed at the same table, though we never exchanged a single syllable, he graciously extended his hand for a pinch of my snuff. As this seemed from him a sort of breaking the ice of his temper, I took courage upon it to break silence on my side, and asked him how he liked it? To which, with a slow hesitation, naturally assisted by the action of taking the snuff, he replied: '*Umph!—the best—umph! I have tasted a great while.*'"

After a few repetitions of these coy and lady-like advances, the two friends grew a little more conversible. When finally Cibber pressed to know why he had acted as he did, it came out that the fault at the bottom lay with the behaviour of Wilks, and that it was a relief to him to get clear of that man under any really plausible excuse. Although Doggett took the line he did, he showed on several occasions how much he had felt so serious a loss to his income, and also that he had never quite foresworn the stage, as he played once again in Drury Lane before the King at Mrs. Porter's benefit. Cibber even thought that he hoped to be invited to rejoin them (17. C., 287).

In the *Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber's Lives*, p. 14, written by Tony Aston,* the contemporary of Cibber, the passage relating to Doggett is so characteristic, that as the pamphlet is scarce I give it here entire:

"Mr. Doggett was but little regarded till he dropped on the character of Solon, in the *Marriage Hater Matched*, and from that he vegetated fast in the parts of Fondle Wife, in the *Old Batchelor*; Colignii, in *Villain*; Hob in the *Country Wake*, and Ben the Sailor, in *Love for Love*. But, on a time, he suffered himself to be exposed by attempting the serious character of Phorbas in *Œdipus*, than which nothing could be more ridiculous; for when he came to these words, 'But, oh! I wish Phorbas had perished in that very moment'—the audience conceived that it was spoke like Hob in his dying speech. They burst

* This is a very curious pamphlet, and contains facts about actors that can be found nowhere else. Isaac Reed had a copy of it that he set great store by, and he had written in his copy, "Though I have possessed this pamphlet twenty-six years, I have never met with a duplicate of it." Genest was the purchaser after Reed's death at the sale of his effects, and he gave for it £1 16s. (9. D., lxiii. 513). Genest has very copiously used it in his *Account of the English Stage*, but, after the usual fashion, without acknowledgment; thereby he has weakened the value of the information given in his book by depriving it of the authority that Aston's name would have conferred. This confirms the uniform tale of the spoiler, everywhere the goods purloined are parted with at a tenth of their intrinsic value. It might have been stupidity, for Genest spent his life in collecting and confusing the material of his ten vols. His work is full of facts so huddled together that the printing seems to aid in rendering them inaccessible. There is a copy of Aston in the British Museum, but it is not Reed's copy.—Verified March 23rd, 1887.

out into a loud laughter, which sank Tom Doggett's progress in tragedy from that time.*

"Mr. Doggett was a little, lively, sprack man, about the stature of Mr. L—; sen., bookseller in B—h, but better built; his behaviour modest, cheerful, and complaisant. He sang in company very agreeably, and in public very comically. He danced the Cheshire round full as well as the famed Captain George, but with much more nature and nimbleness. I have had the pleasure of his conversation for one year, when I travelled with him in his strolling company, and found him a man of very good sense, but illiterate; for he wrote me word thus: 'Sir, I will give you a *hole*, instead of a *whole* share.' He dressed neat, and something fine—in a plain cloth coat and a brocaded waistcoat:—But he is so recent, having been often at Bath,—*satis est*. He gave his yearly water badge out of a warm principle, being a stanch Revolution Whig. I cannot part with this nonpareil without saying that he was the most faithful pleasant actor that ever was—for he never deceived his audience—because while they gazed at him, he was working up the joke, which broke out suddenly in involuntary acclamations and laughter. Whereas our modern actors are fumbling the dull minutes, keeping the gaping pit in suspense of something delightful a-coming,—et parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus.

"He was the best face-player and gesticulator, and a thorough master of the several dialects, except the Scots (for he never was in Scotland), but was for all that a most excellent Sawney. Who ever would see him pictured, may view his picture, in the character of Sawney; at the Duke's Head, in Lynn Regis, in Norfolk. While I travelled with him, each sharer kept his horse, and was everywhere respected as a gentleman."

There is an original portrait of him at the Garrick Club, as well as a small print that represents him dancing the Cheshire round, with the motto, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam." This engraved portrait is reproduced by Geo.

* The *Dublin University Magazine* gives a different version of this, stating that Doggett had been forced to take the tragical part by the folly of the managers. This is quite consistent with Doggett's obstinately reiterated opinion that comedy was truer to nature than tragedy, and so superior to it. Yet Aston ought to have known the facts as well as anybody.

Daniel in his *Merrie England*, ii. 18. Though it is a pretty illustration, it is quite valueless as giving the character of the man himself. The portrait now at the Garrick came from the collection of Matthews; but whether it is that mentioned by Aston I have not been able to ascertain.

Love for Love was written by Congreve, who greatly admired him, expressly for Doggett, with a view to fit the character to his manner of acting. His great parts were the part of Ben in this play; Fondle Wife,* in the *Old Batchelor*, also by Congreve, and Hob in the *Country Wake*, which was written by Doggett himself (1696), and is the only piece he ever published.

Downes, in his *Rostius Anglicanus*, pays him the following compliment in his stilted and extraordinary English:

"Mr. Doggett on the stage is very aspectabund, wearing a farce in his face; his thoughts deliberately framing his utterances congruous to his looks: he is the only comic original now extant" (8. D., 52).

Cibber says "he was the most original and the strictest observer of nature of any actor of his time. As a singer he had no competitor. He borrowed of none, was a model to many, and never overstepped the propriety of nature."

Dibdin thinks "he was the most original and strictest observer of nature of all the actors then living. He was ridiculous without impropriety; he had a different look for every different kind of humour; and though he was an excellent mimic, he imitated nothing but nature" (3. W., 154).

Amongst others, Sir Godfrey Kneller paid him a compliment, saying that he was a better painter than himself, for "I can only copy nature from the originals before me, while you vary them at pleasure, and yet preserve the likeness" (3. G., 151).

He must have been very much before the town, for he is mentioned two or three times in the *Spectator*. At No. 235, it is said that

"A gentleman, whose habit of applause at the theatre and opera house was such that at the latter place he was said to have demolished three benches in

* Colley played Fondle Wife so completely after the manner of Doggett, copying his voice, person, and dress with such scrupulousness that the audience, mistaking him for the original, applauded vociferously. Of this Doggett himself was a witness, for he sat in the pit (10. D., ii. 18).

demonstrating it, whilst he had broken half a dozen planks upon Doggett."

At No. 370, he is again named thus :

"The craft of an usurer, the absurdity of a rich fool, the awkwardness of a fellow of half courage, the ungrateful mirth of a creature of half wit, might for ever be put out of countenance by proper parts for Doggett."

The *Country Wake*, his own piece, was played with applause in Lincoln's Inn Fields (3. B., ii. 73), and has since been altered into a ballad-farce called *Flora, or Hob in the Wall*. According to Baker it is one of the best pieces of the kind extant. Of this play, and of Doggett's acting in it, we find the following high commendation in the *Spectator*, No. 502 :

"I have no objection to the well-drawn rusticities of the *Country Wake*; and there is something so miraculously pleasing in Doggett's acting, the awkward triumph and comic sorrow of Hob in different circumstances, that I shall not be able to stay away whenever it is acted."

The *Dublin University Magazine* before mentioned (9. D., lxiii. 513) states that the first authentic record of Doggett in London occurs in 1691, when he played the character of Deputy Nincompoop in Durfey's *Love for Money*, which was produced at Drury Lane, then always called "The Theatre Royal." Next came his impersonation of Solon, in Durfey's *Marriage Hater*. In 1706, he was with the Lincoln's Inn Fields Company, which we are told by this writer had removed to Vanbrugh's new theatre in the Haymarket (which was opened April 9th, 1705), under the management of the able, but unfortunate, Owen Swiney.

The most interesting account of all, however, is that which we find at the end of a *Tatler* paper, No. 120, which contains the following singular announcement. The *Tatler* here spells the name *Dogget*, but we will retain the double t :

"ADVERTISEMENT.—I have this morning received the following letter from the famous Mr. Thomas Doggett :

"SIR,

"On Monday next will be acted, for my benefit, the comedy of *Love for Love*. If you will do me the honour to appear there, I will publish on the bills that it is to be per-

formed at the request of Isaac Bickerstaffe, Esq. ; and question not but it will bring me as great an audience as ever was at the house since the Morocco ambassador was there.

"I am (in the greatest respect),

"Your most obedient,

"And most humble servant,

"THOMAS DOGGETT."

"Being naturally an encourager of wit, as well as bound to it in the quality of censor, I returned the following answer :

"MR. DOGGETT,

"I am very well pleased with the choice you have made of so excellent a play ; and have always looked upon you as the best of comedians ; I shall, therefore, come in between the first and second act, and remain in the right-hand box over the pit till the end of the fourth, provided you take care that everything be rightly prepared for my reception."

In No. 122, Thursday, January 19th, 1710, he writes of his "appearing at the play on Monday last ;" and in a note it is said :

"N.B. — A person dressed for Isaac Bickerstaffe did appear at the playhouse on this occasion."

Addison continues in the same paper to the effect that on this occasion it has been communicated to him "that the Company of Upholders desired to receive me at their door at the end of the Haymarket, and to light me home to my lodgings;" but that part of the ceremony he forebade. He is writing as Isaac Bickerstaffe, and under that fiction the lodgings would be in Shire Lane. We must not confuse this with Addison's lodgings, which as we know from Pope lay in the Haymarket up three pair of stairs, when he was busy upon his *Campaign*, a poem that was published in 1704, and which lifted him at once to a Commissioner of Appeals ; so that by 1710, the date in question, he was no longer to be looked for up three pair of stairs.

Doggett by his frugality and successful dabbling in the stocks (9. D., lxiii. 513) had amassed money, and after the quarrel with Wilks and Cibber, above narrated, he with-

drew entirely from the stage, and pitched his tent in the then sweet little village of Eltham, where he breathed his last on September 22nd, 1721. Having been born in 1670, he was but fifty-one at the date of his death.

C. A. WARD.



Customs of Yetminster.

25 CAROLI SECUNDI, 1673.

Divers of the ancient customs of the Manor of Yetminster prima, alias Ubury prebend, within the hundred of Yetminster, in the County of Dorset.

THE lord of y^e manor ought to find a steward to keep two courts there every year at y^e least y^e one abt Hocktide the o^r about Michas.

All y^e ten^{ts} of y^e said manor are bound to do their suit and service to the same courts upon reas'ble warn^g given them by y^e reeve upon pain of amercement. The reeve is the lord's chief officer to gather up his rents and to levy the fines, heriots and amercen^{ts} all w^{ch} he is bound to deliver and make accompt at Sarum after Hocktide and Michas if y^e lord so require it; and if he be robbed by the way or by his negligence or waste or do consume any part or the whole of the lords money in his hands the ten^{ts} are bound to make satisfaction to the lord.

The reeve is to be chosen at every Michas court for every yre in this sort:—the whole homage must deliver 3 ten^{ts} names to y^e stew^d wh' of 1 must dwell in Leigh the o^r in Chetnoll and y^e 3rd in Yetmins^r and y^e steward is to choose of those three whom he lists. Wch reeve for do^g his office is to be allowed his own rent of the lord for that yre and shall have all the tops and bark of the trees that are assigned out of the lords woods to the ten^{ts} for the separations y^t yre.

Any ten^t may assⁿ nominate or surr^r his tenem^t to his child or to any o^r person whom he listeth at any court before the homage or out of y^e court before the reeve and 2 or more of y^e ten^{ts} or if it so happen that the reeve or any of the ten^{ts} be not present he may make notwithstanding a good surr^r nominatⁿ or assignm^t before suffic^t witnesses where-soever he shall be by deliver^g a rush or a straw or by say^g these words or the like I A.B. do surr^r my tenem^t wch I hold of E.D.

my Lord in the manor of Yetminst. prima into y^e hands of the lord to the use of E.F. my son or any o^r or by any o^r words assignm^t limit^g or nominating his bargⁿ sav^g and except^g to myself after y^e custom of the manor there such a part of y^e dwell^g house &c. and such pcel^s of ground &c. if he list to reserve any to himself if not then with^t any sav^g provid^d always there be assign^d sufficient to y^e ten^t over and above y^e excepts to pay the lord's rent and to discharge separat^{ms} wch shall be adjudged by y^e whole homage at the same court when the ten^t doth claim to be so admit^d and if there be not enough to dischge it y^e homage shall be chgd wth ye s^d rent and separations.*

Whats^r y^e husb^d doth except unto himself having then a wife y^e same wife shall enjoy y^e same excepts in as large a man^r dur^g her life only as her said husb^d did or might do. The p^{ty} that doth make such surr^r shall no more be called a ten^t, but an exceptor and shall enjoy such excepts by a written copy of excepts dur^g his life with^t doing suit and service or pay^g any rent and he to whose use y^e surr^r was made shall be the tenant.

If any such exceptor will set to farm his excepts y^e ten^t to y^e same bargⁿ shall rent the same if he list one penny within any o^r man's price y^t with^t fraud shall offer the same.

If any ten^t do assⁿ or surr^r out of y^e court and y^e surrⁿ or assignment be made or done as afs^d and y^e s^d person whe^r he be man or woman or child to whose use the surr^r or assign^t is taken do in like sort surr^r or assⁿ again to ano^r before a court kept, [the] surr^{ts} or assign^{mts} how many soever they be are all good and y^e custom is y^t y^e ten^t who cometh to the next court to be admitt^d to y^e same bargⁿ shall before he be admitt^d ten^t satisfy the lord of all such fines and heriots as be due to y^e lord for so many surr^s or assignm^{ts} as shall be made of y^e same bargⁿ since the last court before. All such fines and heriots shall be cess^d by the homage and y^e reeve accord^g to y^e cust^m if the lord and he cannot otherwise agree.

The p^{ty} to whose use any surr^r or assign^{mt} is made shall at y^e next court to be kept upon reas'ble warn^g or before, sue to y^e lord or his officer and tender a reas'ble fine and an heriot

* See *Magna Charta*, 9 Hen. III., c. 32, Dalrym. F.P. 95, by which the tenant was obliged to except sufficient to answer the services.

for every surr^r or assignm^{nt} th'of made since the last court and if he can^t agree with the lord after 2 courts y^e reeve and ten^{ts} be^g sworn to be indifferent bet. y^e lord and y^e ten^t shall rate and access y^e fine and fines wch be^g so rated by the major part of y^e homage shall bind the lord to admit y^e p'ty ten^t and to accept y^r fine.

If surr^r be made to a maid or widow and so she become ten^t he y^t shall marry with her shall be taken ten^t in her right for one penny to the stew^d.

When any ten^t is admitt^d he or they shall pay unto y^e stew^d for every tenem^t 2s and for every half place 12d and for every cott^{eo} 6d and shall give unto the homage a gallon of good ale and a loaf of bread wch is y^e customary hold and there was never any other wright^g within y^e manor sav^g copies of excepts wch are before ment^d.

Every ten^t must reside upon his tenm^t un-less upon good cons'ons he be licenced by y^e lord in y^e face of the court.

No ten^t or exceptor can let his tenem^t or any pt thereof for longer term than for one yre at a time; if he do he is amerc^d for it.

If any waste be done and so found by y^e homage the p'ty so offend^g shall for y^e 1st offence pay double damages, for y^e 2nd offence treble damages as shall be assess^d by the homage upon their oaths, and offend^g in y^e same y^e 3rd time shall forfeit his tenem^t or cottage to the l^d.

Item, upon the death or surr^r of y^e ten^t y^e lord shall have y^e best quiet [quick] beast of y^e s^d ten^t in y^e name of a heriot and if he have no quick goods then y^e best goods of his household stuff or apparel wch the reeve of his office shall presently seize upon and cause to be appraised by some of y^e ten^{ts} to the lords use and y^e lord is to choose whe^r he will have y^e goods or y^e price.

Item, y^e widows whose husbands die ten^{ts} shall enjoy such tenem^{ts} as were their husb^{ds} at the time of their deaths dur^g their widowhoods if they live chastely and may in their widowhood lawfully assⁿ her bargⁿ by surr^r as her husb^d might in his life time.

Item, all widowers and widows dur^g all y^e time of their widowhood shall have 18d. yearly abated of their rent for every tenem^t they hold and y^e reeve shall be allowed it in his accompt^s to the lord.

Item, no tenem^t can be let for any longer est. than for one life only.

Item, there can be no revers^g granted to any.

Item, if any ten^t die having no wife with^t limit^g over his tenem^t by surr^r or assignm^{nt} as is aforesaid, then y^e L^d may carefully dispose of the same tenem^t or tenem^{ts} at his pleasure but he can grant it but for one life only and in such case he may make choice of his ten^t and may make his own fine without the ten^{ts} assessm^t.

Item, every tent^t withⁿ the manors hav^g any decayed house in timber, if upon his request y^e lord refuse to allow him necess^y timber in his woods, may cut so much tember grow^g in and upon his own tenem^{ts} as shall be tho^t convenient by a skilful carpenter to repair y^e same without y^e assignment of the lord or his officers and of any ten^t having such need of timber and hath none grow^g upon his own tenem^t then he must req^t the lord or his officers to appoint him so much timber grow^g upon any o^r tenem^t of the same manor as shall be tho^t needful to repair his decayed tenem^t wch the lord may do or his officers by his appoint^t by our cust^m as y^e rinds and lops of all such timber be left in y^e ground to his use that owneth y^e ground.

Item, no customary ten^t can sell any timber grow^g upon his tenement o^r than such as shall be thrown down with y^e wind or hedgewood left upon y^e new digg^g of any of y^e ten^{ts} parts of grounds but he may with^t assignment or controlm^t take suffic^t houseboot hayboot ploughboot and fireboot topp and lopps at reasonable times any trees timber or fuel grow^g in and upon his own tenem^t so he make no waste, wch waste if any be done must be adjudged by y^e homage and punishable as afores^d.

Item, ther are customary quarries lying in y^e cast downs wch is y^e lord's demesns and is known by y^e name of Quarry Close in y^e wch it is lawful for y^e ten^{ts} to dig and carry away at all times such stones as they shall need to build or repair their houses.

Item, y^e stew^d shall and ought to choose at y^e end of every court 2 of the ten^{ts} to be assessors of all y^e amercem^{ts}.

[From Watkins' *Treatise on Copyholds*, 3rd edition, by Rodert Studley Vidal: London, 1821, vol. ii., pp. 230-338.]

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Notes from Winchester City Accounts.—The Winchester Records, like those of all our old towns, afford an idea of the rough methods of justice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The ducking-stool for scolds and shrews has engaged the talents alike of poet and caricaturist, and Winchester would appear to have allowed the "chaire" to be neglected, for on March 8, 1685, the Chamberlains were presented for not providing a ducking-stool, and the marginal note—"let it be done"—shows an alacrity on the part of the authorities. The next entry, on December 14, same year, that it requires mending, is a proof of considerable use in that period of some nine months. There were repairs in the interim, and these are duly set forth :

	£	s.	d.
For ye weight of ye ducking stoole, 4 stone 13 lbs., at 4½d. per lb.	1	5	10½
For a handle and gudgeon and two rings to the Tumbler, 11 lb. at 4d.	0	3	8
For a Staple to ye Tumbler	0	0	3
For a pin and Key and Boustre to ye pulley	0	1	4

Soon after New Year's Day, 1686, a rope to let down the chaire into the towne ponde cost 5s. 9d., and the artistic painting of ye chayre in oyle cost five shillings. The whipping-post and the pillory are frequently mentioned. A staple to the former cost 3d., and it held one Dorothy Eltott, a cobbler's wife, in 1646, while receiving at the "post" on market day such chastisement stripped to the waist as would produce blood. Later on, and early in the eighteenth century, public correction at the post or cart's tail was general. The cost of a public whipping of two beggars with false passes as soldiers was 6s.; whilst lewd women were chastised at 2s. 6d. each. There was some humour in the early days of the eighteenth century, as the annexed fragment from the Sessional Records proves. It is highly ludicrous:—"The Information of Robert Tarleton, Sergeant at Mace of the said city, taken on oath this 3rd Sept., 1722. The informant saith on his oath that on Friday, the 31st August

last, about an hour after His Majesty passed through the said city, he saw Anthony Newman, Junior, carry in procession on his shoulder a large cabbage with the root on to it before George Todd, of the said city, victualler in the Middle Brooks; and that he saw it brought out of the Red Lyon ale house, and carried before the said George Todd towards his own house; and he verily believes it was carried before the said George Todd by the said Newman with an intent to ridicule ye maior and aldermen of ye said city, who had just before carried their mace before His Majesty." What became of these offenders against mayoral majesty cannot be found from the Records. Peradventure his Worship, Master Foyle, reprimanded the humourist. The lighting of the city was effected by "6 oyle Lamps," and the scavenger had 12s. a year to clean the High Street.—W. H. JACOB.

The Fountainhall Folio.—Mr. Geo. Neilson writes to us respecting his recent interesting discovery: "The 'Fountainhall folio,' as it is now called, is of no little value—legal, historical, and general. Its authorship has been hidden for the greater part of two centuries. Whilst Sir Walter Scott and others were editing various other volumes of Fountainhall, this one slumbered on in Stirling's library, like many another gem in dark unfathomed caves elsewhere!" In his recent note to the *Athenæum*, Mr. Thomas Mason stated that the MS. had been in the Stirling's and Glasgow Public Library since 1791, and is of miscellaneous character, its contents being in the main copies of historical and legal papers, with some intermixture of remarks by the compiler. Mr. Neilson communicated his discovery to the *Scotsman*. The MS. contains a sketch of the life, a catalogue of the charities, and a copy of the epitaph of the Lady Yester, whose memory is perpetuated in the name of one of the churches of Edinburgh. This occurs among "A Perfect Inventar of all the pious donationes since the dayes of King Ja: the first." The story of the identification of the MS. as the work of the eminent judge and historical collector, Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, deserves a place among the anecdotes of research. Mr. Neilson thus describes the MS.: "It is a large volume bound in calf, and containing 756 foolscap

pages of stout paper, $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $8\frac{1}{4}$ broad. Many leaves are impressed with water-marks, the commonest of which are variant forms of the fool's cap—a jester's head, with bells radiating from the neck. This stands upon a line rising from three balls disposed pyramidically. But the mark, in many instances, is the printed word, 'RONDE,' whilst in one or two cases it is p.c. The book is in three parts bound together, but paged separately, written in three distinct hands, two of which appear to be those of clerks or copyists. The third, a small, neat, hand, is the autograph of the compiler." The process of identifying this autograph is described as follows: "Enough of the manuscript—what of its author? The volume contains a considerable number of decisions in the Court of Session, it has some styles of writs and several brief articles on points of law, it contains elaborate disquisitions on the Commissary Court, it cites Justinian, Craig de Feudis, and 'Balfour his Practiques,' and no less than ten pages are devoted to 'Ane alphabeticall abridgment of the severall wryts contained in a certain style-book.' These circumstances make it certain that the work is a lawyer's. Whoever he was, he speaks as one who knew the contents of the Advocates' Library; he must have had access to the papers of Heriot's Hospital, and to the records of the Town Council of Edinburgh, and his remarks display a close acquaintance with the history of the city. That he was an Edinburgh advocate seems, on these facts, all but certain, especially when his incidental mention of his other volumes is considered. Once he refers to 'the other manuscript;' he cites a patent to the wine merchants as 'in my folio law manuscript A 13 at 29 of August 1684;' he alludes, apparently concerning a bill of suspension, to 'my collection of practiques, num: 161;' and on his fast page, in a marginal note regarding the public debt, he quotes, 'my extracts of the books of sederunt at the 26 of february 1656.' This is a most insignificant body of facts towards identification of this advocate who flourished from 1673 to 1684, and of course before and after, making, like his brethren of the bar at that time, his 'practicks' and styles and decisions, but studying history the while. His date is not

that of the better known writers of 'practicks' and makers of historical collections. It was too late for Balfour of the 'Annals,' or for Sir R. Spottiswood or Sir T. Hope of the 'Practicks' and 'Minor Practicks.' Stair it certainly was not; and his son Sir James Dalrymple's published works do not embrace the period covered by the collection of this as yet unknown author. Doubtless others of his MSS. survive in Edinburgh. Who was he? That is the question. When the foregoing lines were penned I had not yet had an opportunity of making a *comparatio literarum* of certain manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, and could only indicate my strong suspicion that the writer was Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, whose labours illustrate so much of the history and law of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Having now made an examination of the voluminous writings of that distinguished Judge, I conclude by simply stating that the Glasgow manuscript is unquestionably his."



Antiquarian News.

A LOCAL newspaper gives the following news of the works in progress at Crowland (or Croyland) Abbey: The fine old ruins of the east end of the nave of Crowland Abbey have been put into a very good state of repair. The pillars, arch, and screen have been thoroughly overhauled, and to all appearance will be preserved without much further outlay for several generations. The pillars and arches of the south arcade are next to be taken in hand, and it is to be hoped that the fine old doorway in the west front will not be neglected for want of funds.

The last of the present course of Rhind Lectures in Archæology, in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, was delivered in the Masonic Hall, Edinburgh, on November 9th. Dr. Robert Munro dealt with the culture and civilization of the early dwellers of Europe. Pointing out that the earliest lake-dwellers lived in the Stone Age, and were acquainted with agriculture and the rearing of cattle, he went on to speak of the general characteristics of that age. The early lake-dwellers were not insensible to the charms of trinkets, but their dwellings were somewhat primitive places. He alluded to the find-

ing of jade relics throughout different parts of Europe, spoke of the introduction of metals, sketched the Copper and Bronze Ages, and made a passing reference to the osteological remains of the lake-dwellers. Altogether he regarded the early lake-dwellers as being possessed of the main principles of civilization, as a people whose state continued to improve with the progress of time. With the introduction of the Iron Age into Switzerland he found that there came a new people, probably belonging to a branch of the original Celts of Scotland, who displaced the early lake-dwellers and their villages. He traced the distribution of what is known as La Tene civilization in Europe, and concluded by summing up in a general way the condition of the lake-dwellers, and the influence they had exerted upon the world.

On November 8th there was uncovered in the south transept of the buried Saxon church in Peterborough Cathedral a portion of one of the side altars. It was anticipated by the clerk of the works, Mr. J. T. Irvine, that such would come to light during the excavations now proceeding for the arching over of the remains. The portion of the altar now brought to light is the east wall or reredos, and one of the foundation slabs on which rested the pillars to support the altar slab. Both are in their position as they were when nearly a thousand years ago the sacred edifice was fired by the Danes. The reredos wall is about 6 feet in length, and the supporting slab in front of it about 2 feet. The sister foundation slab is not to be found, but it is thought probable that it may be below the present surface. Of course this will be put to verification. Right over the spot was built a very substantial brick grave, which from the dusty state of the remains it contained, was over 200 years old. This was removed and the contents reburied. These brick graves, indeed, meet the workmen at every turn, but where possible they are not molested. Several are indeed built upon the actual Saxon building. On the day named the slope leading to the high altar was come to. This slope answered the purpose of the more modern steps. It is a matter of misfortune that the east wall of the chancel will not be excavated; this is owing to the belief that it cannot be done with safety to the foundations of the present building, which it either enters or abuts against. The work of forming the crypt is proceeding apace.

Under the north window of the chantry in the north transept of the parish church of Yaxley there is a sculptured stone, representing two hands holding a heart. In the year 1842, when extensive repairs and alterations were being carried out in the church, the late vicar, the Rev. C. Lee, supposing that something specially curious must be connected with this stone, had it taken out, and the following interesting dis-

covery was made: Behind the stone there was a cavity nearly as deep as the thickness of the wall, at the end of which was found a small round wooden box, with a movable cover, which, when opened, emitted a fragrant perfume, and a human heart, which had been embalmed, was discovered within it. The heart was sufficiently perfect to be held in the hand for a moment, but the action of the air caused it almost immediately to crumble into dust. The dust was carefully deposited in the wall, and the stone replaced, but the box has been at the Vicarage ever since, and is an object of great interest and curiosity to all visitors to the church. No inscription was discovered, so that it is impossible to determine with certainty to whom this heart belonged. The tradition is that it was the heart of William de Yaxley, a native of this place, as his name implies, who was appointed Abbot of Thorney in the year A.D. 1261, and died A.D. 1293. He is said to have founded and endowed this chantry, and directed that at his death his body should be buried at Thorney, and his heart at Yaxley. From existing records in the British Museum, it appears that William of Yaxley was a most able and energetic ruler and administrator of the monastery of Thorney. He was a great builder, and made large additions and improvements to the monastic buildings, including a new refectory or dining-hall. The box in which the heart was discovered measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, outside measurement. The wood is apparently beech, and it is an interesting specimen of wood-turning of the period. The bottom is decayed, but considering its great antiquity, about six hundred years, it is in remarkable preservation.

The following incident which has happened in the year 1888 in an agricultural village in Germany shows that the belief in witchcraft is still deeply rooted among the lower classes even of civilized countries. A farmer at this village lost several head of cattle within a few months, and the whole family agreed that this could only be the result of witchcraft, exercised, no doubt, by a neighbour with whom they were not on friendly terms. A miller from the vicinity, far-famed for his power over evil spirits, was consulted, and ordered the doors to be painted with a certain ointment, after which the first person entering the house would be the evil-doer, and could only be kept from further mischief by having his or her nose squeezed between the door till it was utterly crushed. The first person who entered was the neighbour's wife, who was duly captured, and who, though the attempt at crushing her nose was unsuccessful, received some serious wounds on the head in her attempt to escape her torturers.

We learn from the *Athenaeum* that an assistant of the director of the Constantinople Museum has been

despatched to Aidin to explore the neighbouring woods for remains of the ancient Tralles, many fragments of which are built into the fronts of houses in Aidin; also that during the excavations in 1888 at Eining, on the Danube, the ancient Abusina, the discoveries made include some very fine lance-heads, a sword and scabbard, female ornaments, a stilus, brick stamps of the third legion and of various cohorts. Amongst the pieces of glass found is one inscribed GLVCV. An important discovery by the inspector of antiquities at Terranova Pausania is also reported: forty-seven Roman milestones between Terranova and Telti, which were not known before, and which form the richest series of the like monuments in Italy.

Mr. W. E. Winks has communicated to the *Athenæum* an account of the find of Roman remains in Glamorganshire, which has been abridged as follows: Mr. John Storrie, the curator of Cardiff Museum, recently suggested that excavations should be made in a field known as Caermead, about a mile to the north-north-west of Llantwit-Major, and half a mile west of the road to Cowbridge. The result has been the discovery of a large and well-appointed Roman villa, showing indications of military occupation either here or in the near neighbourhood. The building must have covered about two of the eight acres which are enclosed and defended by a rampart, and the outlines of fifteen rooms have been made out, three being sufficiently exposed to afford an opportunity of judging of their probable use and style of mural decorations. The largest of these rooms is 60 feet by 51, and Mr. Storrie believes it was used as a prætorium. Parts of the walls are about 9 feet high, and retain their original wall plaster, with decorations in blue, vermilion, and Pompeian red, as bright as when first laid on. The most interesting room is a large hall, 39 feet by 27 feet, divided into two compartments by a slight wall pierced by a wide door space, most likely covered by curtains, to be removed when it was desirable to throw the two compartments into one. The floor is covered with tessellated pavement of a singular pattern. In laying bare the pavement of this hall no fewer than forty-one human skeletons of both sexes and all ages have been met with, and among them the bones of three horses. In one instance a human skeleton lay beneath that of a horse in such a position as to indicate that the horse had crushed and killed the man by falling upon him. It is evident that this hall had been the scene of a massacre, for in nearly every instance the skull or facial bones have been fractured, and the bodies lie over one another in confused heaps. In four instances there had been an attempt at burial. For this purpose the pavement was torn up and the body laid in an opening not more than 6 inches deep, its feet

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towards the east, and then surrounded with stones in the form of a coffin, and covered with a few inches of earth. The unburied bodies belong to a small race with brachycephalic skulls; but those that are buried were clearly men of a larger size, and had skulls of the dolichocephalic type. It is reasonable to suppose that the former represent the natives of the district, and the latter the attacking party. A cinerary urn and other specimens of pottery have been found, and one Greek and six or seven coins of Roman imperial brass, of the latter half of the third century. Among the carved stone relics the most interesting is a roughly wrought pinnacle in Bath oolite about 2 feet high, with all the look of an ornament intended for the roof of a Christian Church, and several stone mortaria for pounding meal were also found. In the north-west angle of the building area is a hypocaust, with a bath, if it is a bath, so large (26 by 22 feet 6 inches) as to point to public use, and to a considerable Roman or Romano-British settlement in the neighbourhood. The hypocaust is constructed of most irregularly-shaped piers and most amorphous channels for the smoke and heated air. There are traces of a Roman road leading from this site, Caer Wrgan, to Tre Wrgan (half a mile away), and it is believed that Roman remains were found at the latter place twenty-seven years ago. The discovery raises several questions: whether this is the ancient Bovium or Bomium of the *Itineraria Antonini*; whether we have here a military station to protect the Via Julia against inroads from the south; whether this Roman road was part of a Via Maritima which is supposed to have run from the Via Julia through Bovium to the coast; whether this was the site of a monastic College, founded by St. Germanus in 447; and whether it was the scene of one of the massacres perpetrated by Irish pirates in the fifth century A.D., of which we read in the pages of Cadoc, the historian of the neighbouring College of Llancarvan?

The removal of an accumulation of soil in a piece of garden ground, the East Bight, in connection with the building operations at Mr. Alfred Shuttleworth's mansion, in Eastgate, Lincoln, has brought to light a very considerable and important fragment of the eastern wall of the Roman city. This fragment consists of a large quadrangular block of solid masonry, with dressed facing projecting inwards from the wall. The original dimensions appear to have been about 24 feet in length north and south, and 15 feet in depth east and west; but much having been removed, it is hard to speak with accuracy. The portion remaining measures 14 feet by 10 feet. It is probable we have here the basement of a quadrangular tower strengthening the wall, midway between the north-east angle and the east gateway. Although large

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portions of the Roman wall exist in other parts of the circuit, this is the only place in which any of the ashlar facing has been found remaining. The importance of the discovery leads to the earnest hope that it may be found practicable to preserve so valuable a relic of ancient Lindum.

The rector of Croyland Abbey writes that the workmen employed at Croyland Abbey found the piers of the south arcade of the old nave built upon column-stones and capitals of Norman work used as spreading footings. The portions so found correspond to the existing portions of Joffrid's Abbey (1113). Some of the stones are completely split, no doubt from the earthquake in 1114, as described by Gough, in the *History of Croyland Abbey*, p. 49:—"This year (1114) happened so violent an earthquake in Italy and England that the new work of the church at Croyland, on which the roof had not been laid, gave way, and the south wall cracked in so many places that the carpenters were obliged to shore it up with timbers till the roof was raised."

Among the more important objects forming part of a collection of Burmese, Indian, and Japanese curios recently sold at auction by Messrs. Phillips, Son and Neal, is an Indian idol of some value and celebrity. This is stated to be the representative of a deity to whom Hindoo women pay peculiar worship, and is known as the original "Lingam God," to whose shrine at Delhi thousands of every rank journeyed yearly from all parts of India to pay their devotions for a period covering about 1,000 years until 1193, when the Mahomedan conqueror, Kutb-ud-din, having wrested Delhi from the Hindoo Kings, destroyed the twenty-seven Hindoo Temples. The "Lingam God" consists of an extraordinary chrysoberyl cat's-eye, of great size and brilliancy, set in a large yellow topaz, the whole supported on a native Indian gold base, incrusting with diamonds and set round with nine gems, called the nine charms, namely, diamond, ruby, sapphire, chrysoberyl cat's-eye, coral, pearl, hyacinthine garnet, yellow sapphire, and emerald.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club.—September 12.—Fifth annual meeting.—Visit to Loughoughton and Dunstanborough Castle.—On arriving at Loughoughton, the first thing that attracted attention was the church dedicated to St. Peter. Its massive towers contain some early Norman windows. The walls are of great strength, and it is men-

tioned in Clarkson's Survey that "the walls should be strengthened, as it was the place in which the people took refuge." The church has been lately restored. After a brisk walk the party reached Rumbling Churn, popularly known as the "Rumble Churn." The chasm is believed to be constantly resounding with the wail of malignant spirits. It is on the east of the castle, and is a perpendicular gully, where one of the basaltic columns seems to have slipped down and fallen through, causing a fearful abyss, which seethes and boils with terrific uproar. In stormy weather when the sea rushes in the waves are carried through the aperture, and borne high upon the winds in clouds of white spray. Dunstanborough Castle is built on a layer of freestone overlying the basalt. Its area is about nine acres, on which Camden says 200 bushels of corn have been reaped in one summer, besides hay. The greater part of the buildings has disappeared. On the west a tower is called Lilburne's Tower, which rises boldly from the edge of the rock. It is of excellent masonry, and is believed to have been built by the same workmen who built Warkworth Castle. Geologically this is very interesting, as in the neighbourhood of Beadnell, scanning the sandstone, geologists find proof of fourteen different upheavals of the surface, and fossil remains, identical with those which may be seen in a quarry on Haltwhistle Common. In the south front is a gateway formed by a circular arch with portico and inner gate, flanked by two semicircular towers. Hence the wall, which is guarded by two square bastions and a small sally-port, extends to the cliff. It is terminated by Queen Margaret's Tower, which projects over the edge of a narrow cave, and is washed by the sea at high tide; near the east tower are traces of a chapel. There is reason to believe that this stronghold was a British and afterwards a Roman fortress, but it is not mentioned until 1315, when Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, obtained a license for turning his manor-house of Dunstanborough into a castle. Brand says, "Long afterwards, the place where he was executed was called St. Thomas's Hill, and the same veneration shown as to the tomb of Becket." His estates were confiscated, but afterwards restored to his brother, Henry, and continued in the hands of the House of Lancaster until the Wars of the Roses. After the battle of Hexham, it was garrisoned with 200 men, by Sir Richard Tunstall, for Queen Margaret. It was afterwards besieged by Lord Wenlock of Hastings, and after an assault of three days was battered into the ruins it still remains in. Queen Margaret took refuge here for seventeen days, and then embarked from the cave beneath the tower in her flight to Scotland, when she was driven by tempest into the port of Berwick, while her general was shipwrecked on Holy Island with 500 men, who were all slain or taken prisoners, the general escaping by a fishing-boat. The hexameter crystals are found here called the Dunstanborough diamonds, once supposed to form part of the immense treasure with which the captive lady will endow her deliverer, and referred to in a legendary tale of "Sir Guy the Seeker." When the wind blows unusually loud, the natives still say it is Sir Guy groaning for the wizard's sword, and the children refuse to enter the castle in "the gloaming." The road from Dunstanborough is interesting, as

Craster Tower, once a Border fortress, is passed. It is now a modern dwelling-house, and the ancient vaulted kitchen is retained as a cellar. The Craster family dates back to the Conquest, and is one of the oldest and most respected families in the county. The fishing village of Boulmer and bay (in this hamlet was carried on the smuggling of Hollands gin to a very great extent, before Custom House officers were on the alert) are then reached, when the beautifully wooded dene, with its many windings, is entered, and at Howick is the site of an ancient town, destroyed in 1780, and now occupied by a fine Grecian mansion, built 1782, from designs by Newton, Newcastle, and enlarged and improved in 1812. In the history of the Grey family, we read that "Grey" and "Lambton" were great reformers, and to them are due many of the advantages in commerce and education of the present day. The monument at the top of Grey Street was raised to Lord Grey's father, and there is a large monument on one of the highest hills in Durham to the memory of the first Lord Durham, whose wife was a sister of the present earl. Howick Church of St. Michael is an ingeniously adapted building, from a very unsightly building dating back to 1746, by the insertion of Norman windows and floriated capitals. Under a rich Gothic canopy of Caen stone, is the monument of the late Earl Grey, Prime Minister 1830 to 1834. The mainland stretching between North Sunderland and Bamburgh is separated from the Farne Islands by a broad sheet of water, termed the Inner Sound or Fairway, and close in to Sea Houses lies the islet of Monkham. Embleton is the hamlet of Dunstan, where Duns Scotus, the celebrated opponent of Aquinas, was born. ("Natus in quadam villula parochiæ de Emylton vocata Dunstan, in Comitatu Northumbriæ.") The place still belongs to Merton College, at Oxford, where he was professor in theology. The vicarage house has a machicolated tower attached, and is remarkable as one of the three original fortified vicarages in Northumberland, the others being Whitton and Elsdon.

Essex Archæological Society.—Annual meeting at Chelmsford, August 9, 1888.—The President (Mr. Alan Lowndes), in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, congratulated the Society upon its prosperity, and thought the plan of having local meetings during the year was successful. Referring to their visit to Maldon, he said there must exist there and at Saffron Walden, Colchester, etc., borough records which were extremely interesting. The Historical Manuscripts Commission would be only too pleased to hear of these records, and would send down an inspector, free of expense, to catalogue and publish them, as the county records had been published a short time since. He suggested to the various boroughs that they should look into this matter. He hoped the successors of the County Magistrates, whoever they might be, would take as much interest in the county manuscripts as the Magistrates had done. They were placed in a fire-proof room at the Shire Hall, Chelmsford, and might be seen with proper supervision. The report and accounts were adopted.—Colonel Branfill moved a vote of thanks to the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Society for their past services, and their re-election for another year.—The Rev. E. R. Horwood seconded the motion,

which was carried.—Thanks were also passed to Mr. Laver and Mr. Joslin for auditing the accounts.—Mr. Laver replied, and congratulated the Society upon the return of the President. They had regretted his absence through ill-health, for a more efficient President, or one who worked harder, they could not have. He mentioned that the records of Colchester had already been printed, but that owing to the fact that the Corporation would only allow fifty copies to be printed, the copies were very scarce. He suggested that the next by-meeting should be held at Witham.—Several new members were elected.—Thanks were given to the Mother of the New Hall for permitting an inspection of the house, to the Clergy for throwing open their churches, and to Mr. Chancellor for his trouble in organizing the trip and undertaking to describe the features of interest at the churches.—Mr. Durrant said that a grant had been made last year to repair Coggeshall Abbey. He had visited it lately, and found it in worse condition than ever.—Mr. Laver said the subject had not been lost sight of, and when sufficient funds had been obtained there would be a proper roof put to the Abbey.—It was mentioned that the £5 grant was not sufficient to effect the repairs.—The chairman announced that the annual meeting next year would be at Epping.—A general discussion then followed on archæological matters.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—October 12.—The president called attention to specimens of the Australian sea-dragon and hippocampus, and to three exceedingly beautiful preparations by Mr. James Beare, of Marazion. Also to three fishes shown by Mr. R. Pearce Couch—the wreck-fish, Ray's bream, and derbio. Thought for the interests of the Society by Mr. R. Pearce Couch will enlist for it the pens of Mr. James Lennox, who is now engaged in planning the ancient camps of Scotland, and of Captain Lukis, a Jersey antiquary. Mr. George Lacy drew attention to the damage sustained by one of the beehive huts at Chysauster in the short space of twelve months, and it was resolved to ask the Society's Council either by efforts to schedule local antiquities in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act or by its own exertions to guard and save such a remarkable relic of antiquity. With reference to Madron's baptistery and recent damage to it, Mr. Robins Bolitho, the owner, has written the secretary that he will use every effort to keep it intact. Some observations on a kitchen-midden at Bollowal (St. Just) and razor-shells and byssus, with an intimation from the President that he would be ready at any future meeting to refight the question of the oft-used "Saint" as a prefix to the names of Cornish parishes, brought a two hours' meeting to a close.

Folk-Lore Society.—Annual meeting.—Dec. 6.—Mr. Andrew Lang was installed as President in succession to the Earl of Stafford, who has resigned. In their report the Council state that they desire to place before the members some idea as to methods of procedure in the future, with a view of enlisting all the help that is available. The *Bibliography of Folk-Lore*, which was commenced a few years ago by the director, Mr. Gomme, is one of the subjects requiring assistance. The *Handbook of Folk-Lore*, a most useful work, is in progress, and additional measures

have been taken to ensure its early publication. The examination and sifting of existing collections of folk-lore is to be systematically undertaken, and this work will form the foundation of the science of folk-lore. —In his inaugural address Mr. Lang congratulated the members upon the work already achieved by the Society, particularly mentioning the publication of Signor Compagetti's *Book of Sindbad*, and Mr. Nutt's *Legend of the Holy Grail*, the latter of which, he said, enabled us to answer, so far as it can be answered, the question which we have asked ourselves ever since we read Malory in our early days, namely, whence come the things which are there narrated? The subject of folk-lore was a vast one, and the more he thought upon it the more it puzzled him. A plea had been made in favour of treating it as a science, but directly they treated it as a science they trench upon the ground of other societies. For instance, one branch of study which might be pursued came strictly within the province of the Psychical Research Society, and that was the comparison of ordinary ghost stories, such as one might hear told at Christmas time, with the ghost stories in the records of the past. He himself had once gone into the subject of the Beresford ghost story, which had been adapted by Sir Walter Scott in ballad form, and he had traced it back through a number of mediæval sermons to William of Malmesbury. From this he inferred either that ghosts had certain fixed habits, or that old stories were adapted with trifling alterations. This led him to the subject of the tendency of the human mind to invent the same stories, and the question how far such stories were invented separately, and how far they were transmitted and handed down from a common centre. Thus, he had ascertained from a friend of his who had lived in New Caledonia, that the Kanukas had a story of a lady of the woods, to see whom was a presage of death; and precisely the same legend was to be found in the ballad of the "Sieur de Nan," translated from a Breton original by Mr. Tom Taylor. Among other subjects was that of popular etymologies. The theory of the philologists was that expressions arose of which the meaning was forgotten, but that they remained in the language, and, in consequence, people invented stories to account for them. There was the modern slang expression "oof-bird," for instance. He understood that it referred in some way to the accumulation of wealth. It might be argued that oof was a corruption of the French "œuf," an egg, and that reference was made to the goose with the golden eggs. Was it likely, however, that men would go on talking of the "oof-bird" after the meaning of the expression was forgotten? He suggested as a possible definition of folk-lore that it was a small department or branch of the science of anthropology. In one sense, it might be said that folk-lore was at an end. The origin of most customs and superstitions could be readily accounted for. Thus the superstition about thirteen persons sitting down to table referred to the Lord's Supper; and Friday was held to be unlucky because that was the day on which our Lord was crucified. On the other hand, when they came to think of the difficulties of transmission of the popular tales or "Märchen" of the world, many of which existed in practically the same form among all races of mankind, they

might say that they were only at the beginning of the subject. An object to which they might usefully devote themselves was the collection of the folk-stories of Great Britain. This would enable them to determine whether there were not more than three belonging specially to this country—namely, Tom Hickathrift, Jack the Giant Killer, and Jack and the Beanstalk.



Reviews.

By-ways in Book-Land. By W. H. DAVENPORT ADAMS. (London: Elliot Stock, 1888.) 8vo., pp. 224.

Issued in the attractive garb of the Book-Lover's Library, although not belonging to that series, this volume of short essays on literary subjects is evidently calculated to provide leisure reading for busy folk of all kinds. All the essays are short, the subjects are detached and diverse, but the author has a happy method—there is order in disorder, and a distinct literary flavour all through. Not the least entertaining chapter treats of "Bedside Books;" the difficulties and dangers of reading in bed are amusingly described; so is the ideal bedside book, and it strikes us that this volume answers the description. The subject of "Don Quixote in England" is interestingly treated; "Shakespeare's England" is disappointingly thin; but "Jaques in Love" is admirable. The liberties taken by Shakespearean stage-adaptors with "the melancholy Jaques" are amusingly told.

A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition.

By WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, Surgeon and Geologist to the Expedition. 2 vols. 8vo. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co.).

This is a work in every way calculated to interest the antiquary as well as the geographer and general reader. The author has spared neither time nor labour in determining the comparative geography of the countries described. The sites renowned in antiquity—the part which the countries themselves played in ancient history—the marches and counter-marches of contending forces, and the lines of commercial communication, are all fully entered upon and discussed.

It may be said that so much has been heard of the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, of Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Khaldæa, and of the re-opening of these countries to commerce and civilization, that the topic is worn out, almost threadbare. But the work before us attests to the fact that as much remains to be done—in exploration alone—as has been done.

Happily the present Government is fully imbued with the importance of these great rivers, and of the countries which they water, to commerce in general, and especially as rivalling the rapid strides making by Russia to monopolize that of Persia and Central Asia.

This is attested by the action taken to prevent

Turkey erecting fortifications on the banks of the Tigris, and thereby threatening the free navigation of that river, and by the treaty recently effected with the Persian Government, to open the navigation of the Karun—the ancient Euleus—and the first exploration of which little-known but remarkable river is given at length in the pages before us.

The author justly remarks in his preface that the expedition to the Euphrates stands really without a parallel in the history of similar undertakings, alike for the novelty and magnitude of the enterprise, for the scale upon which it was got up, for the difficulties it had to encounter, and for the importance of the results obtained.

The narrative opens with the history of the landing on the coast of Syria, and the transport of the material of two iron steamers, across a country void of practical roads, for a distance of over a hundred miles, to the river Euphrates; a labour which, for want of means of transport, and the hostility of the then rebel pasha—Ibrahim—entailed a vast amount of toil and a great loss of time.

The interval was not, however, lost to science; the survey of the country around was carried out by a separate party; the Gulf of Issus and Cilicia were expressly explored; the antiquities of the latter province, so long the seat of an Armenian dynasty, and the oft-discussed field of the great battle of Issus, may almost be said to be too minutely entered upon. A winter excursion was also carried out in Taurus, which not only led to interesting results in geography, but was also attended by many amusing incidents, among which the wanderings of General Chesney and of the author, who had lost their way, for three long days in the mountains, constitutes not the least.

We here see the meaning of the work being termed a "personal narrative," for the writer, zealous in determining the geological configuration of the country, made what may be called extra excursions into the country of the Ansarians and Coele-Syria, and where he interested himself much in the numerous remains of an early Christianity that are to be met with on the slopes of Mount Belus.

Another excursion, made during the same interval into Northern Mesopotamia, led to a first exploration of the ancient city of Haran, the city of Terah, and the Carrhæ of the Roman contests, and to the discovery of the site of Serug—the Batnæ of the Romans—which, together with the traditions associated with Abraham at Urfaḥ—the second Ur of the Chaldees—tend to throw quite a new light upon the country to which the family of the Patriarch emigrated, previous to their connection with the land of Canaan. Some interesting Assyrian relics were also found upon this occasion.

We must not omit to mention that during the exploration of North Syria and Mesopotamia many interesting points in the history of the Crusades were also brought to light.

At length, the transport carried out, and the twin steamers *Euphrates* and *Tigris* put together, a first descent of the great river was entered upon with feelings of pleasure, that are vividly pictured in the writer's narrative.

The first point of interest reached on this first navigation of a river so renowned in history was the

Castle, so-called, of "the Stars," because the dwelling-place of the Khalif al Mamun, so well known for his predilection to astronomical pursuits. This noble building is to the present day almost in a perfect state of preservation.

The second was an exploration of the ruins of Magog or Mambej, whence the Bambyce of the Low Empire—but better known as Hierapolis, the City of the Sun, and the Kar-Chemosh (having the same signification) of the Hittites. The ruins lie some distance from the river, but on the river-banks the remains of what once constituted a port to the great city of Syria were met with, at a point where the navigation is interrupted by basaltic rocks, and where a raft freighted with coal and material for the expedition was lost. The author has not inaptly called this pass the "Iron Gates," after those of the Danube.

The next point was Balis, the port of Aleppo, and once the seat of a so-called paradise or hunting park of the old Persians. Then came the determination of the burial-place of Sultan Sulaiman, drowned in the river; followed by the more important determination of the site of Thapsacus—the Thipsach of Solomon—and, in an historical point of view, the most important pass on the river. The author has dubbed it "the fatal pass," and has proved the correctness of the epithet by a succinct account of the untoward results that attended upon the successive passage here of conquerors and armies, from Xerxes and Cyrus to that of the Expedition itself, followed up as it has been by the loss of the *Tigris* and by no practical results.

The account of the exploration of Rakkah—the favourite residence of Harun al Rashid, the hero of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*—is replete with an interest, which cumulates around the marble city of Queen Zenobia—the twin castles of Zilba and Riba, and Karkisha at the mouth of the Khabor or Habor—the Kir Kesium of the Romans, and the Karchemish of Holy Writ.

The author has been much assisted in this part of his narrative by a fragment of El Waked's works, not available to previous historians, and which is devoted to the history of the conquest of the Christians of Mesopotamia by the Saracens. It is, as justly pointed out, a history of deceit and duplicity, not at all in accordance with the generally received idea of the daring and heroism of the first followers of the Prophet.

A distinction is here also established between the settlement of the captive Israelites at Halah, on the Habor, and that in the time of Ezekiel, on the Chebar, or Sura River, in Babylonia—a distinction not previously clearly established.

Below Karkisha came Rehoboth-an-Nahar, or "of the river," of Holy Writ, and close by it the extensive ruins of Saladin's Castle, standing on cliffs where was a colony—the only one on the river—of a tern or river-swallow peculiar to the Euphrates.

It was immediately below this point that the *Tigris* was lost in a simoon, or hurricane of the desert, the details of the melancholy event being given at length.

An historical novelty presented itself at the picturesque town of Anah in the determination of two separate strongholds, gazas, or treasures—one of the Persians, the other of the Parthians—on two different

islands on the river, and long constituting a boundary between the two rival powers.

Left behind by accident, and whilst busy searching for fossils, the author interpolates an amusing chapter at this point, descriptive of adventures met with on a day and a night's walk along the banks of the river in pursuit of the steamer.

The Principality of the captive Jews—Nehardea and Pomebeditha on islands, and Sura on the Chebar—came next in order of exploration, followed by a careful and detailed examination of the cities, towns, rivers, and canals of Babylonia. The author was the first to determine an arrangement of sites for Babylon itself, established by Babel being separated from the palace, prison, and hanging gardens, by the Babylonian Nile, since generally received, and the identity of the Birs Nimmrûda with ancient Borsippa.

The Expedition met with a strange reception in the Babylonian marshes, when an attempt was made to carry off a lady passenger, and a skirmish occurred with the Arabs of the Muntifik tribe.

Khaldeæ is briefly described, but the detail of its antiquities is entered into at length in the appendix, and brought down as far as possible to recent days of research. The palm-groves of the Euphrates are also picturesquely depicted.

After some account of Bussora—with a literary disquisition on Sinbad the Sailor—we are transported to Bushire, whence a trip was made to the ruins of Persepolis, and the cave and sculptures of Shapur. The whole account of this excursion is replete with interest.

This was followed by an attempt, which was not successful, to re-ascend the Euphrates—by an exploration of the river Karun and its delta—Mesene and the country of the Cha'ab Arabs—with a disquisition on the vexed questions of Muhammra, and the Khaldean origin of the Sabæans or Mandaites—an ascent of the river Tigris—the determination of the Shah al Hai as the Pasitigris—the highway to Susa—Cteriphon and Seleucia, and the final break-up at the City of the Khalifs, with a long return journey by the naphtha-springs of Kir-Kûk—the pashalik of Sulaimaniya—the little Zab, hitherto wrongly placed on the maps—Nineveh and Nimrûd—and thence by the country of the Jacobites, and of the Mardes of old—Dyar-bakir and the copper-mines of Arghana—to Divriki, Tokat, Amasia, and Constantinople.

It is obvious that where there is such an extent of country traversed, and such a mass of detail included in its exploration, it is utterly impossible to give any idea of the work in a brief notice, and we have therefore been obliged to confine ourselves to giving some notion of its varied contents.

The Story of the Nations: Assyria from the Rise of the Empire to the Fall of Nineveh. By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888.) 8vo, pp. 450.

This is a well-timed work. Apart from the discoveries of Layard, Botta, and others, which filled the world with wonder now some years ago, so much has been done by still more modern Assyriologists, especially Sayce, Budge, Wright, Maspero, and others, that a summary of the present state of knowledge with regard to ancient Assyria had become a real

desideratum, admitting at the same time that what is called the "Story of Assyria," as told in the present day, will, in half a century hence, be to a new story—what the present one is to the compilations of Fraser, Bonomi, and Vaux. The discovery of inscriptions of older times is almost being daily made, and their decipherment as laboriously but as steadily going on.

We cannot, in the meantime, recommend a better work for a New Year's present than Mr. Ragozin's "Story of Assyria" to young and old. To the young it will open a new world of thought and inquiry; to the old it will reveal Biblical history, as studied in their youth, in a totally new light.

The author has ransacked all the most recent writers at command—English, German, and French. He has studiously and diligently sifted the material thus obtained, and he has shown talent and ability alike in weaving it into a consecutive story.

All that is wanting to make the work perfectly acceptable is the flavour of the country itself—a knowledge of the land as it is. Thus, for example, he opens his story with what he calls "a pale undulating line," delineated on the maps as marking the boundary of Mesopotamia and of the alluvial regions of Babyloniâ and Khaldeæ, without a mention of the Wall of Semiramis or Media, or of the Gates of Paradise of the Jews—the Pulaî or Pylæ of Xenophon.

And then he passes, with a glance at the map, to the Singar hills, without a word of the Habor, the seat of Assyria's greatest holding between the rivers, and the seat of the captivity of one of the Tribes of Israel; or of Atrâ—the Khezar of the Bible, and the seat of the dominion of Queen Zabda in Central Mesopotamia.

He does step aside to notice Kileh-Shergat, as he elects to write it (but Kalah Shergat, or "the castle of earth"), and then the comparative geography becomes as weak as is the physical description. Kalah Shergat may have been Aushar or Asshur—so was Nimrûd, and so was the whole region around of Assyria proper. But we have the direct testimony of Benjamin of Tudela that the place was known as Rehoboth Ir or Ur, and Ammianus calls it "Ur of the Persians."

It is true that the cities described as built by Asshur, when he went forth from the land of Shinar (Gen. x. 11, 12)—Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen—may not have been known by these names to the Assyrians, and therefore not found on the inscriptions. Radzovil has Aushar or Asshur, Kalah, Nineveh, Arbela, and Dur-Sharukin. The existing prominent sites are Nineveh, Nimrûd, Asshur (or the Resen of Genesis, which was between Nineveh and Calah), Glâ, Kalah or Calah, and then Rehoboth or Rehoboth Ur. Mr. Ragozin has good authority for identifying Nimrûd with Kalah, but the identification is opposed to the topography of the country; where then could be Resen—the Larissa of Xenophon—which was between Nineveh and Calah? Arbela is unquestionably a site as old as any of the four original cities enumerated as built by Asshur, even if its Assyrian name be undetermined; and if the smaller mounds of Nimrûd, Koyunjik, and Khorsabad yielded such a rich harvest of Assyrian relics, what may not lie under the extensive mediæval Castle of Arbil?

But to enter upon the vexed and still undetermined questions connected with the geography of Assyria

and that of modern times—would be easy as entering a maze, and as difficult to get out of it.

With the exception of Hamath and Karchemish, the geography of the country of the Khetah, Hatti, or Hittites is involved in still greater obscurity. Known of old, they have really found a place in history as a nation with a literature of its own within almost a few years. Were it only for placing the discoveries made in recent times in regard to this little known race of people, the volume before us should be welcome to all who wish to keep pace with the modern spirit of research and inquiry. And then, too, to be satisfactorily illustrated, and that at 5s. ! It is a marvel of cheap knowledge.



Correspondence.

MIDLAND FOLK RHYMES.

[*Ante*, xviii. 116.]

The article in your September issue on "Midland Counties Folk Rhymes," containing a doggerel on "Navy's Work," has called to my mind a gravestone inscription in Charlbury Churchyard on a "Navy," of which I send you a copy :

"In Memory of Richard Coombs, of Finstock, who was killed by the falling-in of earth in making the Railway here, 2nd October, 1851, aged 21 years.

" Fame sounds the soldier's praise afar
Who dies in Victory or War ;
Why should we not record the fall
Of those who died to serve us all,
In works that lead to love and peace,
Before whose power Wars shall cease ?
More dear to man and near to God
Is death in peace than death in blood.
Then blessings on the *Railman's* tomb,
And peace attend the soul of Coomb."

Here follows a curious note or memorandum upon the same stone :

"In digging this grave was found a Roman brooch, which must have been in this spot 1400 years."

P.S.—I have always understood that the fourth line of the rhyme beginning "Aynho on the hill" referred to *Ewelme*, i.e., "Yum" or "Youlm;" the hamlet near Deddington is properly *Hempton*, not *Hampton*.

W. P. J.

WISHING-STONE.

I should feel greatly obliged if you would try and get me some information as to the following through the medium of your valuable paper. At Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire, there is a chapel situated on a hill called St. Catherine's, inside of which there is what they call the wishing-stone, viz., a cut in the stone near the bottom. At the side of a doorway higher up in the stone wall are two holes made for inserting the fingers. The tradition, as far as I can gather, is that, in order to obtain the fulfilment of a wish, the person must place the left knee in the hole at the side of doorway and the two first fingers of right hand in the two holes, and then wish.

I should feel greatly obliged if you could give me some information on this point as to the probability of how the idea arose, if it is known. It seems to me as though this was originally designed for some penance—say, as a place where a delinquent was made to kneel while being whipped.

JOHN JACKSON.

13, First Avenue, Bush Hill Park,
Enfield, Sept. 3, 1888.

EXCAVATIONS AT CRANBORNE.

In the interesting summary of General Pitt-Rivers' discoveries at Rushmore, given in the *Antiquary*, a suggestion is thrown out that these natives, judged by their small stature—4 feet 11 inches to 5 feet 2 inches—were dwarfed by the military conscription adopted by the Roman Government after occupation.

Be it noted these villagers were pit-dwellers ; and I am strongly convinced that such crowding together of partly-civilized people in caves, weams, ogos, pit-dwellings, does tend to keep down the stature, but not to reduce the muscular strength. Such herding together was an aboriginal habit and pre-Roman ; therefore these people did not belong to the Belgic or Gallic immigrants described by Cæsar, nor the Icen of later writers.

I may remark that Woodcuts is Woodcote, with a slight difference—a common name, closely connected with Roman occupation : see one near Wallington, Surrey. Then the same Dorsetshire parish has a Gussage, also found near Wimborne—a site for Vindogladium in the same county. This word I connect with Guston, also found near important Roman stations. The same parish, again, has a Minchington—cf. Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire—also with pit-dwellings, which last name is connected with the Latin *mansio* and our manor.

So I infer these Cranborne villagers were not secluded away from the Romans, but were rather their customary labourers with, among the common sort, some residents of a higher caste. Perhaps a great villa may yet be unearthed in this neighbourhood.

A. HALL.

October 13, 1888.

MEMORIAL CROSS.

After the battle of Wakefield, A.D. 1460, in which the Duke of York was slain, it is stated by Camden that a cross was erected on the spot where he fell, to his memory, which was destroyed during the Civil Wars. I shall be glad to receive information from any reader of the *Antiquary* respecting the same, or what would be the probable design of such a cross erected under the circumstances to royalty during the foregoing century.

QUIDNUNC.

Stoneleigh Lodge, Wakefield.

BOOK-PLATES.

Would you allow me through your columns to suggest the possibility of a magazine dealing exclusively with book-plates ?

J. G. BRADFORD.

157, Dalston Lane, E.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Memory Systems.—Send for List of Books; sale or exchange.—Middleton, 63, Brown Street, Manchester.

Walton (Izaak), *The Compleat Angler*, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14b, care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment; price £5 5s.—1b, care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzorah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. *The Isiac Tablet Mensa*, *Isiaca Tabula Bembond* of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), 21s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

Berjeau's Bookworm, a number of old parts for sale or exchange.—W. E. M., care of Manager.

Walford's Antiquarian Magazine, complete, 71 numbers; perfect condition; unbound; £3.—H. H., care of Manager.

Very beautiful Leadern Cistern; 200 years old; liberal offer expected.—N., care of Manager.

Caldecott's Graphic Pictures; édition de Luxe; £3 10s.—1c, care of Manager.

Dumas' Monte Christo; édition de Luxe; 5 vols.; £3.—2c, care of Manager.

Blades' Enemies of Books; large paper edition; £2 2s.—3c, care of Manager.

Johnson's The Early Writings of Thackeray; large

paper edition (only 50 printed); price £4 4s.—4c, care of Manager.

Sexagyma, Esoteric Physiology; a digest of the works of John Davenport, privately printed for subscribers; £3 3s.—5c, care of Manager.

Sooner or Later; in original parts; 30s.—6c, care of Manager.

MS. Sonnet.—To my Lady Winchelsea, written and signed by Alexander Pope.—Offers to Mr. Hole, Angel Hotel, Ilford, Essex.

History of the Bible, illustrated with 260 historical sculptures. Published in 1752; fair preservation; size, 15 in x 10 in.—Coote, Windsor Street, Chertsey.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Burke's Landed Gentry, last edition; Walford's County Families, last edition.—*Antiquary*, 7, The Square, Shrewsbury.

Hardy's New Testament; The White Cat, illustrated by E. V. B.; Visitation of Pembrokeshire; Burkett's Commentary on the Bible; Notes on Novelists, large paper; Theocritus, large paper; Lang's Odyssey, large paper; Hamilton's The Lamp and the Lantern; Gardiner's England, 8vo., vols. 1 and 2; Pleasures of a Book-worm, Roxburgh edition; Ball's State of Man; Lupot on Violin, English edition; Manual of Siege and Garrison Artillery, vol. 7; Notes on Ammunition, 5th edition; Oldmixon's British Empire in America, 2 vols. (1708); Finney's Gospel Themes; Finney's Systematic Theology; Fergusson's Antiquities; Early History of the County of Bedford; Kirk's Light out of Darkness; Bell Scott's The Poet's Harvest Home; The Laird O'Coul's Ghost; Shakespeare, vol. 7 (1818); Whittingham, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. 50; Martinsen's Christian Dogmatics; Thomas à Kempis' Works, 2 vols., 32mo., Jones; Thomas à Kempis' Works, Vandergucht.—Retail Department, Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Berjeau's Bookworm, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; new series, 1869, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; new series, 1870, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12; Printers' Marks, Nos. 5, 6.—Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

Burke, P., Celebrated Trials of Aristocracy, 2 vols., 1849-51. Romance of Forum, two series.—"Thanet," care of Manager.

Huguenot Society's Proceedings, vol. ii. Foster's Collectanea, Part XIII. Howard's Miscellanea Genealogica, last part, vol. ii., quarterly series. Agnew's Protestant Exiles. Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi. Shirley's Deer Parks. Vetusta Monumenta, vol. iii.—16a, care of Manager.





The Antiquary.



FEBRUARY, 1889.

The Walls of Chester.

By C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.

IN *The Antiquary* of the past year, for February and June, I have given my confirmed opinion on the Roman masonry of the north wall of Chester; and I have explained why, in my view, and also in that of my friend and colleague, M. H. Schuermans, of Liège, we believe it of comparatively late instead of early origin, as I once imagined. Yet, as the controversy is still maintained, and as the Jacobean theory is not abandoned, but supported by an archæological institution of eminence,* I shall endeavour to emphasize what I have written—perhaps too briefly. When the opinions of individuals are endorsed by a society established for the encouragement of antiquarian researches, they are supposed to be conclusive and just. In this case, however, I affirm they cannot be accepted as valid; and they are opposed by another society† of equal respectability, which, many years since, had sanctioned my opinion after a full reconsideration, and now pronounces it to be quite correct.

Early writers have been referred to by the Jacobean theorists as supporting their notions; among them Pennant. But this author is referred to by Dr. Brushfield‡ as

* See *The Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, vol. xlv., No. 173, 1887. Mr. Shrubsole, in a paper "On the Age of the City Walls of Chester," writes: "If I am required to state the age of the older portions of the existing wall, I know of nothing dating further back than the reigns of James I. and Charles I."

† See *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for 1887.

‡ *Journal of the Chester Archaeological, etc., Society*, 1869.

opposing the idea of an extension of the walls in Saxon times, as has been also so confidently asserted. Pennant writes: "I cannot discover any vestige of the original walls, such as those which are said to have been restored by the warlike *Ethelfleda*. I would not willingly detract from the lady's merit; but I must deny her that of being the foundress of the fortifications, and enlarging the city beyond the *Roman* precincts. The form at present is so entirely *Roman*, that any addition she could make would have destroyed the peculiar figure that wise people always preserved in their stations or castrametations, wheresoever the nature of the ground would permit."*

Dr. Brushfield, in an admirable and almost exhaustive paper on the "Roman Remains of Chester,"† writes as follows: "When we turn our attention to the Roman remains of Chester, we at once observe a striking difference in the masonry compared with that I have just described (London, Richborough, etc.), the bonding courses of tiles being wholly absent. In those portions of the City walls which the Rev. W. H. Massie was the first to point out as being Roman, we find that the stones are large and massive, are regularly about a foot deep, and usually twice as long as they are broad, the longest face being five feet, and the shortest one foot ten inches, bonded by the longest side sometimes being presented as the face, and at other parts imbedded in the thickness of the walls. The measurements just mentioned have been recently taken; and, at the same time, the moulding of the cornice was accurately copied. Another peculiarity is the circumstance that these stones have not been set in mortar; at all events, no traces of any can be discovered. A parallel instance exists at Rome. The absence of bonding material is not confined to Chester, the walls of *Isurium* having been similarly constructed. It is not a little singular that whilst at Richborough and Lynne the bonding layers were common, at Reculver they were wholly absent."

Dr. Brushfield might have named many other Roman stations and towns in the walls of which tiles were not used, including

* *Tour in Wales*, vol. i., p. 154.

† *Journal of the Chester Society* for 1869, p. 42.

Caerwent and Lincoln; the Great Roman Wall he refers to; and its numerous stations can be added. For other sensible remarks on the Chester walls, I refer to the paper itself; while I make a few remarks on *Isurium*, well known to Dr. Brushfield, but not once named by any one of the Jacobean theorists. We must believe that they were quite ignorant of it.

Isurium, Aldborough, occurs in the second *Iter* of Antoninus, between *Cataractonum* and *Eboracum*; and in the same position in the fifth *Iter*, in which it is styled *Isurium Brigantum*, indicating its being the chief town of the extensive tract occupied by the Brigantes. Mr. Ecroyd Smith, who superintended excavations on its site, states* that "the *castrum* was rather more than a mile

times there is a mixed style, of which Pevensey (*Anderida*), in Sussex, may be cited. While in parts the facing-stones, of small size, are divided by courses of tiles, in other portions they are entirely wanting. This is the construction for a long length on the north-western side,* which is as follows:

Two feet boulders and flints.

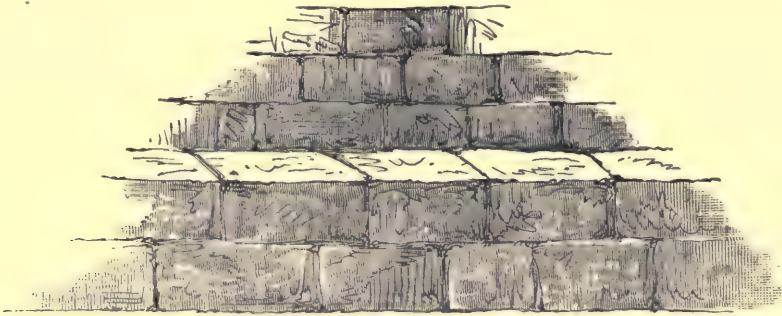
Two rows large stones, the upper projecting slightly over the lower.

Twelve rows of small facing-stones.

One row of thin flag-stones.

Thirty to forty rows of small facing-stones extending to the top.

The discoveries recently made in the interior of the north wall of Chester compel me to change my opinion as to its date. When I saw it with the Rev. W. H. Massie,



INTERIOR OF WALL AT ALDBOROUGH.

and a half in compass, the walls having been computed to measure 2,500 yards in circuit; and they vary from *eleven* to *sixteen feet* in thickness, enclosing an area of sixty acres." A portion of one of the walls, from an extended view on the interior, is given in the subjoined cut, to show the character of the construction in large stones without cement, and without any bonding courses of tiles.

The absence of courses of bonding tiles, once insisted on as evidence of *non-Roman* work in the Chester walls, is by no means unusual in the architecture of *castra*; neither in the structure of large stones, called by the French *grand appareil*. The Roman walls of Lincoln appear to have been void of tiles, as are those of Arles, in France. Some-

and with the British Archæological Association, I believed it to be of early origin. I found the masonry unlike most of the examples I was then acquainted with, and we then knew nothing of the building of Roman town walls with anterior monuments; but I never doubted for a moment (as has been asserted)† that the wall was substantially Roman.

* Not shown in my *Report on Excavations at Pevensey*, 1858.

† "The construction of the present walls (even when he thought them Roman) seems to have puzzled Mr. Roach Smith."

Roman Cheshire, by W. Thompson Watkin, 1886. Mr. Watkin fearing "he shall give a rude shock to many preconceived opinions, but *fortis est veritas*," is "compelled to speak straightforwardly on the subject." He says that the late Rev. W. H. Massie was the first to assert that the walls were Roman, and that I unfortunately adopted his view; as did Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Ayrton, and Chester antiquaries

* *Reliquiæ Isurianæ: The Remains of the Roman Isurium Illustrated*; fol., London and York, 1852.

From the character of the sculptures which compose the interior of the lower part, the wall is demonstrated to be comparatively of late date, and not early. Here arises the question whether Chester had not an earlier wall; and I think the question may be answered in the affirmative. The discovery of sepulchral deposits within the now intramural district is a conclusive argument in favour of this opinion. I have adduced similar discoveries in London as proof of an enlargement of the city;* and this has

to examine engravings of give a clue to date; but I think we may safely place it not earlier than the reign of Severus, and probably as late as that of Diocletian and Maximian. The latter is suggested by M. Schuermans, from comparison with similar constructions in Belgium and France, coupled with historic evidence.

By the aid of Mr. Waller's practised hand and eye, I am able to give a faithful representation of a very interesting fragment of a Roman funeral sculpture discovered on the north



been confirmed by the structure of the later walls. Like those of Chester, they were based upon sculptures of various kinds: some monumental, some taken from public edifices. None of the Chester wall sculptures which I have had an opportunity

generally; and that "several excavations have been made with a view of deciding the character of the three portions of the wall named by Mr. C. Roach Smith as Roman, and the result appears to be a direct negative." I refer to the *Roman Cheshire* for his most unconvincing arguments, and to their refutation by Sir James A. Picton, Mr. Loftus Brock, Mr. J. Matthew Jones, and others.

* *Illustrations of Roman London*, 1859.

wall of Chester. It is drawn from an excellent photograph, kindly sent to me by Mr. Shrubsole. It is the sculpture adduced by Mr. Watkin as a convincing proof to him of the mediæval character of the wall. If, as he so persistently asserted, the figure to the left was intended for a priest in a *stola*, the evidence would have supported his theory of the *post*-Roman origin of the wall. But it is, in our opinion, undoubtedly Roman; and Roman I pronounced it a few days after its discovery, from a sketch sent me, I believe, by Mr. Brock. Had Mr. Watkin been conversant with similar Con-

tinental examples, he surely would never have committed himself to an error so glaring!

The figures are those of two young females. That to the left carries a mirror; that to the right holds in her left hand a small animal, a cat or a dog, probably the latter, to which her right hand is advanced. Though mutilated, portions of the animal are to be seen, quite palpable to Mr. Waller as well as to myself. The mirror is a well-known attribute of females; and a pet domestic animal, a cat, a dog, or a bird, is also often to be found portrayed as an accompaniment to the figures of young girls and boys in provincial sepulchral monuments. For instances at hand, I refer to figures 1 and 2 in Plate XVIII,* vol. v., of my *Collectanea Antiqua*; and to Plate XXIV. in vol. vii. of the same work, to which I may also refer for many examples of provincial costume totally differing from the classical.

Since writing the above, I have secured a copy of Mr. Earwaker's volume,† just published; and for the first time I am able to see copies of the inscriptions and sculptures, on which I make a few remarks, observing that Mr. Earwaker has done his work well and conscientiously.

These remains, though highly interesting, in one point of view are disappointing. They do not help us to decide on the date of the wall. The very inferior artistic merit of most of them does not, necessarily, prove them of late execution, for there were bad sculptors in early as well as in late times; but, from other evidence, they must be accepted as comparatively early.

They are mostly sepulchral monuments of soldiers of the Twentieth Legion and of its auxiliaries, showing how much the full com-

plement of the Legion was constructed by levies from various provinces. Most of these inscriptions are correctly read; but a few require correction, or at least suggestions. That of Plate VII. I should read as inscribed to *P. Rustius Crescentius*, by his heir, named *Groma*. The defunct served for ten years, his age being thirty; and his position as "surveyor of the camp" is nowhere indicated.

Plate VIII.—*Cecilius Donatus*, who served twenty-six years, was not also named *Bessus*; but he came from the *Bessi* of Thrace, as seems clearly shown by the words *Bessus Natione*.

Page 107.—I read *Q. Longinus Lætus* (of the tribe) *Pomentina*, a native of *Lucus*; but whether of *Lucus Augusti* (of which there was one in Gaul and one in Spain), or of *Lucus Asturum*, is left to conjecture.

Plate XII.—A tombstone of *Hermagoras*, as stated. I should read it *Herma Cor* (*nicularis*); and this reading is supported by the *cornu* held in his hands as emblem of his rank.

Plate VI.—A representation of the two female figures, incorrectly described as "A Roman matron and her attendant." The engraving will, however, help Mr. Cox to correct his impression that the figure to the right does not hold a small animal.

Plate II., Fig. 1., may be referred to for the emblems of a bird and ears of corn, correctly described by Mr. Earwaker; and also for the costume of the two female figures.

The frequent occurrence of the death-bed scene upon the Chester monuments is only remarkable for a prevailing local fashion, such as varies both in ancient and modern cemeteries.



The Standard-Bearer of Charles I.



EW noble names have been more connected with the history of the county of Buckinghamshire than that of Verney. From the middle of the fifteenth century the family have resided at Claydon House, in the parish of

* I must give Mr. E. W. Cox the benefit of his doubts. In the December number of *The Antiquary* he states that "not one of the London gentlemen who have pronounced so decidedly on the origin of this stone, have looked on it with sufficient care to find that the object they call an animal is the perfectly distinct left hand of the figure; and what they suppose to be the legs of the animal are the four fingers." We do not confound the fingers with the animal, the traces of which are above the hand which holds it.

† *The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester.* By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. Manchester: A. Ireland and Co., 1888.

Middle Claydon. They have sent representatives to Parliament for the county, and for five of its boroughs—Aylesbury, Wendover, Buckingham, Wycombe, and Amersham, at different times—from 1552 to the present time. In the reign of James I., A.D. 1623, Sir Edmund Verney held the post of standard-bearer to that monarch, and was at the same time member for the borough of Buckingham. A portrait, by an unknown artist, is preserved at Claydon of this worthy. It is a half-length, with gold-laced doublet, and ruff and chain. There is at the same most interesting house a portrait of another Sir Edmund, son of the former. It is one of those life-like representations, stamped with the witchery of Vandyke's genius. It is a half-length. The knight is habited in armour, a field-marshal's bâton is in his right hand, and beside the picture is a portion of the staff of the royal standard. There is also another but inferior portrait of the same true-hearted loyalist.* Such a man as the standard-bearer of Charles I. deserves special consideration. He was one of the bravest, brightest, and best of the cavaliers attached to the fortunes of the unfortunate monarch. He was a man who never wavered in his loyalty. He was true to the last, and had his life been spared, would have followed his royal master in every one of his well-fought fields, whether they ended in victory or in disastrous defeat.

The history of his life is indeed a part of the history of his country. The refusal of the Parliament convened to meet at Oxford to grant the King supplies, and the subsequent levy of ship-money, together with the raising of money without the authority of Parliament by the King, and his declining to assent to the Petition of Right, constituted sufficient friction between the two opposing parties to bring about the horrors and disturbances of the Civil War. There came a time when the King on the one side, and the Parliament on the other, put forth manifestos which increased the general indications of diverging policy. Levies of men were raised and arms collected. Those who followed the fortunes of the King were called Cavaliers, and their opponents Roundheads.

* These pictures were exhibited at the first special Exhibition of National Portraits, held at South Kensington, April, 1866.

How lamentable was the condition of affairs may be ascertained from a passage in the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, where, in bewailing the death of Viscount Falkland, "a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge," he goes on to declare, "that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity." It has been supposed that Lord Falkland framed one of the earliest definitions of the Constitution.

Tidings having reached the King that the army of the Parliament was continually receiving supplies and adherents from London, he left Shrewsbury, intending to proceed towards the capital, and there give them battle. The troops of the Earl of Essex advanced from Kineton, in the county of Warwickshire, when the Royalists lay at Banbury in Oxfordshire. They met at Edge Hill, a lofty eminence overlooking the district where Stratford, Warwick and Coventry are to be seen, with the Malvern and Cotswold Hills in the distance. The fight commenced with a singular incident. Sir Faithful Fortescue was with his troop in the Parliamentary army; but when the King's forces approached, he ordered all his men to fire their pistols in the ground, and placed himself under the orders of Prince Rupert. The latter charged the enemy with the greatest impetuosity, so that their cavalry could not withstand the shock, and incontinently fled. We learn that "in this battell, Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the Horse, Lord Wilmott the left, and the Lord Digby commanded one reserve of Horse, and the Lord Byron the other." Thus Prince Rupert entirely routed the left wing of Essex's horse, whilst Lord Wilmott committed the error of pursuing the enemy. By this means the King and the foot soldiers were left, and barely escaped being surrounded. The uncertainty as to which side had gained the day lasted till the following morning. Sir Philip Warwick, a faithful adherent of the King, says, "This was our first and great military misadventure, for Essex by his reserves of Horse falling on the King's Foot prest on them so hard, that had not some of our Horse returned in some

season unto the relieve of our foot, wee had certainly lost the day, which all circumstances considered, wee as certainly won."* Some historians would regard the result of this contest as a drawn battle. It was to be lamented that Prince Rupert could not practise more caution in his several engagements. He was courageous, bold, and unflinching, but rash to a degree. Hence tactics were adopted utterly contrary to all the discipline of war. Good fortune certainly waited on the King at Edge Hill, for had the Parliamentary army displayed the same amount of dash as their adversaries, it would have gone hard with him on that memorable 23rd of October, 1642. As it was, King Charles had to deplore the loss of the Earl of Lindsey and his son; also his gallant and chivalrous standard-bearer, Sir Edmund Verney, who fell in the heat of the action, covered with glory and honour. He had carried the standard in 1639 against the Scots and at Nottingham. He had spoken of the king in these words: "I have eaten the king's bread and served him now thirty years, and I will not do so base a thing as to distrust him."† So, too, he said, "That by the grace of God, they that would wrest that standard from his hand must first wrest his soul from his body." He charged with it among the thickest of the enemy, was surrounded, but was offered his life if he would surrender the standard. He rejected, and fell slain whilst grasping the standard. His body was never found, but a ring with the portrait of the king, stated to have been given to Sir Edmund by his royal master, was taken from his hand after the battle, and was an object of great curiosity when shown in London in 1862.‡ There are two places where the bodies of the dead armies are stated to have been buried, and in one of these all that was left of Sir Edmund Verney must, in all probability, have been put. Many conflicting accounts of the number of combatants engaged in this battle

who lost their lives have been published, but it is not possible to arrive at a just conclusion in the matter. A difficulty naturally arises when one historian gives five thousand men and another thirteen hundred. One thing is certain, there was no greater hero present than the loyal and courageous Sir Edmund Verney. He went into the thick of the fight with every sinew strung to accept the challenge of the king's enemy;

As it had been
A fair invitement to a solemn feast,
And not a combat to conclude with death,
He cheerfully embraced it.*

We learn from Grose that "carrying a banner or standard in the day of battle was always considered as a post of honour; and in our histories we frequently meet with several instances of persons rewarded with a pension for valiantly performing that duty." In the reign of Edward III., a king's writ was issued to the treasurer of the exchequer, directing the payment of two hundred marks for life to Guido de Bryan for his gallant behaviour in the last battle against the French near Calais, and for his prudent bearing of the standard there against the said enemies, and there strenuously, powerfully, and erectly sustaining it. Altogether otherwise was the fate of Henry de Essex, standard-bearer to Henry II. This unfortunate soldier, being convicted of cowardice, was deprived of his lands, shorne, and made prisoner for life as a monk in the Abbey of Reading. The duty of holding fast to the standard was impressed at all times and places on those selected for so high an office. Every officer was forewarned that he should rather lose his life on the field of battle than let the enemy take from him so precious a charge. This national banner has its place in the centre of the first rank of a squadron of horse. The offices of castilian and standard-bearer of London were associated in the person of Robert Fitzwalter, a descendant of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, upon whose grandson Henry I. bestowed Baynard Castle. This Fitzwalter, being a thorough adherent of all the laws of chivalry, made a declaration in 1303 before the then Lord Mayor, John Blondon. He therein states that "in time of warre he, the

* *Memoires by Sir Philip Warwick, Knight of the reign of King Charles the First.* London: printed for R. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1701.

† Green's *Short History of the English People*, p. 525.

‡ It was exhibited in June, 1862, at the special Exhibition of Works of Art at the South Kensington Museum.

* Massinger. *The Unnatural Combat*, Act ii., Scene i.

said Robert and his heyers, ought to serve the citie in manner as followeth;" that is, "the sayd Robert ought to come, he being the twentieth man of armes, on horsebacke, covered with cloth or armour, under the great west doore of Saint Paul, with his banner displayed before him of his armes. At the door of the cathedral the mayor, with the aldermen and sheriffs, shall present their standard-bearer with the banner of the city, having upon it the image of St. Paul; and the standard-bearer, on receiving the same, shall have given him twenty pounds sterling money, also a horse worth twenty pounds. Then he shall ride to Aldgate, to the priorie of the Trinitie, and make such arrangements as shall be deemed to be necessary for the safe keeping of the citie." In time of peace, a different order of action is to be pursued. Thus it will be seen that the post so bravely filled by Sir Edmund Verney, in after days of internal dissension, was considered to be one of the highest honour and distinction even among the citizens of the great metropolis.

Although Sir Edmund Verney was denied the rites of sepulture through untoward fate, yet his family were not unmindful of him, and erected a memorial to his honour in the retired little church at Middle Claydon. This edifice is situate close to the mansion in the park, and is literally embowered in trees. Entering it, by a flight of stone steps, through the priest's door on the north side of the chancel, the monument confronts you. Above this door there is the following inscription: "Rogerus Giffard, et Maria uxor ejus hanc cancellum fieri fererunt año Dni 1519." On the floor of the chancel is an altar tomb of alabaster, having upon it the recumbent effigy of a lady richly habited. The hands are uplifted palm to palm, while the head rests on a pillow. At the feet is a small dog. The outer robe is kept in its place by a peculiar and skilful arrangement. On shields are the arms of the Giffards. The date 1539, and the name of Giffard, can yet be traced as part of an inscription round the sides. This is the remains of a very elegant and graceful piece of sculpture.* The ceiling of the chancel is coved, and is painted in a floriated pattern with gold stars.

* The poor of the parishes of East, Middle, and Steeple Claydon enjoy a charity called Lady Giffard's Charity.

The monument to the royal standard-bearer is over against the wall, in the chancel. The base is composed of pillars of black marble, with capitals of alabaster. On a pediment are the figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity. The word "Resurgam" occurs on the plinth of a large vase of jasper. An inscription thus records the name and fame of the departed officer:

"Sacred to the Memory of the ever honoured Sir Edmund Verney, who was K^t Marshall 18 yeares, and Standard Bearer to Charles y^e first in that memorable Battayle of Edge Hill, where he was slayne on the 23 of October, 1642. Being then in the two and fiftieth yeare of his age. And in Honour of Dame Margaret, his wife, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Denton, of Hellesdon, K^t, by whome hee had Six Sonnes and six daughters. She dyed at London on y^e 5th, and was buried here on y^e 7th of April, 1641, in the 41 yeare of her age."

Underneath this is a coat-of-arms. Then may be read further: "Also to the perpetuall honour and memory of that most excellent and incomparable Person Dame Mary, sole daughter and heire of John Blacknall of Abingdon, in the County of Berks, Esq., and wife of Sir Ralph Verney, eldest sonn of the said S^r Edmund and Dame Margaret, by whome she had three sonnes and three daughters, whereof only Edmund and John are liveing. She deceased at Blois, in France, on the 10th day of May, 1650, being about the age of 34 yeares, and was here interred on the 19th of November following, where her said husband (at whose charge, and by whose appointment this Monument was erected) intends to bee buried."

On the sides of the inscription are four niches, each having a bust. One of these represents the standard-bearer with flowing hair. He is in armour, and the pauldrons are shown to be very depressed in shape.

On the opposite side is a memorial to the Hon. Col. Henry Verney, fifth son of Sir Edmund, erected by his sister Penelope, first married to John Denton, of Fawles, Oxford, then to S^r John Osborne, K^t, an Irish gentleman. There are many other monuments to members of the Verney family, some of recent date.

Before leaving the church the antiquary will pause to note the very fine brass on the

floor of the nave, and almost under the chancel arch. It consists of two very large effigies of Roger Giffard, and Mary, his wyffe, both five feet in height. He is dressed in plate armour, and the lady has a pointed head-dress, and a flowing robe with large ermine sleeves.* At the feet are eleven sons, who are dressed in gowns, and seven daughters who wear veils and hoods. All these are as a matter of course miniature figures.

Roger Giffard died in 1542.† There is a small brass near, with the words "Orate pro anima Isabella Giffard 9^o obiit 1523." There is also a brass plate inserted in a slab, with the arms of Giffard on a shield and an effigy of Alexander Anne, presbyter, who died in 1526. The figure has a chalice, and is clothed in priestly vestments, with a label proceeding from the mouth, bearing the words, "Miserere mei, Deus."‡

The eldest son of the standard-bearer, Sir Ralph Verney, M.P. for Aylesbury, wrote proceedings during the sitting of the Long Parliament in the House of Commons. These interesting papers were discovered by Mr. Thompson Cooper, of Cambridge, and Mr. Bruce edited them for the Camden Society in 1845. Among the earliest notes is, "The Capuchin House to be Dissolved." The Capuchins were under the protection of Queen Henrietta Maria, and the Commons requested the French Ambassador to send them away. Much information concerning the Verneys is to be found in these documents, which were declared by Mr. Hallam to be of the greatest historical value. Sir Ralph Verney was succeeded by John Verney, his second but eldest surviving son, who was created Baron Verney of Fermanagh, on the 16th June, 1703. One member of this family, having the same Christian name as his illustrious descendant, was Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1577, and dying in 1599, was buried in Albury in that county. An earlier Sir Ralph was Lord Mayor and member for London towards the middle of the fifteenth century. There is a portrait by

Cornelius Jansen of Sir Ralph, the son of the standard-bearer. It is a bust, with lace falling ruff, black dress, showing left hand gloved.*

It remains to mention an old saying in the county of Buckinghamshire, that our hero the standard-bearer to King Charles was "neither born nor buried." This double notion took its origin from a tradition that he was brought into the world by the Cæsarean operation, and to the fact that, as has been previously related, his body not having been discovered after the fatal battle of Edge-Hill, he was consequently never properly interred.† Honourable sepulture is denied to no one, but when in the chapter of accidents a man's body is left to the consequences of chance, what does it concern us when the glory of his life never dies, but lives superior to all fate? Wisely says Sir Thomas Browne, the famous physician of Norwich, in his dedication to the "Hydriotaphus, Urn Burial:" "When the funeral pyre was out, and the last valediction over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment on their ashes, and having no old experience of the duration of their reliques, held no opinion of such after-considerations." The greatness of a man's life offers no practical hindrances to our realization of his worthiness when his life is over. "It is natural," says Ralph Waldo Emerson, "to believe in great men." And again, "The search after the great is the dream of youth, and the most serious occupation of manhood." Many pages in our great English history teem with acts of heroism. It seems that we are not poor in such particular richness of character. So we come to consider the life and death of Sir Edmund Verney as an example for all time. Of him may be said, as was told of a great soldier in our own age—

Yea, let all good things await
Him who cared not to be great,
But as he saves or serves the State
Not once or twice in our rough island story,
The path of duty was the way to glory.‡

* This picture was exhibited in April, 1866, among the national portraits on loan at South Kensington.

† See section 32 on Rings, by Edmund Waterton, F.S.A., p. 637, in *Special Catalogue of Works of Art*, exhibited June, 1862.

‡ Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington, by Tennyson.

* Lipscombe gives plates of these brasses in his *History of Buckinghamshire*.

† Lipscombe thinks the mansion at Middle Claydon was built by this gentleman or his son Sir George Giffard.

‡ Haines, in his work on Brasses, states that it was customary for priests to display the armorial bearings of their patrons.

It has appeared suitable and just that a distinctive tribute, however humble it may be, should be rendered to the memory of the great and brave standard-bearer of Charles I.

WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



The Highlands.

THERE they are before us, barren yet fruitful, bare yet beautiful, rugged domes and smooth undulations, long ridges and isolated hills, pinacles and precipices, green slopes and dark ravines, forests and bogs, rocks and grasses, sedges and ferns—variety of feature all round. Silver veins gliding down the slopes, tumbling down the steepes, running into the little streams and large rivers; here a deep glen sends up its spray to glitter in the sunshine, with its tiny rainbow from the roaring waterfall below, and there a placid loch spreads its silver sheen, reflecting the green woods and the dark rocks in the faithful mirror. Over all this rocky region a great variety of foliage charms the eye; flowers and mosses of many kinds flourish in the shade or the sunshine, on the hard rock or the moist swamp. Nature is very lavish, and squanders her gifts where they are received—in river beds, all up the broken glens, beneath the constant spray, out in the sunlight, and in dark crevices; up to the top of the highest mountains her gifts are found, rare and beautiful; pearls in the rivers, gems on the mountains. There is nothing ugly in the natural features of the Highlands, where the purple heather gives a glow of warmth to the waning season of the year.

All the region is full of life. Red deer and roe may be seen by any wanderer who has eyes to see: the horns of a stag may move amidst the fern; the timid roe may steal down to drink at the foaming stream, while the fisherman throws his silent fly upon the eddy before it, and the roe starts back frightened at the plunge of the spotted trout. High up in the streams, in lakes, and in rivers, the lordly salmon finds his way from the distant sea, dashing up the rapids, springing up the falls, till his sandy bed is found far away in a quiet vale; there he digs the cradle for their

young—there those tiny creatures find their food in the early spring as it is washed down from the grassy slopes, from the decomposing herbage, or in living creatures invisible to any eyes but their own. On river bank, or sandy hill, amidst the rocks and woods, the irrepressible rabbit exhibits his flicking tail. Hares leave their runs upon the grass, and hide secure for a season amidst the rocks, alike in colour to themselves. Foxes steal silently as evening falls from woodlands or from crags; their quiet bark may be heard by salmon fishers in early spring, and the trees near the gamekeepers' lodges tell of the trapping of the vermin so deadly to the wild progeny of the hills, as well as to the lambs of the farmers' flocks; on these trees also may be seen the remains of osprey, hawk and eagle, ravens, crows, magpies and jays, all enemies to game or fish; owls, of sorts, are hung up in these places, but as they do as much good as they do harm, their indiscriminate destruction is not so necessary. The hoot of the white or brown owl, as you float along on the loch beneath the rocks of a summer evening, tells you how birds converse at a distance without the telephone. An observer of nature can find plenty to think of in these charming highlands. Numbers of them wander here in summer time—artists, botanists, geologists and natural historians meet in hotels, hydropathic establishments, railways and steamboats, on mountain steepes, on windy lakes and spatey rivers; every condition of weather (and it does not often change from misty) has its note or its diary. I was looking at the strange washing away of the old red sandstone in a mountain glen, when another fisherman came by and said:

"What a pity it is so dry."

"Well," I replied, "if the river was not so low I could not see the strata of these rocks, know of their soft places, or tell how the changing eddies had worked their wills with the sandstone and the gneiss below."

The man's eyes had opened wider as I spoke. He observed:

"What a philosopher you are," and went on.

Here and there we fall in with photographers—amateurs with their new, neat apparatus; professionals with their larger and more travelled cases and tripods; all carry off the likeness of the scenes they love,

and the shop-windows of cities and villages are full of lovely views. Old ruins, curious bridges, trees, and crags rough and fantastic; Rob Roy's cave and his wife's small grave; ivy-covered castles, dismantled dungeons, with the niche in the wall for the criminal's head; cemetery and palace, lakes and rivers—all contribute to the copious history of the region, encouraging art and satisfying curiosity.

Geologists are now endeavouring to unravel the "Secret of the Highlands." The subject is touched on by the *Saturday Review* of 13th October, 1888. The work done by the survey "is a contribution to science as valuable as it is interesting." The tale began long ago, when "probably no living creature existed on the earth." Then were laid "the foundations of the Highlands" in "coarse gneisses." These "probably were once molten masses—igneous rocks of varied chemical composition." In time these became consolidated, and various changes took place in them—thrustings and foldings of the "rock masses," with breakings and faultings. There were injections of igneous rock altering the conditions of the masses. Denudation followed, accumulations were made, and the older rocks were buried under their own debris. In this more changes took place, put down by the surveyors in three classes. "1st, Minor thrusts, by which lower beds are slipped over, and piled up on higher; 2nd, Major thrusts, which have driven the piled-up strata westwards along planes separating the displaced materials from the undisturbed strata; 3rd, Maximum thrusts, which bring up and drive westwards portions of the old archæan floor, with the palæozoic strata resting on it." This movement brought on complications in succession, and new structures; "granitoid rocks" were changed into flaggy or fissile schists, and "this flaggy structure" often "bears the most extraordinary resemblance to those resulting from the deposit of somewhat variable sediments," with sometimes "the same angle of inclination as the true stratification of the quartzites and limestones." All these changes seem "to have been completed before the rocks of the old sandstone were deposited," as in the lower parts of this group "fragments both of the olden and the new type of gneisses and schists" are found. There may be, says the

Review, "critics who will subject some of the less guarded statements to rigid scrutiny, and thus repress the exuberance of the new disciples." This may be a true prophecy.

It may be asked here, whether geologists delight more in destroying old than in making new structures? Laplace made a new theory at the end of last century; the groundwork of it is now nearly destroyed. Lyell made new theories of upheaval and sea-level, when some three-parts of this century had passed away; the foundations of these were undermined, and both will soon subside. Dr. Geikie has followed close on Sir Charles's school, and the Secret of the Highlands is tainted with his theory, as given in his "Geological Primer," 1876, p. 99: "Strange as it may seem to you, it is nevertheless true, that it is the land which rises, not the sea which sinks." In the third class above mentioned, the reviewer used the words "bring up." It will be shown presently that all the thrusts, the pilings-up, the contortions, fractures, foldings, and faultings alluded to were the results of subsidence; but before coming to this, we may touch briefly on other views of mountain building.

I take up the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for November, 1888. At p. 682 the secretary, Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield, a well-known traveller, mountain explorer, and a careful observer, writes of the Caucasus: "I seem to see in the mountain structure a series of primary parallel ridges and furrows," changed by natural forces, and sub-aerial denudation, "but still roughly recognisable." Then he asks, "How shall we account for occasional transverse ridges" and great splits in the crystalline rocks? He thinks they might "have been sawn out by water following its old channels through a slowly-rising ridge of later elevation." But, to account for certain gorges, "they require the exertion of a force similar in character to that which raised the chain, but acting at right angles to it." So then, by following this school of elevation, this clever traveller has got into a gorge that is to him a *cul-de-sac*. We will try to help him out of it by-and-by.

I now look at *Research* for September, October, and November, 1888. It is a journal of science, and gives "Theories of

Mountain Formation," by T. Mellard Reade, C.E., F.G.S., etc. The subject is not concluded, but there is enough to meet the object I have in view—that is, to show how far present theories of the general structure of mountains, and consequently of the Highlands, are from the truth; that is, if science can allow truth in the actions of nature. Mr. Reade alludes to several theories of structure, which he condemns, including the indefinite theory of Sir C. Lyell. At the end of his September article he shows that "most great ranges have a central core of gneissic and granitic rocks, forced up through the overlying sedimentaries, which are folded into loops between the intrusive tongues." He allows it, as "a universal fact, that strata which have been aqueously laid down in approximately horizontal positions are, in the mountain regions, thrown into folds, and sometimes bent, contorted, and twisted into the most extraordinary convolutions." This is done by pressure; but "much difference of opinion exists as to the origin of this pressure." "We must," says Mr. Reade, "seek for a deeper-seated force than that derivable from the secular contraction of the globe." Surely no source could be deeper. The increasing heat with depth is then shown to be felt in sediments to a great depth, and "heat expands" (October number). Then "10 miles in thickness of sediment would raise the temperature of the underlying rocks to 1,000°," and the "old and rigid foundation rocks are subjected to still greater stresses." But he has no "satisfactory data to go upon as regards cubical expansion." This means in rocks; but he has experimental data of linear expansion of iron and steel. These are homogeneous substances—the sedimentary deposits are, as Mr. Reade allows, heterogeneous; therefore there can be no analogy between the expansion of ordinary deposits and metal. Yet it is sought to be proved by this unconnected argument "that the most rigid rocks have been bent, folded, squeezed, lengthened, or thickened" by the imaginary expansion of sedimental heat. He then makes an exception for supposed igneous rocks, where "the yielding has been by shearing," and "enormous masses of rock have been bodily shifted along fault-planes," as lately described by

the Geological Survey of Scotland. Perhaps it will be time enough to consider this theory when, as Mr. Reade says, 'we come to consider the actual structure of known mountain ranges,' and how their "expansion by heat can account for their characteristic form and structure."

Mr. Reade has yet to learn that there is, or is not, a level of strain in the body of this earth. He knows that sediments are now, and always have been, formed from the materials on the surface of the earth; that similar weights are moved by similar forces; that these are always changing in strength, quality, and quantity; that like is deposited on like one day, and may be left elsewhere the next—so that we can agree with Mr. Reade in his conclusion, "We must look to another source than the contraction of the earth for the cause of mountain upheaval."

There is another cause for their building, very different from that suggested by Mr. Reade; and that cause will explain some of Mr. Reade's theories, and help Mr. Freshfield out of his *cul-de-sac*.

All over the surface of the Highlands, on slopes, on flat lands, in river-beds, we find broken masses of rock, worn boulders, pebbles, and sands. At the foot of the hills we find debris of sorts, all washed from the uplands. Far away down the vales, in narrow gorges, or in open estuaries, we find more waste from those upper regions. What is done to-day was done in all time—since evaporation took place, since dew fell upon dry land, or rain, hail or snow rested on its surface. Wherever water moves, it moves available matter with it; and in the uncounted time from the commencement of these labours, the uplands have contributed to fill up the areas between them and the retiring sea by their waters and the winds. By as much as has been taken to fill up these great spaces, by so much were the Highlands larger in height or breadth. From present hill-top to sea, most sedimentary deposits have been left stratified—that is, they were deposited by water, while some have been left unstratified by the winds and rivers.

A pamphlet was published last year by Mr. Forster, telegraph agent at Zante, showing how his seismic instruments told him of

shocks far away in the sea ; at the same time his cables refused to act, and their fractures indicated the sites of the shocks. Near these sites earthquakes took place, caused by the falling in of the sea-bed, by which the cables were buried and fractured. These subsidences are frequent in the Mediterranean, about Newfoundland, the west coast of South America, in the Indian Archipelago, and in the China Seas. Mr. Forster found that the sea had sunk, and the land had consequently grown. Sir Charles Lyell made the rise of land suit his foregone theory of upheaval. In addition to this new evidence from Mr. Forster, we have that of Dana and Darwin of sinking ocean-beds. Professor Geikie has vainly tried to prove that the parallel raised beaches found in many places have been upheaved from the lines on which the sea left them. He has, however, given facts to prove the actual sinking of the sea-bed, and the present position of the old beaches is thus accounted for. These local sinkings are always going on, and the ocean must have sunk from the banks and strata, which it left in unknown time, down to the present high-water level.

In this sinking of matter under the sea, it is not the rigid rock that is bent or tied up into loops, as so ingeniously supposed by those who follow the theory of a non-sinking sea and the upheaval of consolidated matter ; but it was the wet, soft, and plastic matter that underwent all those contortions, thrustings, squeezings, and foldings that have been looked at as so extraordinary by men who have put their own theories before nature's actions. As the sea subsided, these once flexible but adhesive rocks became hard, and hence the errors that have been current so long.

As geological surveyors are finding facts in the Highlands, so Mr. Freshfield has hinted at them in the Caucasus. As all mountains, except volcanic, have similar origins under different conditions of material and forces, I use his "ideas" of that region for the Highlands. Their origin was not necessarily "in the form of a gigantic smooth-sided bank or mound." Wherever there are irregularities of the sea-bed, there must be currents, eddies, and uncertain waves. As these forces placed varied matter in uncertain lines or areas, one

action was certain—heavy materials were deposited in moving water, light materials settled down in still water. The *Challenger* found this arrangement all round the world. The foundations of the Highlands were in undulations : currents swept over the high points, the lower were less disturbed ; the material conveyed by the water was deposited accordingly. When the sea retired, denudation took place ; the high, hard, heavy parts lost some ; the low, softer, lighter deposits lost more. All that was moved away has gone to fill up the region between the Highlands and the sea ; all that has not been moved may be seen in the old red sandstone, the clay, and mica slate, the scanty patches of limestone, and the more abundant granites and gneisses in patches from Cape Wrath to the Grampians. However soft these last may have been, there is no proof of a molten condition ; they were never "pushed up" by the contraction of a cooling globe through softer material, but other material settling down on these, may in places have exaggerated their undulations and squeezed softer muds into irregular shapes. Under these actions some of these beds have lost their stratification lines ; some never had them when deposited by floods in pockets, and some retain these lines to the present moment, though the magnifying glass is sometimes necessary to detect them. The ridges and furrows, as imagined by Mr. Freshfield, are thus accounted for by the manner of deposit and removal ; the furrows are the lovely vales, the ridges are the grand Highlands. This traveller, like others, has found clefts or splits in crystalline rocks ; when these materials were deposited on an insecure foundation, parts of them sunk down when they were no longer supported. He finds a difficulty in accounting for "crystalline gorges," and thinks "some force similar in character to that which raised the chain, but acting at right angles to it," is necessary. Mr. Freshfield is quite right, only he has not studied all the natural actions. Moving water laid down these materials ; they were heavy and adhesive ; they remained behind and gave the watershed of to-day.

As soon as rain fell, denudation began ; the rocks were worn away, and slowly but surely were these deep gorges sculptured in lines often running at "right angles" to the hills. Mr. Freshfield seems to be fettered by the

school of upheaval and a non-sinking sea. It would be well if he or anyone else could explain why certain old sea-made banks or ridges, commonly called "raised beaches," have been theoretically upheaved, so as to retain their parallel distances over a space of a few hundred yards, and why there are not similar upheavals in our river channels that have been used for thousands of years over thousands of miles. There are buried river-beds, all due to loss of watershed, to absorption by sand, or earthquakes; but we have no new upheavals, and though Sir C. Lyell and Professor Geikie put down the land as "in the very act of rising," the evidence given by them only shows that lands are now "above their former level," the level being the sea. This has certainly subsided.

When geological history commences on a fiction, all the superstructure may fall away. The *Saturday Review* thinks the "exposition of the structure is, in the highest degree, creditable to the members of the geological survey;" yet their foundation rests on "probably." After a time these "probably molten masses" "became consolidated," and changes took place in them. "In the opinion of the surveyors, this was the result of mechanical disturbance." Mr. Foster has explained the mechanism, and I gave detail of it in *Sunlight* (Trübner and Co.) in 1887. There was no pushing up or upheaval; all was done by gravitation. We know of no cause for an imperceptible elevation of the solid land; but we do know a cause for the imperceptible sinking of the sea-level by the local sinkings of its bed. Hence the growth of dry land slowly and surely, and hence the hard remnants of the Highlands have been left where they are, as monuments of Nature's work in old time. All mountains, except the volcanic, have the same history. The highest is "29,000 feet," or $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles high (*Guyot*); the deepest sea is 27,452 feet (*Challenger* Report, No. 4).

The earth is said to be a solid body, yet, if it was laid down under water, as shown by the general stratification of its layers, there must have been inequalities on the surface, with soft regions here and hard there; the last remain, the first go on sinking, or vanishing; our coal seams show frequent subsidence, and frequent growths again; we do

not yet know the entire depths of these sunken forests; but we have hundreds of yards of ocean-laid deposits over them. As the original sea-bed sinks, inclines and undulations must be continued; as long as there are inclines, material will roll into them. The sea-level need not sink under the latter action, but it must sink under the former. Subsidence may not be so constant now as it once was, but it must go on, and the rivers will continue to carry to the sea some of the material gathered from the Highlands. The secret of their bedding is not satisfactorily explained, and science cannot find it till the fictions of a fire-world and a non-sinking sea are given up. "As old as the hills" is a trite saying, but the antiquary will find nothing older on the face of this earth; the fossils, that have been used as evidence of youth, are those that have been left by the retiring ocean, and are, therefore, witnesses of age.

H. P. MALET.



Recent Archaeological Discoveries.

BY TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued.)



THE architectural discoveries on the Acropolis of Athens, interesting as they are, form only a portion of the results of the excavations. When Kimon undertook to rebuild the Temple of Athena on a larger scale, the necessary platform was obtained, as we have said, by the erection of containing walls and by filling up hollows. For this purpose were employed mutilated statues and pieces of stone and marble from the ruined buildings. When Perikles succeeded to power, the plans of Kimon were abandoned, and the drums of columns and other architectural members already prepared were employed partly in adding to the walls of the Acropolis, and partly in raising the ground within them to a still higher level. These successive strata are now removed, and from them have been recovered some dozen marble statues in comparatively good preservation, as well as

Ionic capitals and other worked stones. These capitals and the statues, with one exception, are richly coloured. The statues are of females, and though varying greatly in execution, and belonging no doubt to various periods and different schools,* they agree for the most part in attitude.

Almost every one held with one hand a fold of her dress, while the lower part of the other arm projected in front, and was formed of a separate piece of marble, bolted into a socket with a marble pin.

The marble, like many of the sculptors themselves, came from Paros, and it has been suggested that this fact prevented the use of larger blocks, owing to defective means of transport. Most of these statues have a bronze bar projecting from the top of the head. This was to support a disc (the origin of the *nimbus* of our saints), intended as a protection against rain or other damage, which the reader of Aristophanes will understand.†

The series may be studied, together with our old friend the "calf-bearer,"‡ in the collection of photographs published by Rhomaidès Frères, under the title "Les Musées d'Athènes." The photographs are accompanied by an explanatory text in no fewer than four languages—Greek, French, German, and English. Much credit is due to Messrs. Rhomaidès for their work, which reproduces with such fidelity both form and expression. In one point, however, it is necessarily deficient. It cannot give us an idea of the colouring, a most important item in the treatment of archaic art. The second part of the *Denkmäler* of the German Institute, lately issued, has supplied this want in the case of two of the most characteristic of the group. No. 1 not only presents to us a positively pleasing expression of countenance, but is adorned with a most elaborate attire, emphasized by ornamental borders which glow with brilliant hues.

* Mr. Ernest Gardner (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii. 177) assigns one of them to the School of Kalamis. As to the influence of the Chian School, see Winter in *Mitth. d. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, 1888.

† *Aves*, 1115.

‡ The base of this "Hermes Moschophoros" has recently been discovered, and also three stone statues of a still earlier style. See Winter in *Mitth. d. Inst., Ath. Abth.*, 1888.

Maeander and rosette, even after the lapse of some four-and-twenty centuries, testify to the love for gay colours that has always characterized the peoples of Southern Europe. No. 2, also published in the *Ephemeris Archæologike* for 1887, is one of the most interesting of these archaic *agalмата*, or dedicated images. It was discovered in the excavations of 1886, and is lithographed from the coloured drawing of M. Gilliéron. Of the three pieces into which it was broken, the lowest part, from the loins downwards, was first discovered, and compared to the stiff *Xoana*, or ancient wooden images of the gods. The head, found close by, was not at first supposed to belong to it; but on the discovery of the rest of the statue shortly afterwards, the connection of the three portions was established. The figure has been published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (viii. 1, p. 163), and elsewhere; but insufficiently, for the colours—bright green and red—are not given. It has been compared with the very ancient *agalma* from Delos, though evidently belonging to a much more advanced stage of art. The treatment of the drapery and the pose of the body are no doubt formal and stiff, yet the head and face of this statue are lifelike and natural. The smile is no longer forced, but really pleasing. It has been well called an archaistic work of archaic art.

A question naturally arises: Who are these smiling ladies decked out so gaily, and treated with such public honours? Two answers have been proposed. If the numerous columns and bases with dedicatory inscriptions (as that of Nearchos) belong to the statues, Professor Carl Robert* holds that the goddess Athena herself is represented as Athena Ergane, without weapons; others view the figures as her priestesses.† We must bear in mind that the Greek *ἄγαλμα* was strictly something for the god to take pleasure in, and was applied as much to dedicated images of mortals as to those of the gods themselves. So the seated statue of Chares from Branchidae declares itself an *agalma* of Apollo.

It is of course by no means unusual for

* *Hermes*, xxii. 135.

† See Studniczka, and also Winter, in *Jahrbuch d. deut. Inst.*, 1887, page 136, note 3, and page 220, note 16.

many images of one deity to be found in the same sanctuary. Yet in such a case one would look for greater uniformity of type. One would expect, too, something more in the way of attributes, though in very early figures—as the Athena in the Perseus Metope from Selinus—these are frequently wanting.*

While the specific attributes of the warlike Athena are thus lacking, we find few symbols of that great nature goddess, who plays so important a part in the oldest Greek religion. We must remember, moreover, the important position enjoyed by the priestesses of a tutelary divinity, as in the case of the priestess of Hera at Argos, or, indeed, the priestess of Athena at Athens itself in historical times. Again, looking to the parallel case of the Roman Vestals, whose images have been recently discovered, we are somewhat inclined to adopt the second of the alternative attributions.

No such difficulty can arise as to the bronze statuettes found on the Acropolis during the last two or three years. Four of them have been published by Studniczka in the *Ephemeris* for 1887. Found in the chaotic mass of materials heaped together in the time of Kimon, these bronzes bear marks of the fire with which Xerxes devastated Athens. Of three the bronze bases, with dedicatory inscriptions, have been recovered. They present the well-known type of Athena Promachos. Wrapped in the aegis, with Attic helm and lofty crest, the goddess throws the left leg forward, while with her right hand she wields a spear, and with her left a shield.

Much more remarkable is the bronze statuette of Athena found last year near the north wall of the Acropolis, opposite the northern entrance of the Erechtheum, and published by Staes in the same volume of the *Ephemeris*. It is formed in a singular manner of two plaques in low relief, welded together, and also fastened with studs.† It

* Two conspicuous instances of an unarmed Athena are quoted by Furtwängler (*Arch. Ztg.*, 1880, col. 202) from Attic vases. One is the Athena of the François vase; the other is on the archaic bowl from Ægina, now in the Berlin Museum. On this the unarmed female in chiton and upper garment, and with the lower part of the right arm extended, is also determined as Athena by an inscription, the form of which (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ) points to an Attic artist.

† Sir Charles Newton, in a letter to the *Times* of

was originally gilded, and it bears traces of fire.

Another interesting work is the archaic bronze head of a man with pointed beard. The features wear a singularly life-like expression. The peculiar shape of the head and the treatment of the hair seem to prove that there was some covering. The eyes were inserted.

Among the marble fragments, a youthful head, from its resemblance to the Apollo of the western pediment at Olympia, has suggested the attribution of the sculptures in that pediment to an elder Alkamenēs at the beginning of the fifth century.

In a third category, that of vases, much is to be learned from the successful labours of the Athenian archæologists. Twenty years ago, we talked of the stele of Aristion as offering us the presentment of a "man of Marathon;" i.e., of one living as late as B.C. 490. In much the same way the famous François vase was referred to the fifth century; whereas it is now admitted that both stele and vase must be thrown back at least into the sixth. Roughly speaking, we have been accustomed to date such works a hundred years too late. A fragment of a red-figured vase was found on the Acropolis a short time since lying at a great depth—in fact, immediately on the native rock. Beneath the surface of the Acropolis have now been found vase-fragments bearing such well-known names as Duris and Hieron. Unless, therefore, these fragments have filtered down through the soil, these artists must have flourished before B.C. 480, though no one would have ventured in former days to have assigned them such high antiquity.

Of the Piræus, the walls have lately been to a considerable extent brought to light by excavations under Dörpfeld's superintendence.

Among the most important buildings must be placed the Neosoikoi, or ship-houses of Zea, where the triremes were repaired and kept ready for sea.

The inscriptions are curiously indicative of the cosmopolitan character of a Mediterranean port. The community of the

April 20th, 1877 (translated by Michaelis, *Ztsft. f. bild. Kunst*, 1877, [510]) mentions small reliefs found at Mykenæ, which were made in pairs to be fastened together.

Sidonians decree a wreath of gold to Shemá-baal or Diopeithes, the inscription being in Phœnician and Greek. In the Piræus are found records of the trade in corn, which was then, as now, largely exported from Southern Russia.*

At Karditza, in Boeotia, the French School, under M. Holleaux, has been fortunate in its excavation of the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos. Among the numerous figures of Apollo, one head is especially deserving of attention. The eye has a peculiar shape, like a gable (*giebelförmig* is the German expression), such as is to be found on vases from Thera and Melos. Mr. Ernest Gardner† finds a resemblance to this head in some of the gold masks from Mykenæ.

We must now turn southwards, over the stepping-stones of the Ægean, passing Delos, where the French have gathered plentiful material for the epigraphist and the historian of art.

To Cyprus public attention was not long since directed, mainly by the handsome publications of General di Cesnola, whose large collection of Cyprian antiquities has found a home beyond the Atlantic. Safer guides, however, are Ohnefalsch-Richter and Ferdinand Dümmler, the result of whose investigations may be thus briefly stated: The oldest burying-places of Cyprus carry us back to a time even anterior to the possession of the island by the Phœnicians. The objects discovered, though showing progress as compared with those obtained at Hissarlik, and possibly belonging to a later date, yet resemble them closely, and may be referred to a kindred period.

The English occupation of Cyprus has afforded an opportunity of which our scholars have not failed to avail themselves. About thirty perforated monoliths of limestone have been discovered by Messrs. Guillemard and Hogarth, in proximity to cisterns, millstones, and fragments of a coarse kind of jar, such as was used for oil. Looking to this combination, they are inclined to view these monoliths, not as Phœnician, but Roman, and as forming part of the olive-press. It is not surprising that these hoary monsters should feed the superstition of Cypriotes. "Children

suffering from illness are passed through the holes; and wayfarers toss a pebble on the top, auguring good fortune should it lodge there."* Through the co-operation of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, the British School of Archæology at Athens, and the Institute of British Architects, traces of the famous Temple of Aphrodite, at Paphos, have been brought to light, though it is said that they are too meagre to admit of a fully satisfactory reconstruction. In a report laid before the subscribers to the Cyprus Exploration Fund, Mr. Elsey Smith, the young architect attached to the expedition, gives some interesting details as to the plan and its modifications in Roman times. A broad passage from east to west, flanked by chambers of early date, seems to correspond with representations of the temple on coins of Cyprus.† Of architectural detail he has found but little, and that little is for the most part Roman. The efforts of Mr. Ernest Gardner have been rewarded by a harvest of inscriptions, many of the Ptolemaic period. Among other discoveries has been found the head of an Eros, in good condition, but later in style than the finest period of Greek art. It is smaller than life, and probably formed part of a group, for one side is less carefully worked.‡ From the earlier tombs have been obtained fine specimens of pottery; from tombs of later date, glass, of which some interesting vessels have fallen to the lot of the British Museum. Perhaps the most valuable find, however, is the magnificent gold hairpin—worthy of the Paphian Queen herself—which now holds a conspicuous position in the Museum galleries. Its beauty is not its sole recommendation, for it bears an inscription dating apparently from the end of the third century. The bull's-head ornament reminds one of Persepolis.

The Greek islands were investigated early in the present century by Ross and Thiersch.

The rocky Calymnos, with its population of sponge-divers, was four times visited by Sir Charles (then Mr.) Newton. On the third occasion, during the Crimean War, he

* *Athenæum*, April 14, 1888.

† See Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, No. xxxi.; also Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 628.

‡ See a notice by Mr. Cecil Smith in the *Classical Review*, December, 1888, p. 329.

* E.g., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 101.

† *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VIII., i., p. 185.

excavated the cemetery called Damos, where gold ornaments had previously been found. Here he met with glass vessels, several instances of the *ναῦλον*, or "Charon's fee," and, best of all, the beautiful bronze group in high relief of Boreas and Oreithyia figured in his *Travels*, and now in the British Museum. On the site of the Temple of Apollo, white marble fragments of a colossal hand and of feet came to light, possibly the *disjecta membra* of the god's own statue. Votive offerings, too, were there; and, between the interstices of the pavement, coins, arrow-heads, and glass *astragali*. Of the numerous inscriptions, sixty-four were decrees of the Senate and people of Calymna, mostly relating to citizenship or to *proxenia*, and ranging from 350 to 250 B.C.*

For special efforts in more recent times, we have to thank two of our own countrymen, Mr. Bent and Mr. Paton, the results of whose researches and travels in Samos, Thasos and Calymnos will be found in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vols. vii. and viii.).

The graves of the Cyclades continue to yield vases both of clay and of marble, the latter specially characteristic of the islands; of marble, too, are the flat naked female idols, with arms across the breast.† According to Dümmler,‡ the weapons found in these prehistoric graves do not include either axes or swords,§ but only primitive daggers and spear-heads.

In this point of warlike equipment, among others, the art of the Islands is akin to that of Hissarlik, and is distinguished from the more advanced civilization represented at Mykenæ.

In treating of prehistoric art we may take as our central point Mykenæ, with its pit-graves yielding a wondrous store of ornaments in gold and bronze, hammered or cast or stamped; its statelier domed sepulchres of later date; its inlaid swords; its vases of various styles.|| The earlier stages of civiliza-

tion are found at Hissarlik, in Cyprus, and the islands of the Ægean.

Of the successive tiers of settlements which lie as strata on the hill of Hissarlik, the lowest but one may be taken as best representing the Troy of Homeric song.

In *Troja* (Leipzig, 1884), Dr. Schliemann has corrected some of his earlier views, and has given full details of the vases made to imitate the human form, and so adorned with necklace and jauntily cocked cap-tuft. It was in these human effigies that their discoverer with Homeric zeal saw the presentment of Athena's owl.

The magnificent collection which Dr. Schliemann has given to his country has been fitly housed in the "Museum für Völkerkunde," the imposing Ethnographical Museum at Berlin. The collection is a large one, but it can of course bear no comparison to the deluge of antiquities that has been poured forth of late years from the shrines and cemeteries of Cyprus. It was not only the amount, but the heterogeneous nature of Di Cesnola's finds that made men despair of arriving at any reasonable arrangement of the results. His work was chaotic. Greater care is now taken to separate and classify what is found. Foreigners have indeed asserted that English officials prefer the interests of trade to those of scientific discovery.* Yet the energetic Max Ohnefalsch-Richter speaks of the establishment of a Museum Committee as due to the initiative of the Governor of the island. On behalf of this committee excavations were commenced at Voni, which resulted in the discovery of a sanctuary of Apollo, with statues enough to fill a whole room in a museum.† The earlier antiquities have not been neglected. Dümmler and others have examined the oldest cemeteries, and have drawn attention to the affinity of the pottery found therein to that of Hissarlik. A bridge from this culture to that of Mykenæ is found in the islands of the Ægean.

We are here brought face to face with a question of nationality, which seems likely to

bronzes, etc., see *Ephemeris Archæologiké* for 1887, Part IV.

* Dümmler, *Älteste Nekropolen auf Cypern*, *Mitth.*, xi.

† *Mitth.*, ix., p. 128.

* Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant; Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part II.

† Noted by Thiersch fifty years ago. *Münchener Akad.*, 1834, 85. See Müller-Wieseler, *Taf.*, ii. 15. For figures playing lyre and flute, see Koehler, *Mitth.*, ix.

‡ *Mitth.*, xi., p. 38.

§ Yet see Paton, *J. H. S.*, viii., p. 449.

|| For additional discoveries of painted pottery, VOL. XIX.

cause as much trouble to the present generation as that concerning the Pelasgians to the last. Who and what manner of men were the Carians? and what were the limits of their settlements in prehistoric times? In this, as in all other questions of antiquities connected with Greece, we must go back, in the first instance, to Herodotos.* He tells us that the Carians had come to the mainland of Asia from the islands, where, under the name of Leleges, they had acknowledged the supremacy of Minos, had manned his fleets, and shared in his renown. To their invention the Greek warriors owed plumes for their helmets, together with devices for their shields and better means of holding them. Eventually, however, being driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians, they settled in Asia Minor. This was the statement of the Cretans. The Carians themselves, on the other hand, denied the truth of this, and maintained that they were aborigines of the Continent, and related to the Lydians and Mysians. Conversely, the Caunians, who used the Carian language, were considered by Herodotos as indigenous, but themselves claimed a Cretan origin, and some faith is due to the traditions of a race so conservative as to strike the air with spears to drive out *foreign* gods.† Thucydides, too,‡ speaks of the Carians as formerly inhabiting the Cyclades, adducing in proof of his assertion the fact that, on the purification of Delos by the removal of tombs, the greater part of these tombs were found to be Carian. They were recognised as such by the weapons deposited in them, and by the mode of interment, a mode still practised by that people in the time of the historian.

Kritias, quoted by Athenæus,§ celebrates the Carians as masters of the sea, and attributes to them the invention of ships. Homer|| knows nothing of the Carians as islanders. They occupy Miletus, when their leader enters on the war, carrying with him a wealth of gold¶ that reminds one of Mykenæ. Many there are, indeed, who would ascribe to this race the marvellous early civilization

of the eastern portion of the Peloponnesus revealed to us of late by the successful labours of Dr. Schliemann. The first to express this view was Ulrich Koehler.* He maintained that the graves, both of Mykenæ and Spata, belonged to Carian settlers in Argolis and the coast of Attica, where such names as *Briletos*, *Lykabettos*, *Ardettos*, and *Hymettos*, bear a suffix common in Asia Minor, especially in Caria.† He thinks it must have been a race accustomed to the sea that borrowed from marine objects the patterns for dress and for utensils found at Mykenæ. On gems and vases from the islands are found similar forms of polypi. The figures on the gold plates of Mykenæ have been compared to the small female idols of marble of rudest workmanship found in the islands—idols which Thiersch and later archæologists held to be pre-Hellenic or Carian. From the Islands came Perseus, builder of Mykenæ. Pelops came from Lydia, and Herodotos says the Lydians were related to the Carians. The double-axe is found at Mykenæ, with a quantity of arms in the graves, suggestive of the Carian burials mentioned by Thucydides.

Koehler's views are adopted by Dümmler,‡ who holds that the civilization of Mykenæ is of Carian, not Achæan origin. He points out that the trade of Mykenæ and her neighbours was developed towards the East, in the direction of Cyprus and Egypt, not towards any tribes of Greece. The Achæan Menelaos goes to Egypt only because he is driven there by a storm; while the Kings of Tiryns, on the other hand, had a regular trade with that country. Athenæus states that the Carians held the Leleges in serfdom.§ In order to reconcile such literary traditions, Dümmler propounds the following hypothesis: That the Leleges inhabited the Peloponnesus, part of Central Greece, the Islands, and the west coast of Asia Minor. That the Carians pressed from the east up to the east coast of Greece, and made the Leleges serfs. These, however, had the upper hand in the Islands,

* I., 171.

† Her., i. 172.

‡ I., 4 and 8.

§ I. 28.

|| Il., ii. 867.

¶ Helbig, *Hom. Epos.*, 2nd ed., 245, suggests that Amphimachos may have dressed out his hair with golden spirals; hence the comparison with a girl.

* *Ueber die Zeit und den Ursprung der Grabanlagen in Mykene und Spata*, *Mith.*, iii., pp. 1-13.

† For Carian names of places see Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 449.

‡ *Zur Herkunft der Mykenischen Cultur*, *Mith.*, xi., Heft 1.

§ VI. 271, B.

which explains the Cretan story. By the Dorian and Ionian colonization of the Islands, the Carians and Leleges were thrown back together to the Asiatic coast. So the civilization of the Islands was that of the Leleges; the civilization of Mykenæ that of the Carians. The Thalassocracy of Minos was represented by the "geometric" art. Thus much Dümmler. It must be borne in mind that this is what Germans call pure "Combination."

Studniczka* adds an argument against attributing to Achæans the culture of Mykenæ. No fibula has been found there, an implement used by Greeks of every tribe. To Oriental races, on the other hand, the fibula was unknown. To the objection that fibulæ are found in Caria, as at Assarlik,† he replies that the graves there belonged to the early Greek colonists. The fibulæ found in Cyprus he would also ascribe to the oldest Hellenic settlers. As far as the Carian women are concerned, we may remember that Herodotos‡ intimates that they wore dresses fully made up so as not to require fibulæ.

The Germans, however, are not allowed to have it all their own way. To the eighth volume of *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Mr. W. R. Paton contributes two papers. In the first, "Excavations in Caria," he gives an account of the tombs of Assarlik, identified by Sir Charles Newton with Syangela, but regarded by Mr. Paton as representing the ancient Termiera. Here he found "fragments of terracotta sarcophagi, with elaborate geometrical designs produced by moulding, not by colour."§

The peninsula on which Assarlik stands was, according to some, the home of the Leleges. The contrast between the product of the tombs in this district and the treasures of Mykenæ may be seen from the summary at the close of Mr. Paton's first report:

"There is no trace of any but geometric designs. The fibulæ are all of one pattern. The weapons are exclusively of iron. The bodies have in all cases been burnt."

In his second paper, entitled "Vases from Calymnos and Carpathos," Mr. Paton admits, indeed, that Dümmler and Studniczka have

given convincing reasons for regarding the geometric style as proto-Hellenic, and the 'Mycenæan' style as foreign, or pre-Hellenic. But further than this he does not go with the German scholars. He finds no evidence of weight for the Carian origin of Mykenæan civilization. "Nothing 'Mycenæan,'" says Mr. Paton, "has been found in Caria, and the pottery of the Leleges, the inhabitants of its coasts, belongs, as we have seen, to a primitive geometric system."

In the tombs and the palaces of Mykenæ, Orchomenos, and Tiryns, he finds traces of an active intercourse with Egypt. This Egyptian influence is observed in modes of burial and in the inlaid bronze work; while in the pottery we have ornament independent of foreign art, and developed among a maritime people. For the origin of this he would look to Crete. "The whole story of the Carian occupation of the islands" seems to Mr. Paton to be "lacking in trustworthiness." "As Herodotus tells us, the Carians themselves knew nothing of it," the account coming from the Cretans.

Mr. Paton's experience and knowledge of the ground referred to may specially entitle him to a hearing, and his views are no doubt supported by men equally competent to form an opinion on this difficult question. He will have the support, too, of many who do not like the rude disturbance of old beliefs. It was a pleasing thing to imagine that we had come across the relics of the king of men, and found him surrounded with pompous trappings worthy of the golden Mykenæ. Or, if we could not go quite so far as this, at least to imagine that the graves discovered were those of "Achæan" princes, prototypes of heroes in Homeric verse. To recognise in the lords of Mykenæ a mere barbarian horde whose speech was unintelligible to an ordinary Greek,* was indeed a grievous bathos.

On the other hand, the Carian theory is advocated by able men; the opinion of Professor Koehler is especially weighty. And after all, however much Greeks may have looked down on Carians in the brightest days of Hellas, there were times when these were thought fit to march and fight under the

* *Mitth.*, xii., p. 8.

† Paton in *J. H. S.*, viii., p. 170.

‡ V. 88.

§ *J. H. S.*, viii., p. 75.

* See Her., viii. 135. So in Homer Carians are βασιλεύοντες.

same banner as the men of Ionia or of Rhodes.*

When the Persians crushed the Ionic revolt, there were few who resisted so stubbornly as the worshippers of Zeus Stratios.† We know from Herodotos‡ that the élite of the Ionian colonists of Asia Minor took Carian wives, and the account he gives shows these to have been women of spirit.

In art, again, even Homer himself bears witness to the skill of the Carians.§

We have no intention of entering into a discussion of the numerous questions connected with the antiquities of Crete, but will only in passing draw attention to the great code of private law recently discovered at Gortyn.

Two fragments of this had been previously found. In 1884, however, Dr. Federico Halbherr discovered and copied four columns of the inscription, and on his information Dr. Fabricius recovered the remaining eight.

After much negotiation with the owners of the property, he obtained permission to excavate the earth covering the wall on which the law was engraved. A trench was dug, but it was then discovered that a huge mulberry-tree grew right over the wall. As the owners were deaf to all proposals to cut it down, nothing remained but to dig a pit on the other side and run a tunnel under the tree.

For seven days Dr. Fabricius worked in a trench 11 feet deep, with his feet in the water which constantly flowed in from the adjacent millstream, and had to be baled out from hour to hour. Twice through storms the water rose to a couple of yards. The sufferings of the worthy Doctor in copying the lower lines in his dark tunnel may be left to the imagination. What seems to have vexed his soul most, however, was the shower of questions and suggestions of the crowd of inquisitive Cretans of both sexes who from early till late stood round his trench.|| The owner, too, of the field and the inscription, waxed wrathful as he thought himself outwitted and robbed of his treasure, and with

* Her. ii. 152; iii. 11; and vii. 93. See also Sayce, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, ix., part I, as to Carians at Abu-Simbel.

† Her., v. 119, 121.

‡ I. 146.

§ II., iv. 142.

|| *Mith.*, ix., p. 366.

threats claimed damages for burrowing under his mulberry-tree.

German perseverance, however, succeeded in giving to the world an accurate copy of this unique document. It is longer than any inscription of early date, covering the wall to a height of 5 feet for 9 or 10 yards. It contains, according to Mr. E. S. Roberts,* about 17,000 letters. Its provisions relate to the law of the family. At first sight, from the peculiar forms of some letters and the absence of the later additions to the alphabet, one might suppose it to be of very early date; and in fact some scholars have referred it to the sixth or even the seventh century. On the other hand, if we look to the extreme regularity and finish of the carving, and to the fact that the same alphabetical peculiarities are found on works of art the style of which belongs undoubtedly to the fifth century, we feel compelled to assign to it a later date, perhaps even the second half of the fifth century.†



The House of Orange-Nassau.

“Je Maintiendrai.”



AT a time when we are commemorating by the erection of a statue the landing at Torbay of King William III. in 1688, the following notes, showing the inter-relationship between our royal family and that of Holland, will be interesting to the English reader.

ORANGE.

In 1527 the armies of the Emperor Charles V. took Rome. The Connétable de Bourbon fell in the assault, and was succeeded in the command of the Imperial forces by Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange (the ancient Arausio), a small independent State on the great historic road of the valley of the Rhone, which, from the eleventh century, had been ruled by its own sovereigns.

Philibert, in his turn, fell before Florence,

* *Introd. to Epigraphy*, p. 41.

† See Kirchhoff, *Studien*, p. 78.

leaving no issue. His sister Claude married Henry, Count of Nassau, Marquess of Breda, lord of several possessions in the Netherlands, and one of Charles V.'s generals. He died in 1538.

The son of Henry and Claude was René, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, etc. (d. 1544). His heir was his cousin, the famous William the Silent (1533-1584), son of William the Rich, brother of Henry.

William the Silent died by the hand of the assassin Balthazar Gerard in 1584. His eldest son, Philip William—a prisoner first in Spain and afterwards in Brussels—(d. 1618) bequeathed his titles to his brother Maurice of Nassau, Stadhouder of Holland, etc. (d. 1625). Maurice was succeeded by his brother Frederick Henry (d. 1647), and he by his son William II. (d. 1650), who married Mary Stuart, daughter of Charles I.

William's posthumous son, William III., married Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Invited to England, William landed at Torbay November 5, 1688, and was crowned King in 1689, retaining his stadholdership of Holland.

Thus, William III. (*Stadhouder*) of Holland became William III. (*King*) of England.

William III. died in 1702 without issue, having bequeathed his Netherlandish titles to John William "Friso," Stadhouder of Friesland (d. 1711), grandson of Albertina Agnes, daughter of Frederick Henry (d. 1647), sister of William II., and wife of William Frederick of Friesland (d. 1664). Part of King William's possessions were inherited by the issue of the Great Elector, William of Brandenburg, who married King William's aunt, Louisa Henrietta, ancestress of the reigning royal family of Prussia.

"Friso's" son, William Charles Henry Friso, Stadhouder of Friesland, was created, as William IV., hereditary stadhouder of all the Provinces. He died in 1751, leaving his widow Anne, daughter of George II., ancestress of the reigning royal family of Holland, regent. His son William V., the last of the stadhouders, took refuge in England in 1795, and died in 1806. It was his son who was recalled to Holland in 1813 to

be the first King of the Netherlands, with the title of King William I. He abdicated in 1840 in favour of his son William II. (d. 1849), who was succeeded by the reigning sovereign, William III. The King of Holland's eldest son William, Prince of Orange,* died in 1879, and the younger, Prince Alexander, in 1884. The heir to the throne of Holland† is Wilhelmina, Princess of Orange, the only living child of the king, by his second queen, Emma, of Waldeck, sister of the widow of H.R.H. the late Duke of Albany.

The King of Holland's sister, Sophia, married Charles, Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar. Their eldest grandson, William, born in 1876, is four years older than the Princess Wilhelmina.

NASSAU.

The House of Nassau traces its origin to Otto, of Franconia, brother of Conrad I., elected King of the Germans in 911. Otto's descendant, Count Henry the Rich, divided his lands (1255) between his sons Walram II. and Otto. Otto's line survives in the reigning family of Holland. The Duke of Nassau (dispossessed in 1866) represents the line of Walram.

The Otto line had several branches. Upon the death of William of Nassau-Dillenburg (1559), his two sons, William the Silent and John, became the heads of two houses. William the Silent was the great-grandfather of William III., stadhouder, who became King William III. of England. From John descended John William Friso, who was heir to William III., and the ancestor of the reigning King of Holland, William III.

[*My thanks are due to the Chevalier John Kramers, of Rotterdam, for his aid in the preparation of these notes.*]

HENRY ATTWELL.

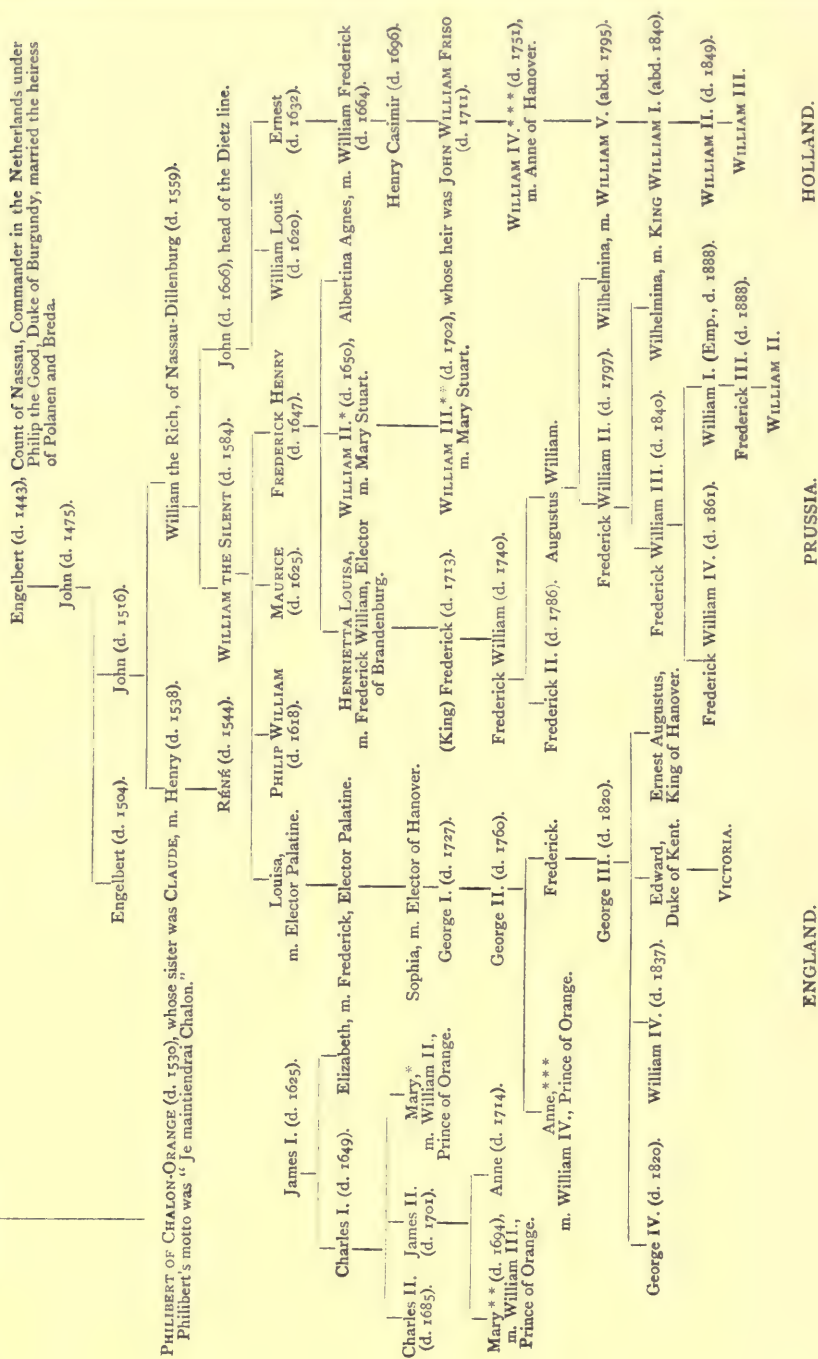
* The title of Prince of Orange, bestowed upon the heir to the throne, is retained by the king, and used in official documents, in which he is styled Prince of Orange-Nassau.

† But not to Luxemburg, the heir to which is the dispossessed Duke of Nassau.

THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU.

ORANGE.

NASSAU.



Ancient Peru.

BY R. S. MYLNE, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., CHAPLAIN
AND LECTURER OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

PART II.



T remains to give a brief account of the character and personal history of the Inca princes who founded and governed the vast Empire of Peru.

This is indeed the particular subject of the second portion of the Chronicle. The learned Mr. Prescott, the well-known historian of the early civilization of America, erroneously regarded it as the work of Dr. Sarmiento. His keen eye, however, at once detected its literary merit and historical value. He made free use of its then sealed pages in the composition of his famous book concerning the Conquest of Peru. The first few sheets have perished, and the existing document opens with a fragmentary sentence on the eternal contrast between the ultimate fate of the evil and the good.

The righteous "go to a delightful place full of enjoyment and pleasure, where they all eat and drink, and rejoice; and if, on the contrary, they have done evil, disobedient to parents, hostile to religion, they go to another place, which is dark and dismal."

But to return to the history of the Peruvian emperors. Twelve, or, as some say, eleven, Incas of the sacred line reputed to be descended from the sun, ruled the land in lawful succession. Before their days, says the Chronicle, everything was in dire confusion, and "many went naked like savages." They lived in caves and cliffs, and rocks and dens of the earth, and obtained their scanty food by constant hunting. Why was such ignorance and barbarism allowed to prevail? The hard question just crossed Cieza's puzzled mind, and he concludes the matter by saying: "The Devil, by permission of Almighty God, and for reasons known to Him, had very great power amongst these people." How many wiser philosophers have been puzzled and perplexed in considering the origin and active existence of evil!

Of the earliest Incas not much has been handed down to posterity. Manco Capac, the

founder of Cuzco, was the first of the distinguished and honourable line. He was succeeded by Sinchi Roca, who enlarged the House of the Sun, and induced many strangers to come and settle in the capital. He gave his beautiful daughter in marriage to the eldest son of a neighbouring chieftain. The happy event caused some scandal amongst the Peruvian nobility, lest the purity of the blood of the Imperial line should be thereby impaired. The same spirit of jealousy may be traced in royal and aristocratic families everywhere. Lloque Yupanqui, his immediate successor, enlarged the city of Cuzco, and amassed vast quantities of gold and silver.

The fourth Inca, Mayta Capac, came to the empire very young. Cieza says but little is recorded of his life, but Garcilasso de la Vega declares that he made some great conquests, particularly in the hilly district around the great lake Titicaca.

The fifth Inca, Capac Yupanqui, commenced his reign by a very successful campaign. In one of his chief battles he is reported to have slain over six thousand of the enemy after the manner of Oriental despots. He likewise extended his dominions by skilful negotiations and the secret arts of diplomacy. In this way certain border tribes were induced to receive him as their lord. He died in a good old age, and was succeeded by the sixth Inca, who was named Rocca, and was chiefly famous for a formal progress which he made in great state and pomp through a portion of the empire. His own son, the Inca Yupanqui, came next to the throne. He was a brave and virtuous prince, "of gentle presence, grave, and of imposing mien." But notwithstanding his virtues, he was foully slain by a traitor, to the thorough astonishment of the Indians, who were accustomed to regard their ruler as one of the Gods. The name of the eighth Inca was Viracocha. He is renowned, according to the old records, as the successful conqueror of Calca and Caitamarca. Into the latter town we are told that he threw a burning stone from a golden sling, with such tremendous force as to set fire to the thatched eaves of the houses, and so the people of the place at once submitted, regarding this extraordinary event as a sign of warning from heaven. What the weapon was, which he

really used, can never now be known. Two rival chieftains at this time dominated the mountain province of Collao. Playing one off against the other, the Inca added this district to his dominions. With the more powerful of these two he made a treaty of peace. A large golden cup was brought, out of which each drank the sparkling wine; and then the Inca placed it upon a loose stone, and said: "The sign is this. The cup shall be here. I do not move it, nor you touch it, in token that that which is agreed upon shall be observed." Then kissing, they made reverence to the sun. And the priests deposited the cup in one of the temples to be a perpetual witness of that solemn treaty. So peace was made in Ancient Peru.

Inca Yupanqui was the ninth Inca that reigned in Cuzco, and he marked his accession to the Crown by a splendid victory over the warlike tribe of the Chancas. At one time even Cuzco, the capital, seemed in danger, but in the end the Inca completely overthrew his enemies. During the reign of this powerful prince, the Empire of Peru assumed the magnificent dimensions which it retained down to the Spanish conquest.

After the victory over the Chancas, he made successful expeditions against the wild mountain tribes of the maritime Cordillera. Where he could not capture by storm, he starved out by blockade the garrisons of the fastnesses in the mountains. He likewise conquered the Huancas, and other minor tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood. To the south he subdued the whole population as far as the distant shores of the great lake Titicaca, and also explored considerable portions of the dense forests of the Andes, where monstrous snakes are found. He built a large part of the famous royal road, and in despotic fashion ordered his subjects to speak one language, and by assiduous study acquired much knowledge of the movements of the stars. His most notable act, according to Cieza, was the erection of the fortress Temple of the Sun in the city of Cuzco. Archæologists, however, consider this marvellous building is of earlier date. Tupac Inca, the tenth in the succession, commenced his reign by quelling a rebellion amongst the Collas, and then undertook the conquest of the outlying tribes to the north,

as far as Quito. It is needless to enter upon the details of the long march. All ended with complete success, and the Inca established a governor of his own in Quito, entrusted with vast powers. Moreover, the people learnt to call their new prince "The Father of all, the good Lord, the just Judge."

On the return journey, Tupac Inca subjugated the low-lying valleys of the sea-coast, commonly called the valleys of the Yuncas, where intense heat prevailed, and the people were more effeminate than the mountaineers. Gratified at his great victories in the north, Tupac Inca set out to accomplish the same object in the south. He penetrated beyond the great lake Titicaca, and became the lord of Chile or Chili.

Yet, such are the accidents of life, that, soon after his victorious return, he was taken ill suddenly and died.

Great was the mourning and lamentation, from one end to the other of that vast empire, when this mighty conqueror passed onward to the abode of the sun.

Great treasure was buried in his tomb, and the appropriate heathen rites performed with much pomp and ceremony.

Doubtless there was rich food provided for his long journey, and the forced companionship of some of his favourite wives and dependants.

The next Inca was named Huayna Capac. He was not tall, but "well built, with good features, and much gravity. He was a man of few words, but many deeds; a severe judge who punished without mercy." At the first he lived chiefly in Cuzco; afterwards he visited some of his provinces in great state, and was well received on all sides. He occupied his troops and servants in constructing vast buildings, as palaces, baths, and store-houses, wherever he made any long stay. He was careful to put in order the affairs of Chile, and to introduce the same wise system of administration which prevailed in the other parts of the empire.

He also made a royal progress to Quito. It was a saying of this prince, that when his people had no other work to do, it was a good thing to make them remove a hill from one place to another. He even ordered stones and slabs to be brought from Cuzco for the construction of new palaces in Quito.

This powerful sovereign marched through the coast valleys, severely punishing all who opposed him, especially the people of the island of Puna. Yet he could be kindly. An old man, who was working in the fields, heard the mighty Inca was going to pass that way, and he gathered a little fruit called "pepino," and said, "Very great lord, eat thou." And the proud prince took the poor man's offering, and said: "Of a truth this is very sweet." From this incident, observes the Spanish chronicler, everyone derived much gratification.

In the neighbourhood of Quito, Huayna Capac seems to have spent much time. Once or twice his troops were defeated by the wild border tribes, but terrible vengeance was ultimately wreaked upon his enemies. In the midst of his great schemes of conquest, he was carried off by a pestilential fever which raged in the city of Quito. Yet before his death, he heard of the landing of the first white man, Francisco Pizarro, upon the coast, and he inquired diligently what he and his companions were like, and what was their character.

Profound peace reigned in Ancient Peru when this mighty Inca passed away. But the empire was too large for one governor, and the result was that Atahualpa ruled in Quito, and Huascar reigned in Cuzco. The former was the best-loved son of the last Inca, and the latter was the legitimate heir to the throne. The one was the favourite with the army; the other was popular with the nobles of the capital.

The immediate result of the division was civil war. The first battle was fought at Ambato, and the victory remained with Atahualpa. A second contest took place in the province of Paltas, ending in the same way. It was just at this particular juncture that the Spaniards landed on the coast, and commenced their famous conquest. Atahualpa was thus prevented from marching southwards on Cuzco, and was eventually foully murdered by Pizarro. At this point our narrative must come to an end. The last of the Incas has found an early grave by the hand of the invading white man, but it is not our business on the present occasion either to attempt to describe or to mar the halo of glory which has long centred round the Spanish conquest of Peru.

The Camara Santa at Oviedo.

By F. R. McCLINTOCK, B.A.

The relics and the written works of saints,
Toledo's choicest treasure prized beyond
All wealth, their living and their dead remains ;
These to the mountain fastnesses he bore
Of unsubdued Cantabria, there deposed,
One day to be the boast of yet unbuilt
Oviedo, and the dear idolatry of multitudes un-
born."

SOUTHEY, *Roderick*, Canto xviii.



ADJOINING the south transept of the Cathedral of Oviedo is a sacred spot. Here may still be seen the small building erected in 802 by King D. Alonso el Casto for the reception of the ark or chest containing certain relics highly venerated by believers.

According to the popular tradition, this chest, made by the disciples of the Apostles of incorruptible wood, was removed, with its contents, to Africa from Jerusalem, when that city was subjugated by Chosroes, King of Persia. On the invasion of Africa by the Arabs, it was transferred from that country to Cartagena, in Spain, or, according to others, to Seville, whence it came to Toledo, where it remained until the occupation of that capital by the Moors. From Toledo it was taken, either by Bishop Urban or Julian, or, perhaps, by King Pelayo himself, to a place of safety in the Cave of Monsagro in the mountains of the province of Asturias, from whence it was finally transferred by King Don Alonso el Casto to his newly-founded church of San Salvador.

Whether the relics now shown twice daily to the faithful are those which were originally in the chest is a disputed point. According to some authorities, the chest was opened at the instance of King Don Alfonso VI., in 1075, in presence of a number of prelates of Spain then taking refuge in Oviedo. In it they discovered a number of caskets of gold, silver, ivory, and coral, which, on being reverently opened, were found to contain relics the exact nature of which was clearly indicated by small slips of parchment attached to each. According to Morales, however, such horror and dismay fell upon the most illustrious Señor D. Christoval de Rojas y Sandoval, who, when Bishop of Oviedo, essayed to open the Holy Ark, that he was obliged to desist from his intent, although he

had devoutly prepared himself for the solemn act by fasting and prayers, "his whole holy desire being turned into a chill of humble shrinking and fear. Among other things which his most illustrious lordship relates of what he then felt, he says that his hair stood up in such a manner, and with such force, that it seemed to him as if it lifted the mitre a considerable way from his head. In this manner the Holy Ark remained unopened then, and will always remain fastened more surely with veneration and reverence, and with respect of these examples, than with the strong bolt of its lock."*

Whether the ark be empty or full, and by what means it was brought to the place where we now see it, are matters which need not particularly concern us. Its value and interest are neither increased nor diminished by the fables connected with it. Leaving these questions, then, on one side, we purpose attempting a short description of the chest itself, as well as of some of the most notable objects of genuine art displayed to view in this sacred chamber.

But, first, a word or two as to the actual building in which these treasures are housed.

From the transept of the cathedral you ascend by a flight of twenty-two steps leading to a vestibule, through which, descending now a few steps, you pass to the Cámara Santa. This sacred chamber is divided into two parts—the antechamber, and the inner sanctuary. The antechamber consists of a single nave in the late Romanesque style, with a semicircular vault, whose ribs or groins spring from a rich cornice, sustained by capitals variously and elaborately ornamented, which surmount pairs of columns like caryatides, carved in the likeness of the Apostles—twelve in all. These figures, which, like the rest of this portion of the building, probably date from the time of Alfonso VI., are truly Byzantine in character, stiff, quaint, and elongated, but are, nevertheless, not without a certain peculiar charm of their own. Their feet rest upon fantastical representations of grotesque animals, and each pair of columns stands on a pedestal, with small pillars at the front angles. The pavement is of cement

(*argamasa*), into which pebbles of many colours have been introduced, so as to give the appearance of jasper. At the further end of this part of the chamber is the *sanctum sanctorum*, or sanctuary of the Cámara, simple and primitive in its ornamentation. The floor of this Holy of Holies is slightly higher, and the roof considerably lower than is the case with the more elaborately-ornamented antechamber. This, in all probability, is the only vestige now remaining of the original building of Alonso el Casto. In order to guard the sacred relics from the effects of the climate of this mountainous region, which, unlike the rest of Spain, is damp and rainy, Alonso caused the building destined for their reception to be raised to some height from the ground. Underneath is a massive stone-vaulted chapel, or crypt, dedicated to the memory of the martyr Santa Leocadia. Both antechamber and sanctuary are lighted solely by a small window at the east end of the latter.

In front of this window, in the space left between it and a small balustrade separating the two divisions of the building, stands the famous chest, or *Arca Santa*. It is of oak, covered with a thin plating of silver, and is adorned with representations of sacred subjects in low relief, embossed and chiselled. On the front part of the chest are the twelve Apostles under niches, with the four Evangelists at the angles, and, in the centre, the image of Christ sustained by angels; on one of the sides appear the birth of Christ, the adoration of the shepherds, and the flight into Egypt; on the other, the rebellion of the wicked angels, the Ascension, and various figures of Apostles, with inscriptions. The cover is adorned with a representation of Mount Calvary. This chest is six feet long, by three and a half feet wide, and its height is the same as its width. There seems little reason to doubt that it was made, not for Alonso el Casto, as some fondly suppose, but for Alfonso VI., the name of whose sister, Urraca, appears on the inscription on the cover.* Around the border runs an inscription in cufic characters now illegible, but held to express in Arabic the praise of the one God—a custom which was not introduced into Christian works of art until

* From the translation of Morales' account of the Cámara Santa in the notes to Canto xviii. of Southey's *Roderick*.

* It must be owned, however, that Urraca is no uncommon name in the early royal families of Spain. There has been much discussion as to this name, Urraca. See *Hist. Gen. de España*, vol. iii., c. xiv.

after the reconquest of Toledo. Like the figures on the walls of the antechamber, the work on the chest bears evident traces of the Byzantine influence which then pervaded the art workshops of Europe. But the style of the various designs reveals an art of a much later period than the ninth century.

Over the ark, which, as above hinted, stands like an isolated altar, the numerous relics are ranged on shelves, and in cases placed against the walls. The most notable objects, from an artistic point of view at least, here shown are the two famous historical crosses, *La Cruz de los Angeles*, and *La Cruz de la Victoria*; various beautiful caskets for relics, and some remarkable diptychs. The *Cruz de los Angeles*, in shape a Maltese cross, derives its name from the circumstances set forth in the following legend:

Being desirous of adorning his newly-founded church of San Salvador with a costly offering, King Alonso had collected a great quantity of gold and precious stones, with a view to the fashioning of a richly-ornamented cross. But the fact that no artificer sufficiently skilful to carry out his pious intentions could be found within his dominions, caused him much vexation and annoyance. In this state of mind, as he was one day returning from Mass, two strangers in the garb of pilgrims, being aware of his desire, presented themselves before him, and offered to perform the task which he so piously wished to see accomplished. Alonso immediately caused the strangers to be taken to a remote apartment of the palace, and the materials for making the cross were forthwith supplied to them. After a short time some of the king's retainers went to the apartment to see how the work was progressing. But to their intense surprise they found that the pilgrims had disappeared, leaving behind them, suspended in the air, an exquisitely ornamented cross, from which a bright light proceeded. There could be no doubt, therefore, that the supposed strangers were angels, whom the king had thus entertained unawares.*

* The editor of the *Historia General de España y de sus Indias*, from which I have taken the above legend, naively remarks that "those who do not believe that angels came down from heaven to fashion this cross, suppose that the two journeymen or pilgrims who presented themselves to Alonso were Arabian artists from Cordova, the goldsmiths of which

The cross is enriched with fine gilt filigree work, in which are set precious stones of various kinds—amethysts, topazes, agates, turquoises, onyxes, and others of equal value. Of especial richness is the magnificent ruby, in the centre of the cross, corresponding with which, at the back, is a fine cameo, from its style and character possibly Roman. There are other cameos on the cross, besides engraved stones. At the foot of the cross are two angels in attitudes of adoration. These little figures seem from their character to belong to a much later period than the cross itself. We may probably consider them to date from the end of the sixteenth, or even the beginning of the seventeenth, century.*

The other cross differs from the former in form and size, but resembles it in the style and character of its ornamentation. The original basis of oak is traditionally believed to have fallen from heaven, and to have been elevated by the gallant Don Pelayo in his victorious contest with the Moors at Covadonga—hence its name, "The Cross of Victory." It is 36 in. by 28½ in. wide, and was covered with gold, precious stones, and enamelled designs, by order of Alfonso the Great in 908, at the Castle of Gauzon, the ruined remains of which still exist about fourteen miles from Oviedo.† The inscriptions at the back of these crosses, which are given verbatim in Señor Riaño's *The Industrial Arts in Spain*, prove their antiquity and authenticity beyond any reasonable doubt.

In the case of objects so antique and so precious, it is not astonishing that a flavour of tradition and romance has become intermingled with their history. It could not well happen otherwise in Spain—the country, beyond all others, of legendary and romantic lore. So much, indeed, has this character pervaded the history of the country during the period of its subjugation by the Moors, and its reconquest by the Christians, that sober historians experience more than usual

city had already at that period acquired great fame, distinguishing themselves by the beauty and delicacy of their work."

* See *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, vol. x.

† This castle was one of those erected for a defence of the sea-coast against the invasions of the Normans.

difficulty in disentangling truth from fiction in the narratives they present to their readers. Washington Irving thought it better not to try and do so overmuch. "To discard," he says, "everything wild and marvellous in this portion of Spanish history is to discard some of its most beautiful, instructive, and national features; it is to judge of Spain by the standard of probability suited to tamer and more prosaic countries."* But however much we may regret it, the inquiring spirit of the age in which we live demands a rigid investigation of events pretending to be historical, and insists on the rejection of what is merely legendary at all costs.

Among the caskets to be seen at this shrine, is one composed of agates set in gold, the gift of King Fruela II., an inscription on which shows that it was made in the year 910 A.D.

The diptychs belonging to the shrine were destined to serve as reliquaries or portable altars. One misnamed the *Altar de los Apostoles*, for on it are represented scenes from the life of Christ, is an ivory diptych belonging to the second half of the fourteenth century. More important and more ancient is the diptych made by the Order, and bearing the name of Bishop Gonzalo Menendez, who was Bishop of Oviedo from A.D. 1162 to 1175. When open it is about 5 in. long by 7 in. wide, and is ornamented within and without with filigree work, ivory statuettes, and precious stones. It is reckoned one of the finest specimens of Spanish jewellery of the period.

The reader who desires fuller and more perfect details respecting this shrine and its valuable contents should consult the splendid work entitled *Monumentos Arquitectonicos de España*, published by the Spanish Government, wherein he will find much set down at length which could not well find place in a short magazine article. The excellent *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, vol. x., may also be referred to with advantage.

A fitting crown to this sacred chamber is the short square tower with small Romanesque arches and pillars, and quaintly ornamented capitals, which may be seen from the narrow lane or passage on the south side of the cathedral.

* Preface to *Legends of the Conquest of Spain*.

To the devotee, no less than to the humble art student, will this chamber and its contents ever appear worthy of high veneration. The feelings which a visit to the spot called up in the pious mind of Morales are recorded in his journal: "I have now," he says, "described the material part of the Cámara Santa. The spiritual and devout character which it derives from the sacred treasure which it contains, and the feeling which is experienced upon entering it, cannot be described without giving infinite thanks to our Lord that He has been pleased to suffer a wretch like me to enjoy it. I write this in the church before the grating, and God knows I am, as it were, beside myself with fear and reverence, and I can only beseech God to give me strength to proceed with that for which I have not power myself."*

With the exception of certain silver lamps, which have since been carried off, the Cámara Santa and its treasures are the same now as when Morales visited the spot more than 300 years ago.

Twice daily, at 8.30 in the morning, and 3.30 in the afternoon, a small procession, headed by two priests and an acolyte, is formed in the south transept of the cathedral for the purpose of visiting these holy relics. The priests go before uttering prayers in a low, monotonous voice, until the shrine is reached. The faithful, or others desirous to see the relics, follow after. As soon as the prayers are over, the acolyte, holding a lighted taper, points out and names the objects to those assembled, and a printed paper describing them is handed to each. The acolyte is somewhat apt to hurry over his oft-repeated task, and lingers no longer over genuine treasures than over doubtful bones and other reputed relics of saints and Apostles. The light, moreover, is barely sufficient to allow of a careful examination of what is most noteworthy, so that two or three visits to the sanctuary at least are advisable. The priests, however, are complaisant, and willingly allow a closer inspection of their treasures at the conclusion of the ceremony.

* From Southey, as before.



Essex in Insurrection.

BY J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.

(Concluded.)



HERE are, in the Public Record Office, various documents referring to this great insurrection of the people. One series entitled "*Presentationes de Malefactoribus qui surrexerunt contra Dominum Regem 4 et 5 Ric. II.*," relate entirely to Kent, and contain innumerable proofs of the leadership being in the person of an Essex man. For example, the twelve jurors of Downhamford, say upon their oath, "that Walter Teghelere of Essex, John Halis of Malling, William Hanker and John Abel, on Monday next after the feast of the Holy Trinity, in the fourth year, made insurrection against our Lord the King, and his people, and came to Canterbury, and made an assault on William Septvantz, Sheriff of Kent, and made the said Sheriff take an oath to them, and compelled the said Sheriff under fear of death, to deliver up the books, viz., the rolls of the Pleas of the county and of the crown of our Lord the King, and whatever writs of our Lord the King were in the custody of the said Sheriff, and they burnt fifty rolls and the said writs on the same day at Canterbury, in contempt of our Lord the King, and to the prejudice of his crown, and feloniously and traitorously broke into the Castle of our Lord the King at Canterbury, and caused to go free, John Burgh, an approver, Richard Darbye, a clerk, a convict, Agnes Jekyn, and Joan Hampcok, prisoners fettered and manacled in the said Castle, in contempt of our Lord the King, and to the prejudice of his crown." Also "on Monday, on the morrow of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (8 July, 1381), in the year of the reign of King Richard the Second from the conquest of England the fifth, at Canterbury, before Thomas Holand, Earl of Kent, and his associates." The jurors on their oath say that, "on Thursday, on the feast of Corpus Christi (13th June), in the fourth year of King Richard the II. after the conquest, Stephen Samuel, John Wenlock, John Daniels,

Thomas Soles, John Tayllor, Sachristan of the Church of St. John in Thanet, and John Bocher, clerk of the said Church of Thanet, *by commission* of John Rakestraw and Watte Tegheler, of Essex, made proclamation in the foresaid Church, and compelled a levy of the country there, to the number of two hundred men, and made them go to the house of William de Medmenham, and they feloniously broke open the gates, doors, chambers and chests of the said William, and carried away his goods and chattels to the value of twenty marks, and took and feloniously burnt the Rolls touching the Crown of our Lord the King, and the Rolls of the office of Receiver of Green Wax for the County of Kent." In the *Coram Rege* and *Assize Rolls*, the names of Essex men figure most conspicuously, the precepts to the Sheriff for the arrest and production of various persons implicated being very numerous, despite the charter of pardon granted by the King. "Richard, etc.—Know ye, that of our special grace, we have manumitted, or set free all and singular our liege subjects, and other of the County of Essex; and them, and every of them from all bondage do release and acquit by these presents, and also we pardon to our said liegemen and subjects, all manner of felonies, treasons, transgressions, and extortions, by them, or any of them, in any manner whatsoever done or committed, etc. Witness the King himself at London, the 15th June, in the fourth year."

The opposition offered by the Barons and Knights to the terms of this charter induced the King to cause proclamation to be made in every city, borough, and market town as follows:

"Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Although in the late detestable disturbance, horribly made by divers of our liege people and subjects rising up against our peace, certain letters patent of ours were made at the importunate instance of the rebels, containing, That we have freed all our liege people, common subjects, and others of the several counties of our realm of England, and them, and every of them, discharged and acquitted from all bondage and

service; and also that we have pardoned them all manner of insurrections by them against us made, and all manner of treasons, felonies, transgressions, and extortions by them, or any of them committed; as also all outlawries published against them, or any of them on these occasions, or that we have granted to them, and every of them, our firm peace; and that our will was, that our said liege people and subjects should be free to buy and sell in all cities, boroughs, towns, markets and other places within the Kingdom of England; and that no acre of land which holds in bondage or villanage, should be accounted higher than at four pence; and if any were before held for less, that it should not be raised for the future. Yet for that such our letters did issue without mature deliberation and unduly, we well weighing that the grant of the said letters doth manifestly tend to the very great prejudice of us and our crown, and to the disinherison as well of us and the prelates and nobility of our said realms, as of the Holy Anglican Church, and also the damage and incommmodity of the commonwealth; therefore, by the advice of our council, we have revoked, made void, and do utterly annul the said letters, and whatever hath been done or followed thereupon: willing that none, of what state or condition soever he be, shall any way have, or reap, or enjoy any liberty or benefice whatever of or by the said letters. For we will, and it is our intention, by the advice of our sound council, for the future to impart such grace and favour to all and singular; although they have grievously forfeited their allegiance, as shall be well pleasing and profitable to our realm, and with which our faithful subjects may reasonably hold themselves contented. And this we do notify to all persons concerned by these presents, commanding the same to be proclaimed in all cities and towns, villages, etc. And further, we strictly require and command that all and singular, as well free as bondmen, shall without any contradiction, murmuring, resistance, or difficulty, do and perform the works, customs, and services which to us, or any of their lords they ought to do, and which before the said disturbance were used to be done, without lessening or delaying the same; and that

they do not presume to require, pretend, or claim any other liberties or privileges than what they reasonably had before the said tumults. And that all such as have any of our said letters of manumission and pardon in their custody bring and restore the same to us and our council to be cancelled, upon the faith and allegiance in which to us they are bound, and upon pain of forfeiting all that to us they can forfeit for the future. In testimony whereof we have caused our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Chelmsford, the 2nd day of July, in the 5th year of our reign."

This revocation of pardon, given under the great seal, was followed by the taking in Essex of the most effective steps to secure the punishment of the participators in the insurrection.

In the *Coram Rege* Roll, Mich. 5 Ric. II., we find:

"*Essex*.—Precept to the Sheriff to search for numerous persons including Walter Cartere of Billerica, from county to county, to summon them if not outlawed, or to take them if outlawed and to have their bodies before the King in the octaves of St. Michael, to answer to the King for divers felonies whereof they are appealed by divers approvers lately being in the King's castle of Colchester who are dead. They did not appear, and the Sheriff did not send the writ. A further precept was issued to the Sheriff to have their bodies before the King in the octaves of the Holy Trinity."

"Before Robert Tresillian and his associates, late justices appointed to hear and determine divers felonies, treasons and other misdeeds, it was presented by the jurors that John Hurt of Shobury and John Glasiere of Rocheforde, were messengers of the King's enemies to cause the township of Prytewell to rise against the King. Whereupon Ralph Spicer, William Chaundeler and others assembled together with the said enemies to cause the said enemies to rise. The said messengers came to the town on Thursday before St. Martin's day 4th Ric. II. . . . John Hurt acknowledges that John Syrat of Shobery commanded him to go to the said town to cause it to rise, and John Syrat acknowledges that Thomas Hilleston commanded the said town to rise; which

indictment the King has caused to come to be determined, etc., and now on Thursday after the octave of St. Martin in this term the said W. Chaundeler comes before the King at Westminster, and rendered himself to the prison of the King's Marshalsea; and being demanded how he will acquit himself he says that the King of his special grace pardoned him for the said felonies and treasons by his letters patent, which are recited. . . . They state that many of the King's people had risen in divers parts at the instigation of the Devil, but the King considering the good and faithful conduct of his subjects to his progenitors and wishing to temper justice with mercy, pardons William Croume of Pritwell *le Chaundeler* provided he be not one of the principals concerned in the said insurrection, or in the death of the Venerable Father Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, Brother Robert Hales, late Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, then the King's Treasurer, or John de Cavendish, late Chief Justice, or in the burning of the Manor of Savoye, or of the House of Clerkenwell, or in the death of the Prior of Bury. . . . And because the Court is not yet advised to allow the said Charter the said W. *Crumme* is dismissed by the mainprise of certain persons, who undertake to have his body before the King in the octaves of St. Hilary."

From *Coram Rege* Roll, Hilary, 5 Ric. II. :

"*Essex*.—The jurors of divers Hundreds of the County aforesaid formerly to wit in Michaelmas term before the King at Chelmsford presented that Richard Spaldyng of Teye Magna on the night of Friday after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist feloniously killed Edmund Videler of Badewe Parva at Teye Magna aforesaid, and the same R. Spaldyng had lands to the value of £3, and in chattels roos., and now the same Richard has surrendered himself to the prison of the King's Marshalsea—whereupon he produces the King's letters of pardon which are recited. The King granted them, it is stated, out of reverence for God and at the special request of his Consort Queen Anne. The pardon is dated 26 January 5 Ric. II. The said R. is therefore released on finding four surieties."

M. 26.

"*Essex*.—Geoffrey Martyn Clerk of the Crown in Chancery by order of the Chan-

cellor delivers into Court the following record. Writ to Robert de Neuton, lieutenant of Alan de Bouxhull late Constable of the Tower of London, to certify the King of the cause of the detention of John Hermare or Hermer and Nicholas Gromard both of Haveryng atte Boure, in the prison of the Tower. The return to this writ shows that the persons above named were arrested at Gueldeford for that on Sunday after the feast of Corpus Christi they rose up with a great multitude of people in the county of Essex, and came to the house of William West at Clendon and there for fear of them and their fellows being at Kyngeston, as they said, they caused the said William to make to the said John an obligation of £20, and for that it was testified in the country that the said John and Nicholas acknowledged in the presence of many persons on the said Sunday as well at Clendon as at Gueldeforde that they were the first who rose up in the aforesaid county of Essex and that they were the first who came to the Savoye and there broke butts (*dolia*) of wine and did many other ill deeds."

"They were accordingly committed to the goal of Gueldeforde."

From Assize Rolls Divers Counties, 5 Ric. II. :

"Inquisition taken at Chelmsford on Tuesday next after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 5 Ric. II., before Robert Tresillian and William Morrers, Justices of the Lord the King by the oath of twelve jurors, viz. : John Hobekyn, James Stokwell, Roger Colvil, John Beauchamp, Martin Stainer, John Gobyon, Laurence Stainer, Nicholas Michel, William Cut, Benedict Stubere, John Onywand, and John Aldewyn, who say—That William atte Stable, late servant of Geoffrey Dersham, Thomas Spragg and many others of Southbemflete, Thomas Treche of La Leye, William Bocher and others of Hadlég, Peter Pekok of Bures Giffard, and Henry Fleccher and others of Reilég, on Wednesday next after the feast of Holy Trinity, 4 Ric. II., were leaders and maintainers continually and wickedly at the Manor of Geoffrey Dersham of Bernehalle in Dounham and there feloniously and treasonably took and carried away five oxen of the price of five marks, three bulls of the price of twenty shillings, one

hundred and sixty sheep price sixteen pounds; and brass pots [and] pans and other goods and chattels of the same Geoffrey to the value of sixty shillings; and also they broke and overthrew the houses of the same Geoffrey of the Manor aforesaid, and feloniously took and carried away one hundred and twenty capons of the price of forty shillings. And also they all rode about armed in a land of peace with the multitude aforesaid, who rose up against the King and his lieges, to the temple of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem to Cressyng, and to the house of John Sewall of Coggeshall and overthrew the houses and the buildings of the same Prior and John, and feloniously took and carried away their goods and chattels there found. Also John Sawyere of Rawreth and Thomas Maude sexteyn of Fobbyng rose up with the company aforesaid. Also that John Wiltshyre of Burstede Parva, on the Friday following cut off the head of a certain Esquire of the Duke of Lancaster, called Grenefeld, of his own will and without compulsion of any one person, in the city of London. They also presented that—Ralph atte Wode of Bradewell with others, on Monday the morrow of the Holy Trinity rose up against the King in unlawful congregations as the King's enemy and was at Cressyng Temple and there broke and overthrew the houses of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and took and carried away his chattels there, and also thus continuing his malice in divers parts of the county of Essex he went with his company and burnt the books of divers Lords, and also he overthrew the houses of John Ewell Escheator of the King, and feloniously took and carried away his goods to the value of one hundred pounds. Also that the same Ralphe voluntarily and feloniously rose up against the King's peace together with others of his company with force and arms and went to the Temple of Cressyng and there overthrew the house there, and took and carried away armour, vestments, gold and silver and other goods and chattels to the value of £20, and burned books to the value of twenty marks. . . . Afterwards that he went to Coggeshall and there overthrew the house of John Sewall, Sheriff of Essex, and took and carried away gold and silver with other goods and chattels to the value of ten

pounds. . . . Also on the same day he was at the house of Edmund de la Mare in Peldon, and broke and overthrew the said house and carried away goods to the value of Twenty Pounds. . . . Also he was a common leader of the perverse company of insurgents, and went to the house of the said Edmund with the said company and despoiled him of all his goods and chattels, and they despoiled and carried away a writ patent of the King with all the muniments touching the office of Admiral upon the Sea, upon a gallows from the said house to 'La Milende' next London and so back to the said house in contempt of the King and of the office aforesaid. . . .” Ralph is committed to prison with the others in charge of Robert Bracey the King's Marshall.

“Inquisitions at Chelmsford on the Wednesday after the feast of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul before the same justices and a fresh jury who presented a vast number of persons of the vills of Fobbyng, Frenge (Vauge), Wokyndon (Ockendon), Barkynge, Horndon, Mokkyng, Reynam, Stanforde, Corryngham, Thurrok, Grey and Alnedeley (Aveley)”—presentment not finished.

“On the same day, and at the same place before the said justices, another jury presented that John Geffrey, the bailiff of Esthanyngfeld caused all the men of the vills of Esthanyngfeld, Westhanyngfeld and Southanyngfeld, to go against their wills to the Temple of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England. . . . That he summoned certain persons to meet him at the church of Magna Badewe, to go against the Earl of Bukyngham and others. . . . That he also went to the Bishop of London's park of Crondon, and caused the men of the vills of Esthanyngfeld, Southanyngfeld, Westhanyngfeld, Wodeham Ferers and Retyngdon to swear that they would ride against the king whenever he (the bailiff) summoned them.”

“*Essex*.—Inquisitions at Chelmsford on the Thursday after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul before Robert Tresilian and his associates when it was presented that numerous other persons of Fobbyng, Stanford, Mukkyng and Horndon, with a certain weaver dwelling in Billerica, and one John Newman of Rawreth, a common thief, and many other men of the vills of Rammesden, Warle,

Herwardstok, Gynge, Bokkinge, Goldhangre, Reynham, Welde, Benyngton, Gynge atte Stane (Ingatestone) and Billerica rose up against the king and gathered to them many malefactors and enemies of the king, and made 'congregaciones' at Brendewode on Thursday after the Ascension, 4th Rich. II., and made assault on John Gildesborough, John Bampton and other justices of the peace with bows and arrows, pursuing them to kill them, and afterwards on Monday the morrow of Holy Trinity they went to Cressyng and broke and rooted up the Prior's houses, and took away the Prior's goods. Also on the same day they broke the houses of John Sewall, Sheriff of Essex at Coggesale and took one thousand four hundred marks in money of the same John's; and afterwards they rode about armed in a land of peace and did many ill deeds. Inquisitions were also held at Haveryng atte Boure, and similar presentments made."

The dreadful results of these proceedings, the revocation of the letters patent granting pardon, and the consequent executions, accompanied in many instances by the infliction of the most fearful and utterly unnecessary torture, are familiar to us all; right well did Robert Tresilian and his associates wreak the vengeance of the nobles upon the unhappy misguided insurgents. The gallows and the block in every town confirmed the spirit of the proclamation: "Villeins you were and are, and in bondage you shall remain."



Old Winchester Hill, Hants.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

MOST HAMPSHIRE tourists know this very striking spot at the western end of the South Downs, overlooking the Meon Valley. On the other side of the valley is "Beacon Hill," the frontier of the great range of downs which extend in one direction towards Wilts, and on the other towards Winchester. On Old Winchester Hill is a clearly-defined ancient camp, popularly known as the "Ring." The site of the camp on two sides, north and west, ends almost precipitously: on the

south the slope is gradual, but very long; on the east it is connected on the level with the range. So that, in fact, this camp is in a bold natural bastion, conspicuous all round for miles: you can even see it from Portsdown. Now, I have heard it strenuously contended, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, that this, and no other spot, was the real Clausentum of the Romans, and the disputant had got up his case well, his towns, and his distances. He did not convince me, it is true, for it seems to me that the case for Bitterne as Clausentum is much the strongest of any.

That the camp is not Roman but British may be a question open to debate, but I believe that Mr. T. W. Shore, the clever secretary of the Hartley Institute at Southampton, the best authority that I know on Hampshire antiquities, has made out a conclusive case for the British opinion, and this, without reference to the inferential argument which I am about to adduce. He holds that it was a fortress (its situation would make it an almost impregnable one), to which the inhabitants of the valley betook themselves, with their belongings, in times of invasion. The valley below, the Meon, is a very interesting spot, on which I may have something to say hereafter. That the Romans made use of the camp is certain, for a few coins have been found on and near it.

And this spot is named "Old Winchester." The popular belief is that the ancient capital of the county stood here. Camden refers to this belief in his *Britannia*. When I was a boy we were told that the City of Winchester was begun there, but that each night the fairies, or the devil (for authorities differed on this point), carried off the buildings into the valley of the Itchen, and after a few months the builders had to acquiesce in the arrangement. I am not clear whether I ever believed this theory; at any rate, I do not believe it now. But, then, how to account for the name? Here is the explanation, unless somebody will offer a better one. We all hold that Gwent of the Belgians was so named because of the white faces of the chalk hills which surround it, and that it became in course of time Wentchester—white fortress. But there was another *Caer Gwent*, namely, the spot before us now, named in

like manner from its white face, visible far and wide, as I have already said; and this, too, became by the same process Wentceaster. So then there were two Winchester: the one a wind-swept hill, without a house upon it, or the remains of one; the other, the capital of the great kingdom of Wessex. To differentiate them, the epithet "Old" was applied to that which was left lonely and deserted; the origin of the name was forgotten, and the theory about the removed city was invented to account for it.

W. BENHAM, F.S.A.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Books in the Elizabethan Era.—

The subject of books in England at the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, of books which Shakespeare and other intellectual giants of the time may have read, continues to be one of exceeding interest, and last year a few more references were forthcoming. These occur in the *Calendar of MSS. at Hatfield House*, and are valuable *addenda* to those already published in the *Calendar of State Papers* belonging to that period, many of which were brought together, classified, and printed in the *Bibliographer*. The first is a note of the examination of William Bremmycham, of Gray's Inn, who states that, hearing that Creagh was a prisoner in the Gatehouse, he went and offered to get him anything he lacked; afterwards taking to him clothes and books—Eusebius' Chronicle, and Bible prayers in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In the succeeding document he further states that the prisoner gave him 10s. to buy the books, giving the titles, Eusebius' History, *Promptuarium Latinum*, *Precationes Biblicæ*. Under date 1576 we have: "An additional declaration by the Queen on the subject of a pamphlet printed at Milan, entitled *Novo Aviso*, in which she is charged, not only with ingratitude to the King of Spain" (who, according to the author, saved her life when justly sentenced to death in her sister's time), "but also with an intended attempt against the life

of the said prince." In 1577 Guillaume Silvius writes to Lord Burghley, and recalls the kindness of his lordship ten years before, when the writer dedicated to Elizabeth his work, *Rerum Anglicanum libri quinque Authore Guilielmo Neubrigensi*. He desires to obtain privilege from the Queen that no one in England may print his *Justifications*, which he is at present engaged in issuing by consent of the States-General, in several languages, and, amongst others, in English. He sends copies to the Queen and to Burghley. In a report to Burghley, dated in 1578, touching the melting of bullion, reference is made to a book of *Lapidary Science*. In 1582 Thomas Nicholas writes to Lord Burghley: "The bearer hereof is the printer that printed the little treatise of *Cæsar and Pompeius*, which I presented to the Right Hon. Lady Anne, Countess of Oxford; and he it is that hath spent some money to print that little pamphlet which I sent to your honour at Windsor, touching the *Monastical Life in the Abbey of Marshalsea*. The thing will terrify all the Papists in England. If it seem convenient to your honour, it may please you to permit him to have the printing thereof."

Who Discovered America?—The following is extracted from the *Daily Inter Ocean*, Chicago, November 28, 1888: "Miss Marie Brown, who has devoted a number of years to the study of the Norse claims to the discovery of America, and who, by her books and lectures, has done much to further those claims, will lecture, December 5, at Baer's Hall, Chicago and Milwaukee Avenues, under the auspices of Leif Erikson Lodge, on 'From the North Cape to Bergen.' Later in the month, and under the auspices of the combined Scandinavian societies, she will lecture at Central Music Hall on 'The Norse Discovery of America,' the same subject on which she spoke so acceptably last fall before the Historical Society. Miss Brown is prosecuting an active campaign in behalf of the Norse claims, and will lecture in the Scandinavian settlements in the North-West up as far as Manitoba. In the meantime she is securing signatures to a petition to Congress, asking that a celebration of Leif Erikson's discovery of America in A.D. 1000 be incorporated in the approaching centennial cele-

bration of the adoption of the Constitution. The Scandinavian members of Congress will push the claims of this before that body. Since coming to the city Miss Brown has heard of the proposed celebration of the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, to be held in Chicago in 1892, and is very enthusiastic over a plan to substitute Leif Erikson for Columbus, and make it a viking celebration. She favours this location rather than Washington, as being so near to the great Scandinavian settlements, which would naturally be peculiarly interested in the celebration doing honour to their viking ancestors. In addition to other attractive features which Miss Brown has already projected, will be a grand fête presentation of the play entitled 'The Viking,' recently published by a dramatist of this city. Miss Brown has published a book entitled *The Icelandic Discovery of America*, the intent of which is to prove from documentary evidence that Leif Erikson was the first discoverer; that Columbus, a crafty man, stole his information on a visit to Iceland in 1477, and that knowledge of the new world, originally discovered by an Icelander, was kept secret by the Church of Rome. Miss Brown has had a long residence in Scandinavia, and has become well acquainted with Scandinavian literature. She has a strong sympathy with the people of these northern countries and their achievements. Her enthusiasm in their cause, and desire to see the claims of their early explorers righted, have led her to knock at the door of the archives of the Vatican, where it is her belief there are manuscripts which will throw a flood of light on the subject which she is pursuing. It appears that some years ago the Rev. Father Moosmuller, now of Savannah, Ga., published in Bavaria a work on the Bishops of Iceland and Greenland. He collected the material for his book in Rome, and it was he who referred Miss Brown to the Vatican for the authentic data she desired. To this she has received no answer, but she intends to make personal researches in the Vatican library next year. The idea of an Icelandic Exhibition carries with it the erection of a Viking Hall according to a plan submitted by Miss Brown, who last year presided at the Norse exhibit at the American Exhibition in London. 'The proper setting,' writes Miss

Brown, 'for antiquities from the Viking Age, is a Viking Hall of that period, bearing a perfect resemblance to those in which kings and warriors sat, on festive occasions, surrounded by hundreds of guests, listening to those wonderful improvisations of the Skalds that have immortalized the Northern race.'"

Errors of the Press.—In the diary of John Hunter, of Craigcrook, it is recorded that at one of the meetings between the diarist, Leigh Hunt and Carlyle, "Hunt gave us some capital specimens of absurd errors of the press committed by printers from his copy. One very good one occurs in a paper, where he had said, 'he had a liking for coffee because it always reminded him of the "Arabian Nights,"' though not mentioned there, adding, 'as smoking does for the same reason.' This was converted into the following oracular words: 'As sucking does for the snow season!' He could not find it in his heart to correct this, and thus it stands as a theme for the profound speculations of the commentators."



Antiquarian News.

MR. TALFOURD ELY proposes to give at Hampstead a course of six lectures on the "Sources of Greek History," with special reference to coins and other existing monuments.

Mr. G. W. M. Arnold, of Milton Hall, Gravesend, has added to his museum of local antiquities some 1,300 Roman coins, discovered from time to time during the last thirty or forty years in the fields adjoining Springhead, near Southfleet, the site of the Roman Vagniacæ. They comprise an almost complete series from Augustus to Arcadius and Honorius, with a few Consular.

With the exception of the railing round the monument, the work of renovating the Eleanor Cross at Waltham has been completed. Mr. Harry Hems, of Exeter, a well-known sculptor, had charge of the work, and under his care the monument is now capable of standing for another long term of years. The original parts have been carefully placed in their proper positions, and, with the substantial work of the newer parts, the memorial will, it is stated, last another 600 years. Among the original pieces of

carved stone which are now in the cross are several pieces which for years had been buried in the walls of the Falcon Hotel, and some pieces which had been dug out of the foundation when excavating some time ago. The original cross which surmounted the monument, and which, it is supposed, was broken by Oliver Cromwell, is now in the hands of one of the Restoration Committee. In 1832 it was discovered embedded close to the monument, and from it Mr. Clarke, the architect at the restoration of 1832, designed the cross that at present surmounts the structure. The original cross is much chipped and otherwise damaged, caused no doubt by the ruthless manner in which it was thrown down, and by exposure to the weather. Should sufficient funds be obtained, it is intended to re-erect the railing so as to prevent the lower part of the cross from damage.

A splinter of Barnack stone, with some Roman letters carved thereon, was found on December 3 in the excavations of the north-east angle of Peterborough Cathedral. It was recognised as belonging to a stone found some time ago in the south transept, and which was unquestionably Roman. When put together, the splinter matched exactly, and helped to form the letters L O T E, and half a letter, O or C; underneath are the letters N O, both evidently being part of some inscription. The stone and the splinter were found amongst Norman work, and had doubtless been used with neighbouring fragments from the remains of the earlier Saxon church, in which building it had been used as a quoin. From the size of the stone, 18 by 15 inches, it doubtless originally formed part of some large inscription-plate on a Roman building, either at Castor or Peterborough. Dean Perowne and others have taken in hand the task of elucidating the inscription, and for this purpose the very rev. gentleman journeyed to Cambridge to hunt up the Roman inscriptions preserved in the college there.

At Anjou a herd of cattle have made a wonderful discovery. While on a walk across their grazing ground they vanished suddenly from the sight of the cowherds, and were afterwards discovered in what seems an ancient subterranean village. The ground under the cattle had given way, landing them in a mysterious place of dark dens and winding galleries. Stone seats have since been found in the place, and fragments of black pottery, hatchets of polished stone, and other articles are now being brought to light.

"It would be a mistake," says Jacobi, "to believe that we are more mediæval than other nations. The measures for relieving the dangers from the cruel attacks by the ambushing teeth upon the unsophisticated baby, prove better than anything else how the

maternal (and professional?) minds have been impressed by awe-stricken faith down to the second half of the nineteenth century. According to H. H. Ploss, in different parts of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland they resort to the following measures: The tooth of a colt a twelvemonth old is worn round the neck at the time of the increasing moon. The paw of a mole, bitten off, is sewed in (a bag) and worn round the neck, the baby to be licked by dogs. The head of a mouse is used as the paw of a mole. Every female visitor gives the baby a hard-boiled egg. The baby is carried to the butcher, who touches the gums with fresh calf's blood. The gums are touched with the tooth of a wolf, or with the claw of a crab. The baby is supplied with three morsels from the first meal in the new residence after the wedding; bread from the wedding feast of a newly-married couple in good repute; a mass of lind sprouts cut at twelve o'clock on Good Friday. A bone found by accident under the straw mattress. Mother, when first going to church after confinement, kneels on right knee first. A man coming to visit is silently given a coin, touches the gums of the baby three times, and—goes to the tavern." All these customs in cultured Germany, in the nineteenth century!—*The Hospital*.

Mr. H. F. McLeod, of the Smithsonian Institute, said recently, in speaking of ancient American tools, that carpentry was the trade of aboriginal Americans. He said: "The Indians and the mound builders had a very good idea of wood-working. You will see even now some very pretty joining done by Sioux Indians. Their tent poles make a fit which many a white carpenter would not like to try to better. The Aztecs knew how to make a very good and manageable glass, and their best cutting blades, swords, daggers, and spears, saws, chisels, and axes were made of it. When the edge dulled, they broke it from the end instead of sharpening it, and got a new cutting line. You can see a great deal of aboriginal carpentry still in use among the Moqui Indians of the United States. They know how to make ladders, and they swing their doors on hinges from the top, and they know how to mortise timbers—knew how long before Columbus landed in America. The chisel they push rather than hammer, and they work the board up and down on a fixed saw, rather than the saw on the board; but withal they get creditable results. The framework in the Pueblos is quite as honest as anything we have in America."—*The American*, Philadelphia.

Some old Irish silver was sold in London on December 15, and remarkable prices were paid. Here are some of the quotations: The chalice and paten of the Abbey of Murrisk, dated 1724, at 28s. 6d. per oz.; a salver on foot, Cork-made plate, 1693,

26s. oz. ; a covered two-handled caudle cup, chased in bold relief, dated 1675, £2 16s. oz. ; a punchbowl, seventeenth century Cork work, 36s. oz. ; a muffiner of eighteenth century Cork work, 27s. oz. ; a helmet-shaped ewer, circa 1700, 32s. oz. ; a dessert-spoon, Irish, circa 1700, 42s. oz. ; a circular sugar-basin, decorated with pastoral subjects, 30s. oz. ; a chocolate pot, George I. period, 27s. oz. ; a seal-top spoon, 1659-60, £3 10s. oz. ; a muffineer, pillar-shaped, 1690, £2 11s. oz. ; a paten, on foot, dated 1692, 43s. oz. ; and a covered box, on three feet, from the Tobin collection, Amsterdam, eighteenth century, 25s. oz.

A correspondent recently sent to the *City Press* the following extract from the *Times* of October 18, 1788: "We hear there is to be a grand gala day at Paddington on Monday. A large tent is to be fixed in the middle of the green, in which is to be an elegant collation for the entertainment of the Bishop of London, who is then expected to lay the first stone in the foundation of a new church intended to be built there. The plan of the church may be elegant, as it is taken from a drawing in the last exhibition, but it is a very extraordinary one, for it will look more like a house of entertainment, or a meeting-house, than a parish church; and, what is more surprising, the situation fixed upon for the erection is in a wet swampy spot of ground, and the bell is to be fixed in the centre of the roof. One would think that reason and commonsense had forsook the inhabitants of the parish to give the management and direction of this business into the hands of Methodists and of those who attend the Lock Chapel. However, it is to be hoped that no English Bishop will ever consecrate a building so much unlike a church, and so much resembling a Methodist conventicle, into which in a short time it may be turned, to the disgrace of the ministers of the Established Church."

One of the most important and valuable specimens of old Burgundy sculpture has just been acquired for the Louvre Museum. This is the tomb of Philippe Pot, the Grand Seneschal of the Duchy of Burgundy, who died in 1494, which is said to be a very ornamental monument indeed.

A letter from Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., representing the Huguenot Society of London, was published in the *City Press* of November 28, on the subject of the Memorial to the Refugees at Canterbury. Mr. Kershaw writes: "It is proposed to erect a stained glass window in Holy Cross Church, Canterbury, where so many refugee inscriptions and memorials exist, and which may truly be called the Campo Santo of Huguenots in Kent. In the parish of Holy Cross, many of them lived and plied their

weaving trade, and the registers of that church abound in foreign names. To commemorate the first visit here of the Huguenot Society of London in 1887, but more especially to perpetuate the memory of those who were driven from their homes in France, after the cruel persecutions of St. Bartholomew in 1572, and again in 1685, this special appeal is made. Some good sums have been obtained, but much more aid is wanted, and small sums only are asked. London has always been foremost in aiding even those outside its limits, and recognising the merit of all who brought industrial talent within its walls. When the silk-weaving died out in Canterbury, it was only transferred to a more thriving centre in Spitalfields, and there are still many London citizens found to claim kinship of their ancestors who developed the skilled labour of Eastern London. Surely, then, in the descendants of those who first claimed Canterbury as a 'city of refuge,' and who afterwards migrated here, should a hearty response be found to my appeal. We read that the Corporation of London encouraged the early attempts of the silk manufacture, and that in 1607 they admitted one Robert Thierry, for his skill in the same, to the freedom of the City. When past history shows how, in this capital, 'the strangers,' as they were called, found a welcome and freedom of religious opinion, it is earnestly pleaded that the old spirit which actuated the citizens then will find its echo now in answer to this cause—a cause deeply identified both with that picturesque cathedral city, so well known to all, and with this vast metropolis, which received the Canterbury refugees in their new home of labour at Spitalfields. Donations should be sent to Mr. J. M. Cowper, 3, Gracechurch Street, or to Mr. Kershaw, at St. James's Road, Wandsworth Common."

It appears from a paragraph in the *Times* of December 13 last that the former burial-ground of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, situated in Camden Street, and consecrated by the Bishop of London in 1805, has recently been taken over by the Vestry of St. Pancras for the purpose of laying it out as a recreation-ground and public garden, they having obtained a faculty for that purpose, and at the present time a large number of men are employed in re-arranging paths, etc. In this ground is buried Charles Dibdin, the well-known author of naval songs. At the general quarterly meeting of the St. Pancras Vestry, held on December 12, a recommendation was received from the Works Committee, and unanimously adopted, that a proposal from Mr. J. P. Fitzgerald, honorary secretary to the Dibdin Memorial Fund, to improve the tomb, be accepted. It is proposed to construct in stone (or, if sufficient money is raised, in polished marble) the midship section of an old line-of-

battle ship, 25 feet by 15 feet, showing bulwarks and portholes, on the deck line of which will be placed the tomb, some 5 feet or 6 feet from the ground. At present only £100 has been subscribed. The chairman of the fund is Mr. Sims Reeves; the treasurer Mr. T. E. Gibb, vestry clerk; and Mr. J. P. Fitzgerald, of 178, Kentish Town Road, the honorary secretary. On the committee are the members of Parliament for the four divisions of St. Pancras, Miss Ellen Terry, Mr. August Manns, and many others in the dramatic and musical world.

The members of the Huguenot Society of London held their first meeting of the winter session in November. Sir H. W. Peek, Bart., who presided, read an article on the subject of the refugees in Norwich, containing a review of the account of the Walloons in that city in Mr. C. J. Neven's interesting work published by the society. A paper by Mr. H. Marett Godfray, of Jersey, on "The Early Refugees in the Channel Islands," was also read by the hon. secretary, Mr. R. S. Faber. The society has recently completed the history and registers of the Walloon church at Norwich, and is now proceeding with those of the old French churches at Southampton and Canterbury.

The workmen engaged in removing the ruins of the old Back Row, Newcastle, are making rapid progress, but at present the expectation of discovering relics has been disappointed.

The sale of Mr. Robert Marsham's collection of coins in December last produced upwards of £8,000. The most notable feature of the collection was the Petition crown (Charles II.) of Thomas Simon, for which Mr. Marsham gave £86 at the Yorke More sale in April, 1879, but it now realized no less than £280. A Cromwell fifty-shilling gold piece (1656) fetched £180. Every important specimen realized considerably more than Mr. Marsham had paid for it.

In 1873, the Marquis of Ripon, at the suggestion of the late Mr. Burgess, began to have a full set of drawings, sections, and plans of Fountains Abbey carefully prepared. The work was entrusted to Mr. J. Arthur Reeve, architect. Mr. Reeve has now brought them up to date, including the most recent excavations carried out in 1887-8, under the superintendence of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. These drawings, comprising forty-seven plates, are being reproduced by photo-lithography, and will shortly be issued to subscribers, with a brief descriptive account of each part of the abbey.

A Roman pavement, composed of red tile and white stone, was discovered last December at Furze-

brook, near Wareham, and about a mile from Corfe Castle, Dorset.

The Prince of Wales recently paid a private visit to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and replaced in the vault containing the coffin of Charles I. certain relics of the monarch which had been removed during some investigations more than seventy years ago. These relics having ultimately come into the possession of the Prince, his Royal Highness decided, with the sanction of the Queen, to replace them in the vault from which they had been taken, but not to disturb the coffin of the King. This task was successfully accomplished in the presence of the Dean of Windsor.

A North British newspaper states that while several labourers were at work repairing a drain in East Buchanan Street, Paisley, one of them found a gold coin which seemed to be of ancient date. The markings are indistinct. It is irregular in shape, and weighs over 4 dwt., and is slightly smaller than a sovereign.

The historic ruins of Kirkstall Abbey, near Leeds, which were offered for sale in December at the Cardigan Estates sale, were subsequently sold by private arrangement to a number of gentlemen of Leeds for £10,000, and the Abbey House for £3,500. The ruins, which are enclosed in twelve acres of land, will be retained for the use of the public.

On the rocks of a hillside along the road leading to the sanctuary of Æsculapius at Epidaurus have been discovered a series of prehistoric tombs of great importance, as they prove that such remains are scattered all over Argolis, for they are just the same as those recently laid bare at Nauplia and Mycenæ. Of the seven tombs opened so far, one has an avenue of six mètres long, closed at two mètres distance from the door by a wall of large stones. On breaking open the sepulchral chamber it was found to be a circular grotto, four mètres in diameter and two in height. Four skeletons were here found lying on the ground with their heads towards the walled-up doorway, which was due east. A vessel of the Mycenæ epoch was found at the head at the right side of each of the skeletons, and near one was a bronze lance-head well preserved. In another of the smaller tombs was found the skeleton of a woman with a bronze fibula and two whorls.

Francesco Florimo, librarian of the Conservatoire at Naples, and the principal agent in enriching that institution with its precious store of autographs and MSS., died on December 18. He was the composer of many songs, the historian of the Neapolitan school of music, and an intimate friend of Bellini.

At a recent sale of autographs at Berlin, a musical manuscript of Mozart, dating from 1782, was sold for 555 marks; and a letter from Lessing, apparently written during the Seven Years' War, fetched 500 marks.

A curious ring has been entrusted to a London jeweller for sale. It is an engraved diamond ring, once the property of the Queen of Delhi, and is said to have been preserved for many generations in the treasury of the Mogul Emperors. The most remarkable feature of the ring is a central diamond bearing a monogram of two Arabic words, meaning "O Ali." If its owners are correct in ascribing this to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, it is probably the oldest engraved diamond of which anything is known.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.—Oct. 3.—Several interesting antiquities were exhibited. The collection included spear-heads, arrow-heads, the Charter given by James II. to Cashel, and the illuminated arms of the corporation of that time. Through the kindness of the Dean of Cashel the members were enabled to inspect the church plate which was given to the parish in 1667 by Archbishop Ussher; a silver flagon belonging to the parish of Cashel, which was made in Kilkenny in the year 1726; a chair, of which two were made in the year 1668, 220 years ago, for two guineas (for the lot); the seal of the corporation of Cashel; the seal of the Dean and Chapter of Cashel, Chapter of Emly; a silver flagon made in 1607, etc.—Mr. Cochrane exhibited a very fine collection of photographs, double-plate size, forty in number, illustrating this remarkable group of ecclesiastical buildings known as the "Rock of Cashel," and some finely executed drawings showing the magnificent architectural details of the wonderful pile. Mr. Cochrane gave the dimensions of the round tower as follows: Height from base to bottom of cap., 77 feet; from base of cap. to apex, 14 feet 6 inches; total height, 91 feet 6 inches; diameter at base, 17 feet 2 inches; diameter at top, 13 feet 6 inches. He also drew attention to this remarkable fact, that at Rattoo, County Kerry, the dimensions of the round tower there are almost identical with that at Cashel, the height at Rattoo being 77 feet 3 inches from base to bottom of cap.; 13 feet 6 inches from base of cap. to apex, that is, a total height of 90 feet 9 inches, being only 9 inches shorter than at Cashel. There can be but little doubt that the builders of both intended them to be identical in size, and this is the only instance on record of two round towers being so like, as they are generally found to be most divergent in measurement, ranging from the smallest at Teampul Finian, which is only 60 feet in height, to the tallest, measuring 119 feet high, at

Kilmacduagh.—At the evening meeting Mr. Day read the following paper: "Through the courtesy of J. C. Bloomfield, Esq., D.L., of Castle Caldwell, County Fermanagh, I have the honour to exhibit a stone axe which he has presented to me, that was found on his property during the past summer. It is remarkable, and as far as I can learn unique, in the fact that a large portion of the original gum, or mastic, in which the timber handle was imbedded, remains upon its surface. This mastic is of a dark-brown colour, and burns with a clear flame, producing an aromatic perfume, and leaving a liquid gelatinous residuum. I have had no opportunity of getting it chemically analyzed, but to illustrate its mode of attachment, I have brought an axe from Western Australia, which is secured to its handle in a similar way. This Fermanagh celt was used as a wedge, probably for splitting timber, because the cutting edge is equally bevelled on both sides, and the base of the implement is flat, and has clear and well-defined marks of having been struck with a hammer or mallet. It is 5 inches long and 3 inches wide, and measures 1½ inches across the head. It is made of hard green sandstone, and is of the type usually found in the locality. The handle gripped it round the centre, where there is a slight depression, which is filled with the mastic, leaving the cutting edge and head quite free. To further illustrate this, I have brought some other examples from Ireland that are polished, except in the centres, which are roughened to more firmly hold the handle; and a small collection from Switzerland, New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, New Guinea, the Andamans, the Lamberi, etc., all of which are secured in different ways, and will show how possibly the various forms of stone implements were handled in a remote period in this country."—Mr. Day also read a paper on the "Silver Mace of Castle-martyr Corporation," and also one on the late Dr. Caulfield's collection of MSS.—Mr. J. D. White read a paper on "Illustrations of National Proverbs, Common Sayings, and Obsolete Words and Customs."—A paper was received from Mr. Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.A., on the "History of Ennis Abbey, County Clare—1540 to 1617."—Mr. W. J. Bennie, C.E., A.B., Trinity College, Cambridge, contributed a paper on "The Geology of the North-east Coast of Ireland, as a basis for Archæological Research."—Mr. George M. Atkinson, West Brompton, London, sent a description and drawings of ancient iron cannon, found at Passage West County Cork—breach-loading—used for firing stone shot.—"Ancient Folk-lore—the Irish Ox-fly"—was the title of a paper written for the meeting by Mr. Cecil Woods, of Chiplee, county Cork.—Mr. George Dames Burtchaell, B.L., LL.D., contributed a paper on "The English Navy in 1588."—On the following day the members visited different places of interest in the district, including Athassel Priory, Holycross Abbey, etc.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Oct. 31.—Dr. Bruce, president, drew attention to Mr. Hodge's account of the Abbey Church at Hexham.—Mr. John Philipson submitted a paper on "The Vitality of Mummy Wheat and Seeds taken out of the Wrappings of Egyptian Mummies." He said it might be remembered that at the monthly meeting of the society, on September 28 last year, some conversation which passed between the chairman and the late Captain

Robinson came near reviving the far-famed controversy respecting the germinating possibilities of mummy wheat in the same manner that it had been renewed by Professor Judd at the Geological Society early in the summer of 1886. He confessed to a more than ordinary interest in the subject, as he was aware of some instances of reputed mummy wheat having been successfully grown in their own locality; but as he was not one of those who venerated the story simply because it was old, he set to work to collect such evidence as might explain two problems that presented themselves—1st, Would seeds retain their germinating powers during a period of 2,000 or 3,000 years? and 2nd, Had plants ever been raised from such seeds? The whole matter turned upon the character of the seeds which had been discovered in the folds of mummy wrappings. He had ample proof that plants had been raised from such seeds, not only in the South of England, but in this neighbourhood, and it only remained for the spurious or genuine nature of these seeds to be decided to set the matter at rest. It was, of course, impossible to obtain absolute proof in such a matter, but there were those who had not hesitated to assert that the Arab with his characteristic cunning had placed modern seeds within the folds of the mummy cloths. Nothing was easier than to make a declaration of that kind. Crafty though he might be, the Arab would not take the trouble until he knew that there was something to gain by it—*i.e.*, until he had heard of the finding of the genuine seeds and the interest evoked by their discovery. There were, however, three cases in which the receptacles—two sarcophagi and a vase—could not possibly have been tampered with, and the knowledge of these encouraged him to follow up the subject, with the result that he was able to lay before them what he considered sufficient evidence to prove that what was known as mummy wheat had been raised from seeds more than 2,000 years old. The conditions under which the seeds of mummy wheat had been found were in the highest degree favourable to the preservation of the dormant state—with perfect exclusion from the action of the oxygen of the air, and from moisture in a climate the aridity of which it was well known must have conduced to the preservation of the vital power of the seeds, which, though having the life-germ very close to the surface, and but thinly protected, were known to yield an extremely hardy plant, whose vitality was not easily destroyed. Senhor Batalha Reis had reminded him that one of the most celebrated of French horticulturists said he did not believe in the possibility of the germination of grains of wheat kept for 2,000 years, but he at the same time noted without contestation the fact of the preservation of germinative powers of seeds for upwards of a century. After instancing cases where seeds had been germinated taken from graves of ancient Britons and from graves of Romans, etc., Mr. Philipson went on to say that no fewer than fifty-nine species of flowering plants raised from mummy wrappings in Egypt had been identified. Mr. Philipson then proceeded to deal with cases where wheat plants—entirely different from all known cultivated kinds—had been raised from mummy wheat. One instance related was that in which seeds were taken from an ancient tomb in the Thebaid by Sir Gardiner Wilkin-

son, and plants raised from them. In another instance, a sarcophagus was brought to England by the Duke of Sutherland, and seeds, which were taken from it; on being planted, germinated. The mummy presented to the Literary and Philosophical Society, now in the museum, was unwrapped on March 8, 1830, and some seeds taken from it were sown, and germinated. The mummy presented to the museum by Mr. Thomas Coates, Haydon Bridge, October, 1821, was still unopened, and he looked forward to the day when it might be opened. In conclusion, he expressed his indebtedness to Mr. Macdonald, of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, and Mr. Dawson, for references to several leading authorities, and to others who had rendered him valuable assistance.

Nov. 28.—Dr. Bruce presided.—The secretary said he had received from Mr. R. J. Johnson a present of a curious old relic—the knob that used to be on the vane of Hexham Abbey Church.—Mrs. Hodgson Huntley presented to the society two copper plates, one of the Roman station Pons Ælii, the other of the tower of St. Nicholas's Church.—A copy of the catalogue of the library at Bamburgh Castle was sent to the society by Lord Crewe's trustees.—Mr. Charles Liburn, Sunderland, a member of the society, presented an ancient tusk found in Yorkshire.—Mr. Maberly Phillips read a paper on "Another Disused Graveyard: the Quicks Buring Plas in Sidgatt." Mr. Phillips thought the burying-ground had been on what is now known as St. Thomas's Street, on the site of the hay and straw establishment of Messrs. Slater and Co.—Dr. Bruce said in 1806 he became an occupant of the house adjoining the burial-ground. He was then ten months old. The site was very different from what it is now. Between the house and what was now the Circus there was a nursery, and gardens ran up to the Leazes. On the other side of the house, instead of the present public-house, there was a small cottage. It was quite a rural spot. The graveyard was turned into a garden, and he had eaten the peas grown in it.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—Nov. 7: annual meeting.—The President, Mr. T. Cornish, read a paper on the ruins unearthed by the society at St Buryan last year. After giving full particulars of the manner in which the attention of the society was drawn to the matter, and of the explorations which ensued, Mr. Cornish said that it was much more easy to say what the sanctuary is not than what it is. The two northern chambers are 42 feet long, and 20 feet long by 12 feet wide. The corresponding southern chambers are of the same length, but only 5 feet wide. It certainly was never built for domestic or agricultural purposes. For his own part, he did not think it was ever used or intended for ecclesiastical purposes of any sort, and he considered that its probable use was as a smelting works for the stream tin found in its neighbourhood. He advanced this opinion with diffidence, and was quite prepared to hear it successfully controverted; but as the only shred of sanctity about it appeared to be its name, he reminded the society that amongst printers there was a certain conclave known as "chapel," possibly an analogous case.—Mr. Bolitho combated the conclusions of Mr. Cornish. He had always heard of a sanctuary at St. Buryan, and

thought that this must have been it. It was probably the residence of the Dean and Chapter.—Mr. W. S. Bennett supported Mr. Bolitho's theory. It was known that there was formerly a sanctuary at St. Buryan, and that the chaplain had £200 a year, which was a very good income in earlier days. Nothing had been made out to show that these remains had ever been smelting works. Such works were in the days gone by on a very limited scale, and he was inclined to believe that the buildings in dispute must have been a sanctuary. He only wished that they could have found the means to dig out the whole of the foundations, for he felt that his idea would then have been clearly proved.—Sir Warrington Smyth described a ball of granitic material found in the "sanctuary."—Mr. Courtney, M.P., pointed out that the supposed sanctuary was a mile from the church, and argued that this was a fatal objection to the theory favoured by Mr. Bolitho and Mr. Bennett.—The Rev. A. H. Malan read a paper entitled "Parson Rudall and the Botathan Ghost."—Mr. G. F. Tregelles read a portion of a paper by the Rev. S. Rundle, of Godolphin, on "Cornish Proverbs."—The President read a paper on the inscribed stone at Bleu Bridge. A rubbing of the much-discussed inscription had been prepared by Miss Fanny Marland, and a copy of this was displayed in the room. The inscription, said Mr. Cornish, was represented for the first time by a late member, Mr. Edmunds, who made it out to be "Quenatavus Iodinui filius." To get at this reading the antiquary had to assume that three horizontal lines which occur after the last "V" means "us," and that an "H" in the third line was really "LI." The rubbing prepared by Miss Marland destroyed the three lines theory, substituting for them a very curious form—something like a very rude and imperfect "S" surmounted by a straight line. Mr. Cornish had searched seven Latin alphabets, ranging from 186 B.C. to 694 A.D., several Greek alphabets, and many others, and could find nothing like it. He had therefore come to the conclusion that this part of the inscription is a local contraction utterly insoluble to us, and must be left to our successors to decipher it as archaeologists and not as antiquarians.—Mr. Courtney, M.P., said that for his part he was very unwilling to give up the interpretation which Mr. Edmunds had put upon the inscription.—The President said that in view of a resolution submitted to the Council on October 12, with special reference to the British village of Chysauster, it was his duty to move "That this society views with regret the damage, wilful or accidental, that has been done to the ancient monuments and buildings in our neighbourhood, and it specially requests the members to make to the honorary secretary individual reports in writing of the state of any ancient monuments or buildings within their personal knowledge; these reports to be laid before the Council, who shall take such steps as may deem advisable to repair past and prevent future injury." Mr. Cornish knew that all the landowners in the locality were well disposed to the protection of these ancient monuments, and any damage done to such remains was done without their knowledge and consent. If the resolution were adopted and acted upon, the society might call the attention of owners to the condition of the monuments

on their estates, and might in this manner be the means of rescuing many of them from injury, if not from destruction. The resolution was agreed to.—Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., was elected President for the ensuing year.

Banffshire Field Club.—Nov. 15.—A paper was read by Rev. William Temple, F.S.A., Scot., St. Margaret's, Forgue, on "The Family of Gordon, Haddo, and Methlick—now represented by the Earl of Aberdeen." Mr. Temple gave a very exhaustive account of the genealogy of the family from the first representative down to the present time.

Craven Naturalists' Association.—November meeting.—The Rev. E. Jones read a paper on "Cave-Hunting, and the Results of the Recent Explorations at Elbolton Cave," in the course of which he stated that in an address to the same society last year he pointed out that the cave at Elbolton, near Grassington, was probably well worthy of exploration, and Whitaker, in his "History of Craven," had referred to it as having been probably the home of some ancient brigands—though he thought there was little exception in that, for our forefathers were mostly brigands. During Easter week of 1888 the society made a special visit to the cave and commenced digging. Since that time investigations have been carried on intermittently, with highly satisfactory results. The lecturer compared the yields of the Elbolton and the Victoria Caves (near Settle), and told the history of the latter, as evidenced by the bones, weapons, and implements found, and the beds wherein they were discovered. While the Victoria Cave had probably been used about the time of the Romans, the Elbolton Cave belonged to a much older period, and had not been used in Roman times, as no bronze articles had been discovered. Professor Miall had informed him that bronze articles would probably be found, but he (the lecturer) thought now this was improbable, as the cave was only used before the bronze period. The length of the main chamber was 100 feet, the average height 18 feet, but in some portions 30 to 40 feet high. From the main chamber there branched off a long passage, difficult of access, the floor of which was covered with clay. The floor of the main chamber was covered with *débris* from the roof and clay washed in from the passage. A trench was dug at a certain point in this *débris*, and it was hoped the floor would be reached in 2 or 3 feet, but although 10 feet had been reached, the floor had not yet been discovered. Among the number of bones found were a human jaw in good preservation, which showed that the possessor had used it well, and probably suffered little from toothache. Later on another jaw was found by Mr. J. W. Davis, hon. secretary of the Yorkshire Geological Society, and then more human remains. The human bones showed these were the remains of three individuals, three right femurs or thigh-bones being discovered; and the fact that at the depth of 10 feet from the surface calcined bones with charcoal were found showed that men lived in the cave. Some sharp-pointed bones which were sent up to Oxford for identification, we were told, were tattooing instruments. Pottery had been found, the character of which was strong proof of the age of the cavern. Tusks of wild boar were not uncommon, and a horn was found which was probably that of the reindeer, while bones of birds were very numerous.

The lecturer then stated the method it was intended to adopt in further carrying out investigations.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—October 29, 1888.—Professor A. Macalister, M.D. (President), in the chair.—The President exhibited some specimens of Roman pottery found in the excavations made for building purposes on the Madingley Road. The most perfect of these was a fragment of Samian ware with a figure of a deer. Nearer the surface a silver half-penny of Edward III. was found. Most of the pottery was found in a pit of black earth, evidently the trace of an old excavation in the gault.—Mr. J. W. Clark exhibited a skeleton of a red deer (*Cervus elephas*), lately mounted by his assistant, and placed in the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy. The bones were found in December last in a deposit of peat at Manea, on the estate of William Wiles Green, Esq., who kindly presented them to the University. This skeleton is the largest, of a full-grown animal, yet found in a complete state, measuring four feet from the ground to the top of the dorsal spines. A skeleton of an adult Scotch stag, exhibited by the side of it, measured only 3 feet 4 inches.—The President remarked that the late Professor Jukes described and figured in the proceedings of the Geological Society of Dublin a skeleton of a red deer of unusually large size from Bohoe, co. Fermanagh, and with fourteen pairs of ribs. Another very large red-deer skeleton from co. Limerick is in the National Museum of Dublin.—Mr. Green mentioned that a bronze coin of Vespasian had been found in the immediate vicinity of the deer-bones, and invited members of the society to come and co-operate with him in investigating the spot.—The Rev. E. G. Wood read a paper on the University at Stamford; the chief points advanced in it were as follows: The claim advanced for Stamford was not that it had ever in the strict sense been a *Universitas*, i.e. in accordance with Savigny's definition, a University (or Corporation) of Persons as distinguished from a University of Studies; but it was claimed that Stamford was a *Studium Generale*, not that that implied that all the faculties existed there, though reasons were given why it was probable that Theology and Philosophy, Canon Law and Physics were taught, and that there was a Faculty of Theology and a Faculty of Arts, and that degrees were conferred. Reference was made to the legends, which assigned a very high antiquity to the University life of Stamford. The authentic record related but to a period of about eighty years at the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries: during that time not only a *Studium Generale* but halls and colleges also were in existence at Stamford. The earliest was the Carmelite College founded by Henry de Hanna, the second Provincial in England. The next was Sempringham Hall, founded by Robert Luttrell in 1292. This was especially for students of the order of the Gilbertines. There was also Peterborough Hall, Black Hall, Vauldrey Hall for students of the Cistercian Abbey of Vauldrey (*De Valle Dei*) near Grimsthorpe, Brasenose College, and St. Leonard's Priory dependent on Durham and the abode of the northern students. (At this time none but Peterhouse had been founded at Cambridge.) Remains existed of many of these buildings, as well as of what were probably the Public

Schools until the last century; now nothing remains except the gateway of Brasenose (a full century earlier than the Oxford Brasenose) and St. Leonard's Priory. The names of many of the Stamford doctors were given. A manuscript of the commentary on the *De Disciplina Scholarium* ascribed (erroneously) to Boetius by one of these, William Whetely, is in the library of our own Pembroke College; and another copy, though apparently not entirely identical, at Exeter College, Oxford. Anthony-a-Wood, after examination of the contents of the Commentary, pronounces it to have been prepared for University-teaching, and from it concludes that Stamford was a *Studium Generale*. The same fact could be argued from the existence of a book of "Determinations" by another Stamford Doctor, William of Lidlington. This was a clear indication of men having incepted at Stamford. The lectures on *The Sentences* was another indication. The great impetus to Stamford University life was given by the secessions from Oxford and Cambridge. The last, however, so alarmed Oxford that the Stamford *Studium* was forcibly suppressed in 1335 by Royal authority. Both Oxford and Cambridge at the same time enacted a form of oath, to be taken by all inceptors against any University-teaching or recognition of degrees granted elsewhere in England. The Oxford oath specifically mentioned Stamford. The memory of the University of Stamford however lingered on for a considerable period. It is mentioned both by Harding and by Spencer, while many have recalled Merlin's prophecy:

Doctrinae studium quod nunc viget ad vada Bovum
Tempore Venturo Celebrabitur ad vada Saxi.

November 19.—The President exhibited and described a fragment of an Egyptian *Stele* belonging to Mr. Dodgson, of Ashton-under-Lyne. It consists of the head of a female, and on the edge of the stone it is inscribed with "Horus, son of Isis, the Goddess worshipped in the Amenti, the Mother Goddess Lady of Heaven, may they give." On the back there are only portions of four lines of the inscription, which read thus: (i.) "His Son Causes his name to live;" (ii.) "Thebes, to the *Ka* (spirit) of the Great Artist;" (iii.) "May they receive cakes, To go in and out;" (iv.) "With offerings in the Feasts in Kar-neter." The character of the inscription is coarse, probably of late date, and contrasts well with that of a stone of much earlier date also in Mr. Dodgson's collection, of which a photograph was exhibited. This second stone was a way-mark, and is dated in the twenty-eighth year of King Amenemha, may he live for ever. "Direction (or District) of the Mer-Menfit (the chief soldier) chennu (Priest) Mentuhetep 32 cubits." There are some curious things about this small stone: 1st, that for the purposes of symmetry and to fit the name in the line the *n* is left out, and the terminal *u* is intercalated between the *ch* and the *nu*, to prevent the two round letters being put together. The *nu* also is long-necked, as very commonly is the case in early inscriptions. Mentuhetep was a common name in the time of Amenemha; there was a priest of that name who married Sebekaa, and had a son, Mayiba, and a daughter, Amenesa. Another priest, who lived in the twenty-eighth year of Amenemha, was the son of Setu and Asa. This Mentuhetep may have been either of these.—Professor J. H. Middleton made the

Mr. Warden discovered this stone in a garden near Mertola, two feet below the surface: nothing, not even the remains of bones were found in this grave. In the immediate neighbourhood of Mertola, the old *Myrtilis Romanorum* on the right bank of the Guadiana, is an extensive burial-ground, containing many graves, some of which are hewn into the rock. They all point east-to-west, and are as a rule covered over by some rudely-shaped stone slabs; most of them contain bones in rather bad state of preservation, but very rarely ornaments and specimens of pottery. On this ground stands an old church, no longer in use, and not far from it a modern church and cemetery. The inhabitants of Mertola have no traditions about the old graves, but they call them *Sepulturas dos Gothos*, Gothic graves, and are rather indifferent as to their treatment. The present stone is very similar to another one, which was found likewise at Mertola, and which is now in the Museum of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. Dr. J. C. Bruce draws special attention to the fact that both these stones consist of pure white marble, none such marble slabs having been found in Britain. Britto is a name still in use in Portugal as a surname, it occurs also in its female form as Britta. Probably it is a contracted form of Brigitta, recognisable as the English Bridget. The word AGUSTAS is not owing to a misspelling, but shows that in those early times when the Priest Britto died, there was already made the distinction between the name of the month and the surname—in modern Portuguese Agosto and Augusto. The surname Augusto, by-the-bye, still occasionally retains in Portugal its old original meaning of the august one, the word being sometimes thus applied to persons of rank by country folk. It is well known that the date of the Spanish Portuguese era is 38 years ahead of that of the Christian era, consequently the date of this stone corresponds with the year 546 of our reckoning.—Professor E. C. Clark, in commenting upon the inscription *seriatim*, remarked that *Britto*, which was to be found in earlier Spanish inscriptions as *Brito* and *Briton*, might be a *cognomen* representing British extraction, like the Jersey names Le Breton and Le Normand. The symbol after the letters PRES he had at first taken for the “leaf-stop,” but was now inclined to consider the B of Presbyter, with a line of abbreviation drawn across it. The letter D before NONAS with a similar transverse line, he regarded as an abbreviation for *die*. The accusative NONAS ought strictly to depend upon a preceding *ante*; but he cited an instance where *die* was similarly used with the accusative *Idus*, and he believed that the accusative had become quite irrational, and that *die nonas* meant merely on the day of the *nones*. AGUSTAS he was disposed to regard as merely a misspelling of AVGVSTAS. Of the origin of the curious word *Era* he wished that Professor Skeat could give them a more satisfactory explanation than was as yet

known. The word had come, at the date of this inscription, to be used simply in the sense of *annus*, as frequently by Isidore in his *Chronicon*. The actual epoch dated, as they had been told, from the year 38 B.C.; according to some, from the assignment of the province of Spain to Octavianus in the tripartite division of the Roman dominions between him, Antonius, and Lepidus. The year, then, of this inscription would be 584—38 or 546 A.D., a time undoubtedly in the old Visigothic domination. As an instance of the vague antiquity which Mr. Gadow had represented the Portuguese as attaching to the term Gothic, he might mention the singular derivation of *Hidalgo* from *Hijo d' al gô*, "Son of the Goth."—Mr. Gadow observed that another explanation of *Hidalgo* is *Hijo d' alcun*, *Son of somebody* (in opposition to Son of a nobody). Son of the Goth would be *Hijo d' el Gô*. The Portuguese word *Fidalgote* seems to bear out that suggestion, but ...ote is a not unrequent ending, like the French ...âtre; *Fidalgote* therefore meaning *gentilâtre*.

Essex Archæological Society.—October 19. —Meeting at Coggeshall. The site and remains of the Cistercian Abbey were examined, and Mr. G. F. Beaumont read a paper on the history of the Abbey. The exact date of the foundation is uncertain. Parco Lude speaks of 1137, Weever (from the book of St. Austin, in Canterbury) says 1140, Lelane 1141, while Tanner mentions 1142 as the date, and in this he is followed by Dugdale, who quotes from a chronicle of Coggeshall, in the Cottonian Library (sub effigie Neronis D. 2), to the following effect: "In the year 1142, the Abbey of Coggeshall was founded by King Stephen and Matilda his queen. In the same year the Convent came together at Coggeshall, III. Nones of August." The most liberal patron of the Abbey was Matilda, who endowed it with the Manor of Coggeshall, one of the estates she inherited as heiress of the house of Boulogne. The grant was confirmed at Coggeshall by Stephen, in the presence of his Queen and their son Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and of others, and was subsequently further confirmed by William, Earl of Boulogne, and Warren, another son of Stephen and Matilda. Matilda also granted the monks at Coggeshall an exemption from all toll and other customs, throughout all the lands belonging to her, and her son Eustace, both in England and Boulogne. King Henry II. confirmed to God and to the Holy Mother of God, Mary, and to the Cistercian Monks all the manor of Cokeshale, where the Abbey is situated, and to the same Church, what they have of Toleshunt of the fee of Geoffry de Tregoz, of the fee of Geoffry de Magnaville at Neweshales, of the fee of Baldwin de Rouel, and what they possess in the lands of Moldeburne, and in the marshes of Hely. This grant was confirmed by Henry II., in the eighteenth year of his reign. William Filiol gave to the Abbot and Monks of Coggeshall one acre, one rood, and two perches of land "lying near the rivulet from the spring of Stokewelle, on the East of the Abbey." The name of Filiol or Foliole occurs in the Roll of the Battle Abbey, 1066, among the names of the warriors who fought under the banner of the Conqueror. On the seal of the grant by William Filiol to Coggeshall Abbey is a representation of a font, with a King on one side and a Bishop on the

other, holding a child as in the ceremony of baptism, from which it is supposed the family had a tradition of this surname (fileul, a godson) having been given at the time of baptism to one of their ancestors, by one of the Kings of England. Baldwin Filiol had an estate at Kelvedon in or about the reign of King Stephen, and it continued in the family of that name for several generations, and from Filiol's Hall is corrupted the present name of the property, Felix Hall. King Richard I. by charter commanded that the brethren of this Abbey and all their men and things be quit at fairs and seaport from toll and passages, postage and pedage, and every other custom and secular exaction, for all things which they should buy or sell or cause to be carried away throughout every place under the King's authority by land or by water to their proper use, and no one was to vex or disturb them, for the King acknowledged that he held them and theirs in his protection and custody, and any who should vex or injure them or theirs could not look for his Majesty's protection. King John on January 10, 1243, gave the Abbot and Monks of Coggeshall the advowson of Childerditch. King Henry III., in 1251, granted a license for the Monks to enclose their woods and heaths at Tolleshunt Mayer (Major), Tolleshunt Tregoz, Innsworth, Childerditch, and Warlegh Selmoll, with a small ditch and low hedge, according to the rule of the forest. In 1250, King Henry granted to the Abbot and Convent that they might have a fair for their Manor of Coggeshall every year to continue eight days on the eve and on the day of St. Peter ad Vincula and six days following unless that fair was prejudicial to neighbouring fairs. It will be noticed that the fair commenced on the feast day of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1), the patron saint of the parish church. The annual fair in 1728 was held on Friday in Whit-week, it is now held on Whit Tuesday. Then, again, Henry III. in 1256 granted to the Abbot and Convent of Coggeshall the right to hold a market at Coggeshall every week on Saturday with all liberties and free customs belonging to such market unless that market was damaging to neighbouring markets. The market, such as it is, is now held on Thursday, the day having been probably changed on account of the presentment in the tenth year of Edward II. that the Abbot held a market on Saturdays at the village of Coggeshall to the detriment of that at Colchester. After mentioning bequests to the monks, the paper stated that Edward III. granted one pipe of red wine to be received each year at London at Easter by the hands of the gentlemen of the wine cellar. William de Hamberstane with other persons in the 51st Edward III., gave to the Monastery the Manor of Tillingham Hall in Childerditch, Dodinghurst, and Southweld. A chantry was founded by Joan de Bohun, Countess of Hereford, and Margaret, the wife of Sir Hugh de Baden, and others. The value of the estates of the Abbey in 1291 appears, from a taxation of Pope Nicholas, to have been £116 ros. per annum, a very large sum in those days. The Liber Valorum (Henry VIII.) gives the clear value at £251 2s., but Speed, who was doubtless referring to the gross value, gives the income at £298 8s. The seal of the Abbey attached to the surrender in the Augmentation Office is sound, and bears the Virgin and child seated under a rich canopy, with a group of females praying. On

each side of the Virgin, in base, is a double shield, one bearing the arms of the Abbey, namely, three cocks and the legend—"Sigillum commune Eccle, Monasterii de Coggeshall." The Abbey was surrendered on February 5, 29 Henry VIII. The general plan of most of the Cistercian monasteries was of the same design, varied only by the peculiar circumstances of the situation, and such being the case we may to some extent learn the ichnography of the conventual buildings at Coggeshall. The Abbey is reached by the road leading from the town of Coggeshall to Kelvedon, and the lane at the top of Grange Hill strikes out at right angles to the east. At the end of this lane the gatehouse doubtless stood, with the almonry and chamber above for the lower class of guests on the south side, while on the north was, and still is, the little chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas. Into this chapel the guests were taken by the Abbot, and after a short service were handed to the hospitaller, whose duty it was to see that they were properly entertained. Forming the north side of the plan was the church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the western facade of which presented itself to the traveller as he passed along the Abbey Lane. This magnificent building was opened for divine service in 1167. Although no fragment remains of this great building, its foundation lines may easily be traced in a summer, and were plainly visible in 1878. The Rev. W. J. Dampier in 1865 estimated the nave to be 141 feet by 24 feet, the chancel 34 feet by 24 feet, and the north and south transepts 31 by 24 feet each, and the Lady Chapel beyond the chancel 31 by 24 feet. The foundation walls were about 5 feet wide. He (Mr. Beaumont) had in his possession a large brick, found on the Abbey Farm, and having a circular face. If this brick formed part of a pillar of the church, it gives the columns a diameter of about 4 feet. The tower was probably a central one, low and without hovels and pinnacles. The crucifix, but no other carvings or representations of saints were allowed, the windows were of plain glass and the candlesticks of iron, precious metal and ornamentation being avoided by this order as far as possible. After the dissolution of the Monastery, St. Mary's Church was pulled down, and tradition in Holman's time (nearly two centuries ago) said that the bells were carried to Kelvedon. The materials of this grand building, even to the foundations, were doubtless utilised for road-mending and similar purposes. After describing the probable situation of the extensive monastic buildings, Mr. Beaumont concluded by giving a description of St. Nicholas Chapel.

British Archæological Association.—The first meeting of the session was held on Wednesday, November 21, the chair being occupied by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew. Mr. C. Lynam exhibited a singular flat plate of copper on which were engraved two seal-like medallions, one representing David with the harp. It is of thirteenth-century date, and was found in Staffordshire. Mr. Harris described some remarkable interments which have been found in the chalk near Havant. They consist of pit-like cavities, twenty feet deep and four feet square. At the base are traces of burnt matter and bones. Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited old engravings of the great seals of William and Mary, and of William III. Mr. Earle Way de-

scribed a large number of fragments of Roman pottery, recently found near St. George's Church, Southwark. Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., exhibited a magnificent thirteenth-century cross, of brass, with Limoges enamel and jewels. It is the property of Mr. Conrad Cooke, and is in perfect preservation. The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited a fine series of antiquities, among which may be noted: a vase found near Bethany, an impression of the Great Seal of Charles I., old miniatures of Charles I., and many personal relics of William III. A paper was then read by Dr. Joseph Stevens, of Reading, on an Early British Cemetery, which has recently been discovered and excavated, at Dummer, Hants. The site is at Middle Down Field, 555 feet above sea-level, and close to an ancient trackway leading from Winchester to Silchester. The bodies had been burnt, and the ashes arranged in rough hand-made urns, inverted over the remains. Fourteen or fifteen urns have been found at a distance of only a foot below the present level. There were no signs of any tumulus. The second paper was by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. (Scotland), on Personal Relics of King William III., the subject having been chosen since this year is the 200th anniversary. The paper described a vast number of rings, books, and other articles formerly belonging to the King, now in various collections.

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.—November 22. Meeting at Mercers' Hall.—Behind the master's chair there was a fine display of plate belonging to the company, including several very interesting specimens of the early gold and silver-smiths' art, and these were described by Mr. Watney. There was the grace cup and cover, ornamented with maidens' heads and flagons, the badges of the company; round the cover and cup are bands of blue enamel, with letters of silver:

"To ellect the Master of the Mercerie hither am I sent,
And by Sir Thomas Legh for the same intent."

This is hall-marked 1499-1500. Another interesting and beautiful object was a silver-gilt tun or wine-barrel, with waggon, formerly belonging to the college of St. Thomas of Acon; this work is of the early fourteenth century. The master's hammer is of ivory, about three hundred years old, and two staves of the company are of the time of Queen Anne. On a table in front of the master were two precious documents under glass, namely the original ordinances of Whittington College, illuminated (the drawing having been done with a fine pen) the date being 1424; Whittington, very emaciated, is lying on his death-bed, and by the side are his three executors, a priest, and a group of figures besides. There were likewise the original ordinances of Dean Colet for St. Paul's School, with a portrait of the dean. There was also shown to the visitors a beautifully-executed deed of conveyance (belonging to Mr. W. A. Longmore) relating to property in the parish of St. George, Eastcheap, dated 1394, in the seventeenth year of Richard II., attested by the then Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, one of whom was Richard Whittington. A paper was read by Mr. J. Watney, on "The History of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon," which formerly stood on the site occupied by the hall, and Archbishop Thomas à Becket was born in a house which stood on ground now covered by Mercers'

Chapel. Mr. E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A., followed with a paper on "The History of the Mercers' Company, and its Eminent Members," prefacing it with the remark that it was twenty years since the society met in the hall, and all the four gentlemen who read papers on that occasion had since died. The Mercers are first in the order of precedence of the twelve great City companies, and they had their first royal charter in 1394. They had, however, been associated voluntarily at a much earlier period for mutual aid and comfort. Under the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, a member, they were associated with the Corporation in the management of the Royal Exchange. They are largely represented on the board of governors of St. Paul's School (founded by Dean Colet), of which they had the entire management for upwards of three hundred and fifty years; are the trustees of Whittington almshouses at Highgate, and many others bequests and gifts. Among other illustrious members of the company at the present time is Lord Selborne, the late Lord Chancellor. In 1814, Field-Marshal Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief, whose ancestors were Mercers, was admitted to the company, and a sword which belonged to him is preserved at the hall. The Prince of Wales was admitted in 1863.



Obituary.

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE death of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has caused keen regret in a circle of friends and acquaintance which was exceptionally wide even for so eminent a man, owing to his free and open nature and ever-ready response to all who sought him as students, or appealed to him in the name of Shakespeare from all parts of the world. If ambition were the motive leading to this result the sentiment has been amply realized, for it is impossible to be interested in the national poet and dramatist without becoming indebted to the labours of Halliwell-Phillipps; the immortality of Shakespeare ensures the remembrance of his loving biographer. But a personal knowledge of him whom we deplore dissipates the supposition that he sought his own glory by his labours. He was the ideal, single-minded, and devoted student. He gloried in his "rarities" and relics, because they were of Shakespeare, but he was only too self-depreciatory, and spoke ever humbly of his own literary work. His labour was of love, and his devotion in the nature of sacrifice. His death came with some suddenness. Nearly two years ago, he expressed to us his conviction that his working days were over, and his intention of confining himself strictly to the completion of matters in hand relating to Shakespeare. During the past summer he came to his London residence for the purpose of carrying out some researches at the Record Office, and while in town was taken ill. He rallied, however, and in the early days of last November was able to walk from Hollingbury

Copse to the sea-shore and back, chatting over his illness and various literary matters.

From the sympathetic, and in every sense excellent, notice of the distinguished antiquary which appeared in the *Athenaeum*, we venture to extract the following passage, which skillfully summarises his life's work:

"He was born in Sloane Street in 1820, and as early as 1839, when he was a scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge, he had begun that long career as author and editor which he continued with unabated zeal till nearly the close of his life. When one looks over the list of his works one begins to recognise the amount of our indebtedness to him, for though the world was of late years apt to regard him as a student of Shakespeare and of nothing else, his range was wide, and nothing antiquarian was alien from him. In fact, his first publication was *Rara Mathematica*, a collection of ancient treatises on mathematics, and he followed up this line of study with his *Letters on the Progress of Science in England from Elizabeth to Charles II.* As early as 1839, he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries. He had also—an uncommon taste for an undergraduate of those days—a habit of spending his time among the manuscripts of the university library and the college libraries, and the result was a volume, published by Dodd in 1841, on *The Manuscript Rarities of the University of Cambridge*. In the same year he edited *Naval Ballads* for the Percy Society; his first Shakespearean publication, an essay on the character of Falstaff, was due to the same year, and two years afterwards he began contributing to the publications of the Shakespeare Society. His pleasant *Nursery Rhymes of England*, which appeared in 1845, made his name known to a wide circle of readers, and his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* secured him the gratitude of all lovers of English literature. Halliwell was not a scientific philologist, and never pretended to be one, but this book and his edition of Nares's *Glossary* were highly serviceable to students of our early literature for the wealth of material they contained in days long before the Dialect Society existed, and when such helps were few and scanty. In 1848 appeared *The Life of Shakespeare*, his first essay in what was to be more than anything else the task of Halliwell's life. It was followed by the magnificent edition of Shakespeare in folio, which he published by subscription. This splendid work is a wonderful monument of the editor's industry, even if, as he himself said in later life, the execution was unequal and some plays were more thoroughly edited than others. Most men would have been contented with such a feat of labour, yet during the years when it was passing through the press he edited some Early English miscellanies, printed *Hand-lists of Early English History in the Bodleian*, brought out his *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, *Notes of Excursions in North Wales*, and a similar volume on Cornwall, and busied himself about the purchase of New Place, and in the formation of the Shakespeare Museum. His growing interest in the life of Shakespeare led him to this latter undertaking. He lavished his time and his means on Stratford; he went through the town records, searched every private collection of papers he could get hold of, and toiled unremittingly for the slightest scrap of evidence that would throw

light on the life of Shakespeare. As he himself remarked, he fairly ransacked every corner where anything about Shakespeare could possibly be found."

But it is by his wonderful collection of Shakespeare Rarities that Halliwell-Phillipps will perhaps be mainly remembered. In the printed *Calendar* of these, there are 804 items, classified (1) early engraved portraits, (2) authentic personal relics, (3) documentary evidences regarding Shakespeare's estates and individuals associated with his biography, (4) artistic illustrations connected with his personal history, (5) printed Shakespereana.

In the first division, and perhaps the *pièce de résistance* of the collection, was the Droeshout portrait, in its original state, and before it was altered by an inferior hand to the debased form in which it is familiar in copies of the first folio. To the last, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps continued to collect, spreading notices far and wide, stating that he was willing to purchase Elizabethan documents and literature, and emphasizing at the same time what he did *not* want to buy. The result was the magnificent collection whose destiny was the second and anxious thought of every antiquary on the announcement of the death of the distinguished collector.

The provisions made for the future of the collection are curious. None of these will go to the nation, except in the event of a certain bequest being refused by the University of Edinburgh. To that University he bequeaths his literary correspondence bound in about three hundred and more volumes, and lettered *Letters of Authors*, which include a large number on Shakespearean subjects, and from which, he says, "is eliminated everything that can give pain and annoyance to any person," and all the manuscripts and books described in a printed pamphlet entitled *An Inventory of certain Books and Manuscripts, including Notes for Shakespearean Researches preserved at Hollingbury Copse* (1887). He directs that these are to be delivered by land conveyance and not by sea, and, in the event of the University declining to receive them, he gives them unconditionally to the trustees of the British Museum. The copyright of his work, entitled *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, is left on trust, to be sold by public auction for the benefit of his wife and his daughter, Katherine Elizabeth Walcot. He gives all his electro-plates, electros of wood blocks, and wood blocks, to the Shakespeare Society of New York. His magnificent group of sixty folio volumes containing his collections from 1854 to 1887 on the life of Shakespeare and the history of the English stage, and also all the unbound papers indicated, are to be safely deposited until they can be sold for £1,200 or more, or, if such price cannot be obtained in the course of twelve years, they are to be sold by auction in one lot, for the benefit of his wife and daughters then living. Previous to the exhibition for public sale, no intending purchaser is to inspect the collections until he has deposited £1,200 at the Bank of England, to be returned in the event of his declining to purchase. The intending purchaser is to be accompanied by at least two of the trustees, but no one else, excepting one official of either the British Museum or the Public Record Office. "Whereas," the will proceeds, "my collection of Shakespearean rarities described in a printed catalogue entitled *A Calendar of*

the Shakespearean Rarities Preserved at Hollingbury Copse, near Brighton, 8vo, 1887, is unrivalled and of national interest, and being desirous of its being kept in this country, I direct my trustees to offer it to the Corporation of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick (where, as the leading town of Shakespeare's native county, such a collection would be appropriately located), on condition of the said corporation paying for it to my trustees the sum of £7,000 sterling." In case of the corporation not accepting this offer within one year of his decease, the collection is to be deposited until it can be sold for £10,000, or, if not sold within twelve years, is to be sold in one lot by public auction. The proceeds in either case are left in trust for his wife, his four daughters, and his nephew, Mr. Ernest Edward Baker, solicitor, of Weston-super-Mare. To guard against applications from curiosity, and to save his trustees trouble, any intending purchaser is first to deposit the purchase-money in the Bank of England, and there is the same provision for inspection as relates to the collection of volumes and papers above mentioned. To his nephew, Mr. Ernest Edward Hart Baker, he leaves the whole of his printed books and manuscripts not otherwise specifically bequeathed, with the proviso that his wife may select for her own use fifty volumes printed after the year 1800.

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps died on January 3, and was interred in the churchyard of the parish church of Patcham, a little rural suburb of Brighton, at the foot of the South Downs on the high road to London, that being the parish in which his estate of Hollingbury Copse is situated.



Correspondence.

A MARRIAGE REGISTER.

The parochial registers of St. Maurice, St. M. Kalendre, and St. Peter Colebrooke, Winchester, are in good preservation, and date back to 1538 as to burials, 1539 marriages, and baptism 1560. The rector, the Rev. F. R. Thresher, has kindly permitted a perusal to me, and I send the annexed quaint effusion of Richard Osman, aged 67, who either had experienced a practical "Taming of the Shrew," or had, like Socrates, his Xantippe, and had written this in the marriage register to relieve his feelings.

Nov ye 30th 1742.

Adam alone could not be easy
So he must have a wife ant please ye
But how could he procure this wife
To cheer his solitary life
Why from a rib taen from his side
Was formed the necessary bride
But how did he the pain beguile
Pho he slept softly all the while
But when the rib was reapplied
In woman form to Adam's side
How then I pray you did it answer
He never slept so sweet again, sir.

W. H. JACOB.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Memory Systems.—Send for List of Books ; sale or exchange.—Middleton, 63, Brown Street, Manchester.

Walton (Izaak), The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation ; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs ; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882 ; 12s.—14B, care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S. ; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment ; price £5 5s.—1B, care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzarah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. The Isiac Tablet Mensa, Isiaca Tabula Bombard of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), 21s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

Berjeau's Bookworm, a number of old parts for sale or exchange.—W. E. M., care of Manager.

Walford's Antiquarian Magazine, complete, 71 numbers ; perfect condition ; unbound ; £3.—H. H., care of Manager.

Very beautiful Leaden Cistern ; 200 years old ; liberal offer expected.—N., care of Manager.

Caldecott's Graphic Pictures ; édition de Luxe ; £3 10s.—IC, care of Manager.

Dumas' Monte Christo ; édition de Luxe ; 5 vols. ; £3.—2C, care of Manager.

Blades' Enemies of Books ; large paper edition ; £2 2s.—3C, care of Manager.

Johnson's The Early Writings of Thackeray ; large paper edition (only 50 printed) ; price £4 4s.—4C, care of Manager.

Sexagyma, Esoteric Physiology ; a digest of the works of John Davenport, privately printed for subscribers ; £3 3s.—5C, care of Manager.

Sooner or Later ; in original parts ; 30s.—6C, care of Manager.

MS. Sonnet.—To my Lady Winchelsea, written

and signed by Alexander Pope.—Offers to Mr. Hole, Angel Hotel, Ilford, Essex.

History of the Bible, illustrated with 260 historical sculptures. Published in 1752 ; fair preservation ; size, 15 in x 10 in.—Coote, Windsor Street, Chertsey.

Rossi Antiquari Warwicensis, etc. ; Historia Regum Angli ; Life of Sir Thomas More ; Anonymi Chronicon Godstoiranun ; Description of Fairford Church, Gloucestershire ; all bound in 1 vol., date 1745, with portraits of Rossi, More, and sketch of Guy's Cliff ; price £2 2s.—Address, T. C., Mossley House, Congleton.

Several old English Silver Coins in fine preservation ; list on receipt of stamp.—M. Akers, 19, East Raby Street, Darlington.

Seventeenth Century Tokens of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Oxon, Wilts, Bucks, Middlesex, and other counties.—W. H. Taylor, Ivy View, Erdington.

Duplicates, Roman Silver, and Bronze Coins for sale ; lists sent.—E. F. Bell, Botcherby, Carlisle.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Burke's Landed Gentry, last edition ; Walford's County Families, last edition.—Antiquary, 7, The Square, Shrewsbury.

Hardy's New Testament ; The White Cat, illustrated by E. V. B. ; Visitation of Pembrokeshire ; Burckett's Commentary on the Bible ; Notes on Novelists, large paper ; Theocritus, large paper ; Lang's Odyssey, large paper ; Hamilton's The Lamp and the Lantern ; Gardiner's England, 8vo., vols. 1 and 2 ; Pleasures of a Book-worm, Roxburgh edition ; Ball's State of Man ; Lupot on Violin, English edition ; Manual of Siege and Garrison Artillery, vol. 7 ; Notes on Ammunition, 5th edition ; Oldmixon's British Empire in America, 2 vols. (1708) ; Finney's Gospel Themes ; Finney's Systematic Theology ; Fergusson's Antiquities ; Early History of the County of Bedford ; Kirk's Light out of Darkness ; Bell Scott's The Poet's Harvest Home ; The Laird O'Coul's Ghost ; Shakespeare, vol. 7 (1818) ; Whittingham, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. 50 ; Martinsen's Christian Dogmatics ; Thomas à Kempis' Works, 2 vols., 32mo., Jones ; Thomas à Kempis' Works, Vandergucht.—Retail Department, Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Berjeau's Bookworm, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 ; new series, 1869, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 ; new series, 1870, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12 ; Printers' Marks, Nos. 5, 6.—Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

Burke, P., Celebrated Trials of Aristocracy, 2 vols., 1849-51. Romance of Forum, two series.—"Thanet," care of Manager.

Huguenot Society's Proceedings, vol. ii. Foster's Collectanea, Part XIII. Howard's Miscellanea Genealogica, last part, vol. ii., quarterly series. Agnew's Protestant Exiles. Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi. Shirley's Deer Parks. Vetusta Monumenta, vol. iii.—16A, care of Manager.



The Antiquary.



MARCH, 1889.

The Kusti, or Fillet, of the Fire-Worshippers.

BY WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH, PH.D.,
F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

"Hold ! hold ! Thy words are death !"
The stranger cried, as wide he flung
His mantle back and showed beneath
The Gebr belt that round him hung !

MOORE'S *Fire-Worshippers*.



NOT very well defined, but still a certain amount of mysticism has from all times been associated with religious traditions and legends, religious rites and ceremonies, religious emblems and symbols, and even religious vestments and costumes.

Such have ever been part of the sacerdotal system. They are founded upon that play of the imagination, that love of the wonderful, and that awe of the supernatural, which has always been inherent in human nature, and, therefore, always will be.

The philosophy of the ancients rebelled against it, yet mythology and pantheism remained triumphant—the scepticism of modern times has railed against it, yet it has not only its own nooks and corners, but its own enthusiastic advocates, who prefer persecution to giving up a pet mysticism.

The emblems of this all-pervading weakness of human nature are even more numerous than creeds. There are none of the latter without these additional and apparently trifling—yet really important—accessories, which are as the flowers and fruit of the garden of faith.

There is one comfort about these little frailties, that they are all alike harmless and innocuous, so long as they do not stir up the strife of offended vanity and pride—the

Church lamb-like becoming the Church militant. We admire them, because we respect the ministers of religion ; we love them, because they are the outward sign of inward piety ; and we look up to them with the reverence that is due to super-eminence in learning and faith.

Every nation, and every individual, has its, or their, own predilections. If the right to wear a green turban, as indicative of descent from the Prophet, entitles the wearer to respect and regard in one country, why should not another country accord the same to one anointed by Apostolic succession—not so much to the cloth as to the outward manifestation of the fact that he is one of the elect ?

The Kusti takes but a very secondary rank among these vagaries of a weak and pliable humanity, but, still, it had its time. It was allied to outward manifestations of faith that preceded it ; it had a very marked influence in the history of mankind for a brief period ; it has survived in other and modified forms ; it still exists to the present day ; and yet it is among the least generally known of the many outward manifestations of faith that have prevailed, and that have passed by and been overlooked from their assuming new forms or shapes, or being associated with so totally a different order of ideas as to be no longer recognisable.

It was supposed that the tiara, the cardinal's red hat, and the monk's cowl, were among the last of the peculiarities in sacerdotal head-gear ; but it is not so. We still see, even in the hat of a Church dignitary, or the flexible felt of a clerk in holy orders, the perpetuation of the same old feeling of the love of distinction in outward appearance.

Turbans, and head-dresses of various descriptions, cinctures or waistbands, belts or fillets, have been worn from the most remote times as emblems, or distinctive badges of faith. We find such in Egyptian figures, and on Khaldæan, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian sculptures ; on engraved cylinders, and on coins.

The practice of wearing knots as fillets is still handed down in the worsted fastening of a Bedwin's shawl, and in the cords or girdles of monks of the Order of St. Francis—Cordeliers and Capuchins—and which are distin-

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guished by three knots, symbolical of the three vows made by members of the Order—poverty, chastity, and obedience.

The Kusti, or fillet, of the fire-worshippers was, however, in far more general use, being, in fact, inseparable from the sculptured figures of Kayanian and Sassanian times, and hence does it leave a mystic and imperishable memory with those who have contemplated the great tablets of Shapūr, Takhti, Rustam, Tenki Saulek, and other passes in Kurdistan.

The term “gebr,” used by Moore, or “guebre,” as it is written in Yakut’s *Mojem el Buldan*, is one of contempt adopted by the Muhammadans, as they did that of Gawur, or Giaour, for Christians, and Kaffir for pagans. Yet they preserved the emblem of Iran in the turban—the best known of all religious emblems after the cross of the Christians.

The worship of fire dates from the most remote antiquity. Long before the dawn of written history, the Hindū-Aryans and the Perso-Aryans cherished the worship of the emblem of life on earth, just as the Khaldæans did in their time, and the Magi in theirs.

According to a Parsi tradition, the agriculturists made offerings of corn, the shepherds of flesh, and hence arose a schism which led to Deva being accepted as god, and Asura, or Ahura, as the evil spirit by the one, and the acceptance of the same terms being reversed by the other.

The origin of the Kusti is generally attributed to the great reformer of the south-western branch of the Aryans—Zaradasht, or Zoroaster, “the golden star”—he having declared that the angels appeared to him with a fillet.

In the Sa’dah, which is an abbreviation or commentary of the Avesta (commonly called the Zend-Avesta, from being written in the Zend character), it is said: “If thou dost not know Iran from An-Iran (or that which is without Iran), I will teach you a sign by which you shall know them. An-Iran has not girt the Kusti as it is proper for them to do; but Iran has girt himself with it, and has taken it above his face, as behoves all good men, saints, and men who are perfect in religion; he has girdled the Kusti in the manner that is described in the true law.”

It would appear from this that the fire-worshippers of Iran wore the Kusti as a turban or head-dress. The turban of the Indian fire-worshipper was the same as the Hindhū Khirkidar, only that the Khirkidar of North India and of Bengal was not quite so tall as the Parsi head-gear.

The empire and the religion of the Parsis flourished from the time of its foundation under the Kayanian dynasty, to the middle of the fourth century before Christ, with a lustre which few nations surpassed in ancient times.

But those who had often successfully assailed Greece were at last subjected by the Greeks, under Alexander the Great, whose advent is supposed to have been foretold in the Avesta, under the name of Setamgar.

The supremacy of the Seleucids and of the Parthians followed, and it did not prove favourable to the followers of Zoroaster. It was not until the lapse of five centuries that the Parsis regained their independence, under the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardasir Babigan. This was in A.D. 226, and the dynasty endured until the year 641, when Yazdjird, the last of the line, was driven from his possessions by the lieutenant of the Khalif Omar.

This was, however, to judge by the numerous sculptures and coins extant, the era when the Kusti flourished most. It was the duty of the Mūbid, or high-priest (called also by the Arabs Masmajan), to bestow the fillet upon every boy between seven and fifteen years of age.

Associated in this intimate manner with their faith, the Parsis were never a moment without it; it acquired with them the mystic property of a protecting influence—acting as a spell to avert evil, or as a magic charm to insure impunity. According to the sacred books of the Persians, it was not only the sign of union among the faithful, but it also put demons to flight. All the good works of the person who was not girt with it became useless, and without merit, in the eyes of the law.

The Parsi was further enjoined to make four knots in his Kusti. By the first he confessed the all-important point—the unity of God; by the second he acknowledged the superimposed truth of the religion of Zoro-

dasht, or Zoroaster; the third was a testimony which he rendered to the divinity of the mission of the latter, and his quality as a prophet; and lastly, by the fourth, he attested to the firm resolution he had taken to do what was right, and to eschew all evil.

According to the sacred books, the Kusti further terminated in two small tails at each end, to denote the four seasons; whilst three knots on each tail presented in the aggregate the twelve months in the year.

The cord was itself twisted of seventy-two threads, such being the number, according to the interpretation of the Magi, of the known kingdoms of the world in the time of Hushenk, Jamshid, or Dejoces—their first legislator.

Herodotus assigns the same number to the nations under the sway of the Persian monarchs; and, according to tradition, the same number of columns once supported the throne of Jamshid, at what afterwards was known as Persepolis.

The Kusti was, as evidenced by its numerous representations, variously worn by different peoples and sects. It was worn as a kind of turban, the ends hanging down loose from the head; it was worn as a belt or girdle round the waist, or over the shoulder; it was held in the hand as a circlet or badge, and it is even represented as adorning the pyraea, or fire-altars, which were supplied by naphtha springs with perpetual fire.

Thus, for example, we see in the sculptures at Shapūr royal personages with the characteristic bushy head of hair surmounted by the Kusti rolled into the form of a balloon-shaped turban, with the tails hanging as streamlets down the back. In one instance the tails hang the whole length of the body behind. They also wear the Kusti as a girdle, and sometimes hold it as a circlet in the hand, apparently as an emblem of royalty. In some sculptures the arm of one figure is linked in the arm of another, within the Kusti, to show that they act in harmony, or to render a treaty or understanding binding between the parties.

This is also the version given of the celebrated bas-reliefs of Takhti Rustam, Nakshi Rustam, and Nakshi Rejeb, only in these the contracting parties hold the Kusti opposite to

one another—the ends of the fillet being allowed to hang downwards.*

Baron de Bode has, in his *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan* (vol. i., p. 352), given a striking representation of royalty seated and holding the Kusti in the hand; and Sir Henry Rawlinson has given equally interesting representations of royalty girdled with the Kusti,



THE KUSTI AS A BADGE OF ROYALTY, TENGI SAULEK.

and at the same time holding the circlet in the hand (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. x., part 1). These from Behistun. Sir Henry



ORMUSD, AT BEHISTUN.

Rawlinson considers one of the sculptures in question to represent "Ormazd," or Ormuzd, as it is commonly written.

Baron de Bode also gives a striking illustration, from Tengi Saulek, near Bebehan, of

* Shapūr is the Sapor of the Romans; Rustam the hero of Persian romance.

the fillet tied round a pyræum, or fire-altar—a royal personage, or a mubid or priest, standing by. The figure, however, has the acces-



BAS-RELIEF, TENGI SAULEK, NEAR BEBEHAN.

sories of royalty—Kusti turban, bag-wig, and girdle; but so also have the priests serving the fire-altars represented on Sassanian coins.

It is also probable that the slings which, according to Quintus Curtius (*Hist. of Alexander*, lv., cvii.), adorned the head of the Mardi, and at the same time were used as weapons, were, in reality, Kusti.

The Parsis of Persia, for whom the British Minister at the Court of Teheran has recently obtained a general toleration, and the Parsis of India, are lineal descendants of the fire-worshippers of old.

The history of the emigration of the latter is contained in a Persian work entitled *Kisseh i Sanjan* (Sanjan being the name of the port at which they first landed), written by a Parsi priest named Bahram (a variant of Brahman), in 1599; as also in another more modern work, entitled the *Parsi Prakasa*, which work contains a record of all the important events that have occurred in the growth of the rich and powerful community of Parsis in Western India.

There are differences of opinion among modern Parsis, as among other religious communities. For example, one Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., maintains of the Kusti that "it is a thin woollen cord or cincture of seventy-two threads; these threads represent

the seventy-two 'has,' or chapters, of the sacred book of the Parsis, called Yazashne" (*History of the Parsis*. 2 vols. Macmillan and Co. 1885).

The few remaining Persian Parsis are in our own times mostly collected around the natural fires of Bakū, and other places bordering on the Caspian, as also in Azerbaijan—the land sacred to fire.

In India, where they are more numerous, the Kusti is held by some to be a mere counterpart of the Brahminical paitā, only among Parsis both women and men wear it; whereas among the Hindhus it is confined to the male sex.

The Kusti and the Sadra—a muslin shirt, which is supposed to symbolize their armour of old—form the panoply in which the Parsis believe they can successfully resist the assaults of Ahriman—the evil principle.

Thus Ed ul Daru says in his *Mauzat i Zartusht*,* that "the sadra and Kusti preserve the soul from the calamities accruing from Ahriman, and the souls of dead children are prevented by them from becoming devils, khairs, and jins."

Another modern writer — Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E.—argues that Manu having recommended the woollen paitā for vaisyas (vol. ii., p. 44), the fact corroborates the theory of the Parsis having originally belonged to the agricultural class (*The Parsis of Bombay*, Calcutta, 1880). This has reference to the primitive myth of the split between the Hindhū-Aryans and the Perso-Aryans. All that can be said is, that there may have been agriculturists and vegetarians, and shepherds and warriors, among those who descended originally from the lofty plateaus of Central Asia, or they may have been those who adopted the one or other system, or, as in the present day, the two combined.

Apart from certain superstitions which had their origin among themselves, and from their commingling with other peoples, the faith of the Parsis appears to be pure, if not simple. The account which their leader—Dastūr—gave of his followers, on landing in India, is summarized in the *Kisseh i Sanjan* :

We are the poor descendants of Jamshid;
We reverence the moon and the sun.
Three other things we hold in estimation :

* Another variant for Zoroaster.

The cow, water, and fire ;
 We worship fire and water,
 Also the cow, the sun, and moon.
 Whatever God has created in the world
 We pray to, for He has selected them.

This is not quite so simple as the legend on the temple of Isis, or the inspired injunction of the Hebrew lawgiver, but the reverence of the thing created is manifestly made subordinate to the worship of Him who created it. Fire was with the Parsis, as with the Khaldæans, the representative, or emblem, of God on earth, but the Deity dwelt in Heaven.



Early Hospitals of Southwark.

BY W. RENDLE, F.R.C.S.

AT the end of life, as it is now well-nigh with me, I find it a very consoling pursuit, and by no means an useless one, to keep on, as I have done for more years than I can say, accumulating materials throwing light upon the history of that old borough south of London Bridge, known first as the southern outwork of London itself, and later, as the Borough of Southwark. Without any effort on my part, material accumulates, and only requires classifying and indexing to be of sound historical use to myself, and, I may hope, to anyone else with a taste this way, afterwards. Among the very early records of the borough, founding hospitals, and attaching them to the religious foundations (*i.e.*, to the monasteries of St. Mary Overy and of Bermondsey), is a prominent and important fact; the beginnings and early progress of these hospitals in that rough and rude time, exceptionally useful and kindly institutions, are not merely of local, but of general, interest; the study throws light upon the social life of the times along which we go, upon the state of the poor as to themselves and in their relations with well-to-do neighbours.

These hospitals came out of the early attempts to spread the new religion, as it may even for that time be called, England being as yet by no means Christianized.

Those who devoted themselves to the work,

missionaries they were, concerned themselves with the rude social questions of the time, and with every variety of knowledge possible to them. The poor, sick and helpless, came under their charge, the medical and surgical knowledge of those days, such as it was, rested much with them: they were the gardeners, the medical botanists and herb doctors of the time, they graduated in the unseen universities of common-sense, of experience, and duty; they added studies in astrology, for it was deemed needful to know under what conjunctions or signs the curative herbs should be gathered for them to be of any real use. A perusal of Mr. Cockayne's *Leechdoms and Wort-cunning** (cunning in herbs), will, no doubt, astonish the casual reader as to the great number of formulas and recipes known in the pre-Norman period, and how the use of simple herbs or worts cured, or were supposed to cure, the unhealthy conditions named. As one would suppose from their profession, the better sort could reverentially invoke the Master's name; but they failed not to use religious charms, faith in relics, in sacred wells, and holy localities, and, of course, the faith often made whole the people who believed in them. Monks, and not only monks, but other religious of these foundations, practised doing good among their neighbours. Brethren and sisteren were nurses, watchers, and one may say, doctors of a sort, and here woman, as the sister, came into her legitimate position, in aid of, or in subordination to, others, in caring for the sick. The Infirmary was a recognised officer, and implied an infirmary, a first step to an hospital, and no doubt many would, in an organized community, be willing to help in time of need.

At the monasteries there was a regular season in which bleeding was practised, and so we approach their simple surgery. Of course, in that time of frequent feud and violence, the rough knowledge of bodily hurts and lesions was necessarily common enough; but, by the glimpses we get in old works, the practice was brutal.

Before the Conquest, Southwark was a chief residence of the Godwins, and a favourite of the Conqueror, Earl Warren, we have reason to believe, resided here afterwards. We were important enough to be among the

* *Rolls Publications*, 1864.

earliest to obtain Norman favour in the founding of priories, and soon after of the hospitals which were attached to them.

It is said that Lanfranc, the Conqueror's friend and bishop, was especially imbued with the spirit of charity in general, wherever it was needed; he strove that his left hand should not know what his right hand did, and the king helped and favoured him. In particular, he built hospitals for the poor and sick of both sexes, and founded, for instance, the Church of St. Gregory, the Apostle of the English, which was served by a body of regular canons. All this Mr. Freeman notes. Now Lanfranc's death took place in 1089, and his example, as one must suppose, led to the foundation of a hospital or infirmary, as one feature of the Priory of St. Mary Overy. In 1107, certain Norman knights refounded the Priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, by London Bridge, for canons regular of the Order of St. Augustine. We don't know when, or in what exact year, the hospital, or hospital-like feature of the priory, was set on foot. Considering this in connection with Lanfranc's example, and the Norman knights amended foundation with canons regulars, it is more than probable that the hospital uses were set going no long time after 1107, at first as a function of the priory, and then as an hospital, but there is not sufficient evidence to say. In 1207, a very great fire destroyed the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Canon of Southwark, and a great part of London and Southwark was burnt. Tanner says: "Overy, Hospital of St. Thomas, upon the burning of the Monastery of St. Mary Overy, the prior and convent in that same year founded an hospital near their own house, wherein they said mass till the priory was rebuilt." The hospital founded by the brethren for a temporary purpose was, as we shall see, not intended to last long, for the priory was rebuilt, and the hospital was removed, and apparently sumptuously refounded in another place. This was the work of a notorious and very active Bishop of Winchester, Peter de la Roche, in 1228. We are singularly fortunate in having, with little doubt, the exact address given by the Bishop on the occasion, containing in few words a very intelligible notice of the earliest hospital, and although it has been published before, being indeed yearly

printed in the prospectus of the medical schools, it is a *sine quâ non* here. As it is very little known outside the profession, no apology is needed for giving the whole of this old and quaint charter.*

"The Lord Peter's charter of indulgence for twenty days granted by him for this hospital. Peter, by the grace of God, Bishop of Winchester, to all the faithful in Christ in the diocese of Winchester, greeting. In Him, who is the salvation of the faithful. As saith the Apostle, bodily discipline which consists in fasts, vigils, and other mortifications of the flesh, profiteth little, while piety availeth for all things, having the promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come. Our Lord Jesus Christ, among the works of piety, enumerates, commends, and teaches us to fulfil six, as though more praiseworthy and more meritorious than the rest, saying: 'I was an hungred, and ye gave Me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me to drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me in; I was naked, and ye clothed Me; I was sick, and ye visited Me; in prison, and ye came to Me.' To those that perform these works of piety, He shall grant His blessing, and the glory of His heavenly kingdom, saying, 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' But to them that neglect, and do not perform works of compassion He threatens His curse, and the penalty of eternal fire, which has been prepared for the devil and his angels. It is, therefore, to be borne in mind, my dearest sons, and more deeply laid to heart, how needful and how conducive to the salvation of our souls it is to exercise more readily those works of piety whereby blessing is promised to us, and the felicity of eternal life is gained.

"Behold, at Southwark, an ancient hospital, built of old to entertain the poor, has been entirely reduced to cinders and ashes by a lamentable fire. Moreover, the place whereon the old hospital had been founded was less suitable, less appropriate for entertainment and habitation, both by reason of the straitness of the place, and by reason of the lack of water, and of many other con-

* Translated from the Latin of the manuscript, by Mr. Flather, of Cavendish College.

veniences; according to the advice of us, and of wise men, it is transferred and transplanted to another more commodious site, where the air is more pure and calm, and the supply of waters more plentiful. But whereas this building of the new hospital calls for many and manifold outlays, and cannot be crowned with its due consummation without the aid of the faithful, we request, advise, and earnestly exhort you all, and with a view to the remission of your sins, enjoin you, according to your abilities, from the goods bestowed upon you by God, to stretch forth the hand of pity to the building of this new hospital, and out of your feelings of charity to receive the messengers of the same hospital coming to you for the needs of the poor to be therein entertained, that for these and other works of piety you shall do, you may, after the course of this life, reap the reward of eternal felicity from Him who is the Recompenser of all good deeds, and the loving and compassionate God.

"Now we, by the mercy of God, and trusting in the merits of the glorious Virgin Mary, and the Apostles Peter and Paul and St. Thomas the Martyr, and St. Swithin, to all the believers in Christ, who shall look with the eye of piety on the gifts of their alms—that is to say, having confessed, contrite in heart, and truly penitent, we remit to such twenty days of the penance enjoined on them, and grant it to them to share in the prayers and benefactions made in the church of Winchester, and other churches erected by the grace of the Lord in the diocese of Winchester.

"Ever in the Lord. Farewell."

With the belief well implanted that charity covers a multitude of sins, and the national desire then, as now, to be bountiful in time of need, the Bishop's tremendous oratory could not fail of its intended effect. This Ashburnham MS., happily secured to the British Museum, tells in detail the efforts made by gifts of money and estate in munificently founding the new hospital. This manuscript was described in the Stowe collection, from which Lord Ashburnham had it as a parochial register of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark; it was, in fact, nothing of the sort, but simply a cartulary of the possessions of St. Thomas's Hospital, many of them the

outcome of the proceedings which the Lord Peter had, as we see, set going.

Other machinery is set in motion on behalf of the new hospital. The Pope having great power at the time over ecclesiastical foundations, issues bulls of confirmation of grants and privileges. The prior of St. Mary Overy compassionating the poor infirm in the hospital of St. Thomas, grants to all benefactors participation in the benefits of all masses, psalms, vigils, genuflexions, etc., of worshippers at the priory, of daily benefits also, of masses for the dead and for the living, said in the Church of St. Mary Overy. He adjures the people by the hope they have of coming at last to the mansions of heaven—*cali palata*—to give liberally. Bishop Peter was not much himself—was, in fact, a wrong-doer and mischief-maker; but he was liberal beyond his time, and he knew how to go to work to serve any cause he had in hand; he was good to the persecuted Jews, providing they abjured their faith, and to the poor and sick, and he was hospitable in other ways. Quaint legal customs are exemplified in recorded transfer of the properties bestowed, and names appear, among the rest the Gowers, and the De Parys; one of the latter, Robert de Parys, marshal of the Marshalsea afterwards, in 1392, and mixed up in one of Chaucer's troubles—a Marshalsea prisoner had robbed him. Once now and then, in their transfers on behalf of the hospital, we come upon Jewish dealings, money-lending, mortgages, and so on; in one case the property concerned took its name, the Jews' Mede, from having passed through Jewish hands. One property referred to is within other property, and is indeed to be got to only through another person's room or tenement. So many changes have come about since that early time that it would not be easy, probably it would be impossible, to trace these gifts back. Some ancient deeds are, I understand, in the possession of the city, which for so long had the complete, and still has the partial, control of the hospital. A few items appear here and there, and give us, more or less, obscure glimpses of hospital history; for instance:

"1217. Robert, otherwise brother Robert, the proctor, was the custos; there were bretheren and sisteren of the Hospital of St. Thomas, in Suwerc, to whom lands and

houses were officially granted." "1265. Wm. de la Craye is proctor of the brethren and sisteren; Sir Robert, called the senescal, is the chaplain."*

We see both before and after the building of Bishop Peter's new hospital, that the work is going on, and that brethren and sisters, and a chaplain (probably senescal or hospitaller), are on duty.

They have, among other things, to provide for the burial of the dead. They have much trouble over this, because, after the manner of the churches down to our time, there were rights of burial and of fees, and (as we have at length found out), these rights were scandalously injurious. In this instance it was necessary that Pope Honorius, 1216-1237, should give his mandate to Bishop Peter, that the Hospital of St. Thomas, of Southwark, should have a cemetery; and to secure this an equitable allowance was to be made to the two parishes chiefly concerned. This was done. The cemetery was established within the "hospital of the poor and infirm," and was dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. The canons of St. Mary Overy gave up their right of market for corn, held in the courts of the old hospital, and it was transferred to the new. The market was extended to other than corn; for instance, to skins, leather, and the like, all of which paid dues, which were very profitable to the hospital. This charter was examined and confirmed by the King—33 Edward I., 1304. It was also agreed that the canons would not build any other hospital in the public street of Southwark over against the new one.

A somewhat doubtful transaction took place in 1238. Lucas de Rupibus, sub-dean of the Pope, had managed to obtain for himself for his life, the use of a hall, chapel, and stable, from the master and brethren of—to give the full title—the house of paupers of the hospital of St. Thomas. Apparently he had been "reasoned with" about it and had quit claimed, so that they may dispose of the hall, chapel, and stable as they wish. We see, then, that in 1238 there was a hall by the well, and a chapel. In 1352 there is note of a new chapel within the sanctuary of St. Thomas in Southwark. It goes without saying that there was religious service from the first, but here is definite mention of the chapel

of the hospital. I suppose the church is distinctly foreshadowed in the very early grants of two bells of one hundredweight each, probably soon after the hospital of 1228 was founded. A will of 1489 throws interesting light upon its state then. John Meyricke, of the parish hospital and close of St. Thomas the Martyr in Southwark, bequeaths his body to be buried in the chancel of St. John Baptist, before the image of St. John the Baptist therein. There are other altars besides that of St. John, the Trinity Altar, and the Altar to Our Lady. "Twelve candles and torches are to burne about the herse at the obsequies, at mass, at burying, and at the month's mind."


The hospital, as its name implies, was for the poor; but by old custom it was not confined to the poor. For instance, Alicia de Chalvedon, a good benefactor, confirms to the hospital in frankalmoine, all her lands in Chalvedon, without any drawback, the master and brethren finding her within the court of the hospital a suitable bed, with everything pertaining to a bed for her, so long as she lives; she is to have good service and money for clothing and fuel. Now and then at the discretion of first the master and brethren, and afterwards of the governors, humbler people were, on giving up all their goods to the use of the hospital, made inmates, and attended to during their life. The custom was in those times a very good one, securing to worthy people a calm retreat from worldly turmoil, and in a very limited way, after the manner of an insurance, providing comfort for the future.



Recent Archaeological Discoveries.

BY TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued.)

"HE question of the position of Naukratis has long been an undecided one."* That it is so no longer is due to Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie and his coadjutors.

The ancient authorities who have proved

* *Naukratis*, Part I., page 1. (Third Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund.)

* *Hist. MS. Com., 9th Report, St. Paul's Records.*

the safest guides are the geographer Ptolemy and the Peutingerian map. The city lay to the west of the Kanobic branch of the Nile. Here is the mound of Nebireh, in which "the only known decree of the city of Naukratis and the only two autonomous coins of that city were found; the mound which contained archaic temples of Apollo and of Aphrodite, as Naukratis did, according to Herodotus and Athenaios; the mound which covers a great commercial emporium abounding in weights, and a centre of Greek trade and manufactures."*

Mr. Petrie assigns the foundation of the Greek settlements of Naukratis to the seventh century, possibly about 670 B.C., though the building of the temples might not have taken place till the close of that century. It ceased to exist about the beginning of the third century of our era.

The site of the *temenos* of Apollo has been fixed by the discovery of hundreds of vases dedicated to him, beside the ruins of two successive temples. Among the few architectural fragments representing the first temple may be noted a base and a volute, found by Arabs before Mr. Petrie was aware of any temple existing there. The result illustrates the common fate of such antiquities. "The volute," says our author, "was smashed up and carried off before I could return with my camera, in spite of my offering to buy it; the base I secured a good photograph of, while the finder stood by, hammer in hand, waiting to smash it." The columns of this temple had a sculptured necking, found also in the Erechtheum, but nowhere else. The style of the second temple, dating from about 440 B.C., has suggested that it was possibly designed by the same architects who some years later built the Erechtheum.

Sacred precincts (*temene*) also of the Dioskouroi, of Hera, and of Aphrodite, have been identified. These public resorts are, however, eclipsed in size and interest by the Great Temenos, or Panhellenion, the centre and connecting link of the settlers and traders from every part of Hellas. This was founded by Chios, Rhodes, Mitylene, and six great cities of Asia Minor. It formed at once a place of assembly, a sanctuary, and a fortress, with its walls forty feet high, and, on

an average, fifty feet thick. The chief building within this was a block about 180 feet square, "containing twenty-six chambers, connected by passages opening from a main passage down the middle; these chambers and passages being floored with wood at a level of seventeen or eighteen [feet] above the ground, leaving cellars of this depth below each chamber and below the passages without any communication with each other."* This was the warehouse. The entrance, at a height of eighteen feet, was evidently approached by a movable scaffolding, so that access could be cut off in case of need.

At the entrance to the *temenos* a building was erected by Ptolemy Philadelphos. On the site of this were found models of various ingots and implements (hoes, chisels, bricks, etc.) connected with building, which had been deposited on the foundation.

We know from Athenæus† that Naukratis was a great place for potters, and various factories have been found there. Among the most important antiquities are specimens of pottery of various ages and classes. In this department, as in some others, Mr. Petrie has associated with himself an expert; and Mr. Cecil Smith, of the British Museum, has an interesting chapter on painted vases. Of the archaic pottery Mr. Petrie himself has treated. In this class, the pottery from the *temenos* of Apollo is most important as being early, and approximately dated. Its comparative age is gauged by its position in the deep trench, into which discarded offerings were thrown. Here was found the "Phanes" bowl, of which we shall have something to say later on.

Mr. Cecil Smith remarks that "the vases of the 'Geometric' style and the so-called 'Island' type" do not occur at Naukratis. Thus, the usual view, that they are earlier than 650 B.C., is confirmed.

A fine example of the so-called "Cyrenian" ware—i.e., a cup with polychrome figures on a white or cream-coloured ground—is mentioned by Mr. Smith among the vases from Naukratis. This class is most generally known from what was, for a long while, its only representative, the Paris Kylix, on which Arkesilaos superintends the weighing of sil-

* *Naukratis*, p. 4.

* *Naukratis*, pp. 24, 25.

† xi., 480.

phium,* the staple commodity of Cyrene. Now, there are several specimens at Paris and in the British Museum; at Berlin there is not one.

With reference to the bowls decorated outside with large eyes, Mr. Smith suggests that the employment of colossal eyes to decorate the outside of cups with painted scenes (frequent in the case of the red-figured *Kylix*) "may have been imitated from the same dedicatory brown bowls in Naukratis, the idea of which may itself have been borrowed from the sacred eyes of Osiris, manufactured in such large quantities by the scarab factors of Naukratis." Some think, however, that the cup or platter (like the vases at Hissarlik) was in early times regarded as a face; one of the best known examples being the pinax with the combats between Hektor and Menelaos, where the nose also is indicated.

The numerous inscriptions of Naukratis have been discussed by Mr. Ernest Gardner, who has used them as a means of tracing the development of the Ionic alphabet. He has thus been led to conclusions which differ widely from those formed by others, as, for instance, Professor Kirchhoff. His chief contention is, that the more ancient inscriptions of Naukratis are earlier than the famous *graffiti* carved by the Greek mercenaries on the colossal statues at Abu Simbel. If Mr. Gardner be right, then must these *graffiti* abdicate the important position they have been assigned by Professor Kirchhoff in the evolution of the alphabet.

In an interesting contribution to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii., p. 230, Mr. Gardner even suggests that the mercenaries at Abu Simbel used a "a local alphabet, allied, indeed, to the Ionic, but distinct from it;" though he candidly admits the difficulty of supposing the use of such an alphabet by natives of Ionic cities as Teos and Colophon.

Professor Gustav Hirschfeld, of Königsberg, pronounces (*Rheinisches Museum*, xlii., pp. 209-225) the mass of the pottery found at Naukratis to belong to the sixth century or a later date. He holds that it was Amasis who made Naukratis a Greek city, and he

adheres to this view even after reading Mr. Gardner's article in the *Hellenic Journal*.

In the fourth edition of his *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets*, pp. 43-47, Professor Kirchhoff discusses the question with his usual learning and precision. From a careful consideration of the style of the writing, the forms of the letters, and the testimony of Herodotus (ii. 178), he arrives at the conclusion that all the inscriptions of Naukratis are later than that of Abu Simbel, even if we place the latter in the reign of the second Psammetichos rather than the first. This verdict will find general acceptance among those who have followed the teachings of the great Berlin epigraphist.

Most of the Naukratis inscriptions are merely dedicatory. Among them is that of Phanes, son of Glaukos, who dedicated a large bowl to Apollo. He has been supposed to be the same Phanes who was an important person in the service of Amasis, but afterwards deserted him. Though captured the wily Greek managed to make his guards thoroughly drunk and get away to Cambyses, whom he assisted in his invasion of Egypt.* He came from Halikarnassos, and to him, or to an ancestor of his, is referred the well-known electrum stater, the earliest of inscribed coins.† It is a curious coincidence that this Halikarnassian worthy should thus have succeeded in concentrating on himself the attention of students of epigraphy and of the ceramic art, as well as of the numismatist and the historian.

The coins discovered at Naukratis have been examined and described by Mr. Barclay V. Head. It is needless, therefore, to say that they have been described clearly and well. They are arranged in seven chronological periods. The first of these periods is from 520 to 350 B.C. To this belong ninety-seven Greek autonomous silver coins. The last period begins with A.D. 340. To this are assigned only eighteen Byzantine, Arabic and Turkish coins. The largest class (the fourth) is that of the Imperial bronze of Alexandria, ranging from B.C. 30 to A.D. 190, about which time "Naukratis ceased to exist as a centre of commercial life." The silver coins were (with two exceptions) found in three hoards. Of these the first consisted of fifteen archaic

* Rayet considered it was *wool*. As the same substance is in both scales, he suggested a division of it between king and subjects was intended. *Hist. de la Céramique grecque*.

* Herodotus, iii. 4.

† Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, I. A., 7.

coins "found together with 42 ounces of roughly cast and cut up lumps of silver," and is supposed to have formed part of a silver-smith's stock-in-trade. In the other two hoards were found Athenian tetradrachms, eighty specimens of which have been discovered at Naukratis.

Of the bronze the most remarkable are two small autonomous coins of Naukratis hitherto unknown, bearing the head of Aphrodite, and on the reverse also a female head perhaps representing the city. Mr. Head places them in "the closing years of the fourth century B.C." The inscriptions on these coins show that they were struck at Naukratis in the name of Alexander.

As to the other coins, their chief value is that they give some idea of the extent, course, and duration of the city's trade.

How important the trade was that passed through the only permanent "treaty-port" of Egypt may be inferred from the great find of weights, to the discussion of which are devoted no fewer than eighteen of the ninety-five pages of text in the memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The forms and details of the weights occupy their full share of the plates with which the memoir is so handsomely equipped. Such details can be fully appreciated only by experts; but Mr. Petrie has succeeded in impressing the stamp of exactness on the whole of his work.

Passing over to the shores of South-western Asia, we find ourselves on the track pursued by Professor Gustav Hirschfeld. His travels in Asia Minor are published in the *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy* (1874-1885). They extended over Pamphylia, Pisidia, Caria, Phrygia, and at a later time Paphlagonia—districts once thickly populated, but now in great measure deserted. Great part of his route has rarely been traversed by Europeans, though containing many interesting remains both of rock-cut tombs and of cities that flourished under the Roman Empire.

In the course of the earlier journey Professor Hirschfeld notes a fact which illustrates the adornment of the wall on the Acropolis of Athens with the entablature of a ruined temple. At Adalia he found an ancient gateway walled up in a careful way with ornamental work. Elsewhere, too, he found the architectural members of older buildings

utilised in the Byzantine period for the adornment of new structures in symmetrical arrangement and with considerable skill.

The sepulchral monuments in these parts consist chiefly of large oblong sarcophagi, with heavy gable covers. These are decorated with shield and spears, or with the head of Medusa. The Feast of the Dead is also found on them. They bear inscriptions forbidding the unauthorized use of the tomb under penalty of a fine. The inscriptions are late, even of Christian times. These sarcophagi recur with monotonous uniformity throughout Pamphylia and Pisidia.

The cities have frequently been destroyed by earthquake. This was the case with Termessos. No private buildings are preserved, and the ruins of the public edifices, sacred and profane, are of no earlier date than the second century of our era. In these veritable cities of the dead the most striking features are the tombs. Over the slope that borders on Termessos, lie spread many hundred sarcophagi, and the rock-hewn monument in the market-place is alike a tomb.

At Perge, a little vaulted church with nave and aisles half choked with débris, affords a shelter for the wandering cattle. Of the six supporting columns two have Doric capitals, one a Byzantine, and on a fourth stands a beautiful marble pedestal with inscription in honour of a pagan priestess.

The importance, however, in Christian times of the city where Paul and Barnabas preached the Word,* is attested by the remains of more imposing religious edifices. The sepulchral monuments again display a variety of form and size quite unusual in this neighbourhood; mausolea on a moderate scale, vaulted sepulchres, small Doric buildings, sculptured sarcophagi. Of inscriptions, on the other hand, there are but few.

At Sylleion Professor Hirschfeld found subterranean sepulchral chambers, one having a pointed roof formed of overlapping stones, and closely resembling the Regulini-Galassi tomb.

In his later journey, from August to October, 1882, he examined the lower course of the Halys, which was previously entirely unknown, and believed to be almost impossible of access. He found, however, on its

* Acts xiv. 25.

banks several open spaces which were fruitful and well populated. In one of these stands a stately rock sepulchre with vestibule supported by three columns of peculiar form. Above is a pediment carved in the rock, in which are animals standing face to face. On the step before the columns couch three lions. The form of the central one is sculptured in the round. Those on the sides are cut in relief on the rock.

The Thermodon, sorenowned in mythology, was found to have but a very short course, though its volume of water still merits its ancient fame.

After travelling about a thousand miles on land, Professor Hirschfeld sailed back along the whole northern coast of Asia Minor. In the following year he laid before the Berlin Academy an Itinerary and a detailed sketch of his route, together with sixty photographs of monuments, and of the important features of the country through which he had passed. In 1885 the Academy published his monograph on the rock tombs of Paphlagonia. Of these tombs one of the most interesting is that of Hambarkaya, with the figure of a lion in its pediment. One of the four tombs at Iskelib has a lion's head carved on the capital of a column, suggestive of the capitals at Persepolis. Lions as guardians of the tomb occur also in Phrygia, Etruria, and Cyprus. At Halikarnassos, too, they formed one of the most conspicuous features of the mausoleum. A still more striking connecting link with Phrygian tombs is the small pillar in the pediment at Iskelib. With regard to this, and indeed other points, Professor Hirschfeld refers to the papers contributed to the Hellenic Society's Journal by Professor W. M. Ramsay.

A remarkable feature is the introduction of windows in the outer walls, as in the instances at Iskelib, whereas in Etruscan burying-places they occur only in the internal walls dividing the sepulchral chambers.

At the close of his treatise the learned author insists on the fact that Asia Minor was not, as we are often told, the mere bridge over which the art and culture of farther Asia were brought among the Greeks, but also itself a treasury for Greeks to borrow from, a borrowing that was repaid indeed, and with goodly interest. So, for instance,

was it with the art of striking coins. It was thus the Paphlagonian and Phrygian tombs that were the forerunners of architecture.

Thus far the Königsberg Professor. In his preface he had stated his intention to put forward only the *actual*, wisely judging the hypothetical to be perilous in such a case. This abstention from arbitrarily laying down the law is justly praised by Professor Ramsay,* who remarks with truth, that in the rash identification of ancient sites each new guess creates a new difficulty.



The Great Seals of England.



ALMOST every year sees some part of the State pageantry of the English Government pass into the limbo of things departed, and possibly in another decade or two the impressive inutilty of a great seal will be numbered with the majority. Social economists will ask why this prodigious waste of wax; their opponents will have only a sentimental answer to return, and, as a result, another of our most ancient institutions will be inevitably doomed. Patents, which once consumed ten thousand pounds weight of wax every month, are now sealed with a mean little impressed stamp in place of the generous amplitude of wax which used to depend from them, and by the Crown Office Act of 1877 a long list of documents which used to require the great seal are now validated by its poor relation, the wafer great seal. Its day is over, but during that day the great seal has played no unimportant or unbeneficent part in our national life.

How old the use of a great seal in England may be, is a point which has yet to be determined, but there can be very little doubt that seals were used by the Saxons in imitation of their Roman forerunners. The first seal of which an impression is in existence is that of Offa, King of Mercia (d. 796), on which the king is represented in profile. The features are practically indistinguishable, and only the dimmest traces of an inscription remain. Its general shape and style would

* *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1887.

seem to point to its being either a badly cut gem, used as a seal, or else to its being imitated from a Roman model. The former would appear the most probable, as the cutting is done with a skill and accuracy not to be met with on Saxon coins of the date, and very far in advance of the seals used by Edward the Confessor two centuries later.

Probably the house of Cerdic used seals as appendages to their state documents, but of this we have no certain evidence, nor have we any regarding their user or non-user by the Danish monarchs, Canute, Harold Harefoot or Hardicanute. In fact, the first definite user of a great seal in England is by Edward the Confessor, who appears to have used at least three different varieties. The best known of these has been familiarized by the reverse and obverse being given in the *Student's Hume*, pp. xi. and 57.* They are by no means striking as works of art, but as illustrations of Saxon costume and records of the king's features they are of great value. The variations in the three seals are so small that there is fair reason to believe that they have handed down the general appearance of the Confessor with tolerable accuracy, as well as that of the helm or crown he wore, and the throne or cathedra on which he sat. The legend, too, is worthy of notice, for he styles himself "Anglorum Basilei," not using the word "Rex," as was the custom of preceding and succeeding monarchs. It is little points such as this which enable us to form correct judgments on events and characters otherwise uncertain and misty. Another noteworthy point in his seal is that on both sides the king is represented sitting in state: under the Normans, and ever since, it has been the custom to represent the king as a mounted warrior on the counter seal, and as the judge or monarch on the obverse.

The seals of the Norman kings, though of increased size, are of very small artistic merit. That of William the Conqueror is chiefly noticeable for the faithfulness with which the engraver has represented the famous pendulous abdomen of that monarch, a coarse joke on which ultimately led to his death. These seals are, however, not without value from the fact that they show changes in arms and

armour. The side showing the king in state is invariably the worst executed, and not unfitly symbolizes the unimportance of justice according to these monarchs' views.

Considering the very limited number of great seals there have been, it is amazing the amount of information which may be gathered from them. The heraldic changes of the royal arms, for example, are accurately delineated. The first seal of Richard I. is the earliest seal of which anything like an heraldic cognizance was displayed, and on his second seal the three leopards, or lions as they are now termed, are clearly represented. In all the changes the English arms have undergone this feature has subsisted. Richard's second seal is also interesting, because it bears on the obverse the star and crescent; possibly this was only placed there as an ornament, but it is more probable that it was inserted on account of that monarch having—most unfortunately for his country—been a Crusader. It does not appear on the seal of John, although the arms do. Since this time the arms of the country have always had a place on the seal in some shape or other; for instance, in the seal of the Commonwealth the arms of England are represented by the cross of St. George only, as they are at the present time in the Union Jack. Cromwell had sufficient vanity to wear his own family coat as an escutcheon of pretence on the arms of England in the great seal which Simon made for him in 1653, and also in his great seal for Scotland. We may fairly imagine that this would give rise to no few bitter sarcasms and *jeux d'esprit* on the part of loyalists learned in heraldry. On these seals, too, it is noteworthy that a dragon is the forerunner of the present unicorn as a supporter of the arms, and on the reverse of both seals the harp for Ireland is borne in a separate escutcheon.

So carelessly is armour usually represented, that were it not for the brasses of the period, on which these seals act as a commentary, they would in this respect be almost valueless; but with architectural ornament it is different. Under the Plantagenets, and indeed till the first seal of Henry VII., the obverse usually represents the king's seat as surrounded by elaborate canopies and niches, many of which are extremely beautiful, and cut with a freedom

* This work also gives illustrations of the seals of Edward IV. and Richard III.

and accuracy which we look for in vain on the seals of the present and two preceding monarchs. The seals of Edward IV. and Henry VI. are superb in this respect, and it is a convincing proof of the hold that architectural art had on the nation that the various seals should faithfully represent the changes which took place during the period when pointed architecture seems to have belonged to the life of the nation. The first seal of Henry VII. exhibits a beautiful specimen of third-pointed panelling, or tabernacle work, but the second shows clearly the influence that Italian art had already commenced to gain, and shows it, too, before it can be traced in any edifice of importance. From the reign of Henry VII. Gothic art becomes a thing of the past, and in the seals of his son and the succeeding Tudor and Stuart monarchs the power of the Renaissance is apparent. During the earlier part of the present century there came a Gothic revival, and Queen Victoria came to the throne when its beauty was appreciated without its feeling or its principles being understood, and on her seal an attempt was made to represent Gothic panelling. No one will surely venture to claim for any part of the great seal now in use much artistic merit; but of a surety the panelling is its worst feature, and should her Majesty require a fourth great seal, it is earnestly to be hoped that it will not, as on the two previous occasions, be a mere servile copy of her first seal; but, should it be deemed worth while to have any architectural ornament at all, be designed by some artist who has entered into the spirit of the Gothic revival. The first serious attempt at architectural ornament appears on the seal of Henry III. As a proof of the loving way in which the mediæval artists did their work, it may be mentioned that many of the fields are beautifully and elaborately diapered; the last instance of this is the seal of Queen Mary.

Allegorical ornament first makes its appearance in the reign of Anne, when a figure of Britannia takes the place of the monarch mounted on the counter-seal of her second seal, and allegorical representations have appeared in more or less pronounced fashion on all succeeding seals, though on the obverse the practice of representing the monarch on horseback has been resumed. Thus, on the

seal of her reigning Majesty the obverse shows her seated in the coronation chair, while at her feet are seated figures of Justice and Religion, the latter bearing a book with the sign of the Trinity on the cover. The last seal of George III. and the seals of George IV. and William IV. also show the coronation chair with divers curious variations. The last-mentioned seal, it may be noted, has a line-of-battle-ship on the counter-seal, the naval element having been disregarded between this period and that of the Commonwealth, when a fleet forms part of the counter-seal.

On the seals of Cromwell, on the reverse side, there is a landscape, a feature Simon repeated on the seal of his son, Richard.

While in exile Charles II. had his great seal. Only a fragment remains of the first, but on the second (made 1653) it is remarkable that he claims to be King of France, although at the period he used it he was a refugee at the French Court. In the two cases in which English queens married foreign sovereigns, both the husband and wife are represented on the seal. After the death of Mary II., William III. had a new seal, on which he appears alone. On the present great seal the use of the arms of Hanover, blended with the royal arms, is discontinued, and the shield is used without supporters.

On the great seal of the Commonwealth for England, as on that for Scotland, and on the seal of King's Bench, there is a representation of the Commons seated in debate in Westminster Hall; the architectural details are very poor, but the engraver (Thomas Simon) spared no pains to give dignity and intelligence to the faces of the representatives of the people. These are the only instances in which any attempt has been made to portray a scene, although on the seals of George III. and his son allegorical groups of some magnitude are represented.

That in the earlier history of this realm the great seal was a state instrument of vast importance is undoubted; and yet at the best it was only a hall-mark, affording, in the time when writing was a scarce accomplishment, and reading an art with few votaries, a ready means of identifying the validity of important documents, just as in the present day bales of cotton piece goods are sold in Brazil by

the sign of the manufacturer, and are often unmarked by so much as a single word. Under these circumstances it is no matter of surprise that its use should have been guarded by numerous precautions. Accordingly, in 25 Edward III. it was made high treason to counterfeit the great seal, and the Commonwealth also made it a similar offence to imitate their seal. The offence has now been reduced to a felony. There is no instance of any person suffering death for such a misdemeanour, although as forging charters was not unusual, and this necessitated counterfeiting the seal, the crime was not

for a new seal was ordered to be drafted a week later, and came into use in about twelve months' time.

But the mistake of affixing the rightful seal to an improper document was more dreaded than a forged seal, and from time to time precautions against such an accident were multiplied. A full account of the officials charged with the duty of examining documents presented for sealing, as well as all officials in attendance on the great seal, appears in a report made by the Lord Chancellor, in 1740, of a survey of the different courts in England and Wales.



FIRST SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

unknown. In 1549 some of the Fawes were accused at Durham of this offence. Probably the frequent changes of seal under some of our earlier monarchs may have had for their object the prevention of forgery, and even in 1784, when the great seal was stolen from the house of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, a Council was called the following day to order a fresh seal, with sufficient alterations to enable any misuse of the stolen property to be at once detected. The fresh seal was presented to and approved by the King in Council on the second day after the robbery, but it would appear to have been a very rough production,

Another precaution was that while there was a keeper of the great seal, he was required to close it up every night under his own seal, and those of certain other approved persons. This great official appears to have been charged with few duties of importance, and to have held an office rather of dignity than power.

No great seal can be legally used until it has been touched as a sign of approval by the sovereign, who then directs the Lord Chancellor to take charge of it. At the same time the old seal is defaced in the monarch's presence; this is now done by punching

small holes in the field of the seal, but in olden time the seal was broken into several pieces. The old seal thus defaced becomes the property of the Lord Chancellor for the time being. There is no official material of which the seal need be made; usually it is of silver, but Henry VI. had one of gold, and there are instances of bronze being used.

It has always been the custom on the succession of a monarch to use the seal of his predecessor until a new one has been prepared; thus charters of James II. were, before October 21, 1685, sealed with the seal of Charles II. This custom was legalized by the Act of Succession, 6 Anne, c. 41, sec. 9.

From the size of the seals—the present one is more than six inches in diameter—it is obvious that they take a considerable time to prepare. Thus, in 1801 a new seal was ordered, which did not come into use till August, 1815. Indeed, Mr. Marchant, the engraver, appears to have forgotten all about the order, for he did not even prepare the draft for approval until, in August, 1810, he received a somewhat sharp reminder from the Clerk to the Council.

There are several instances of the great seal having met with misfortune. Lord Brougham, for example, had it stolen by certain mischievous young ladies, who returned in sufficient time to prevent the Chancellor having the humiliating task of recounting the mishap to his royal master. The most famous instance is, however, that recorded by Burnet of James II., who, appearing to imagine that his enemies had as great reverence for the great seal as he possessed himself, dropped it into the Thames, and professed his belief that with this massive piece of pomp he had destroyed the hopes of his opponents. No greater proof of its inutility could exist than the fact that all went merry as a marriage bell even before William and Mary were able to get their seal engraved or the fishermen had dredged that of the absconded monarch from its resting-place of mud.

The method of affixing the seal to documents has undergone some changes. In early times it was attached to a strip of the parchment hanging from the left bottom corner; in mediæval times the seal

was attached to silk cords passed through the lower part of the charter and plaited together; in documents of the highest importance cords of gold or silver were occasionally used. At the present time silver thread is used for the most important documents, silk for those of lesser lustre, and woollen cords for ordinary purposes.

A purse in which to keep the great seal is provided every year, the discarded one becoming the property of the Lord Chancellor. Eldon held the seals so long that his wife was able to have the hangings of her bed made from these disused purses.

What an instrument of oppression a mediæval monarch might make the great seal Mr. Round proved in his article on "Richard the First's Change of Seal," in the *Archæological Review* for last April; and in the stately work* in which he has garnered most of the available material regarding the subject of great seals, Mr. Wyon gives a clear account of this abominable proceeding, to which the reader is referred.

Mr. Wyon has done invaluable service to all students of the sphragistic art, inasmuch as in the superb folio just alluded to he has gathered together illustrations of all English great seals so far as known. The greater portion of the book was compiled by the late Mr. Alfred Benjamin Wyon, and after his lamented death finished by his brother, Mr. Alfred Wyon, the present chief engraver of her Majesty's seals. Both these gentlemen, long before the publication of the book, proved their right to speak with authority on the subject, and their production is something more than the mere illustrated record it would have become in the hands of less enthusiastic, if not less learned editors. Of course there is very little, if anything, in the volume which was not perfectly well known before, but the information, as the list of works consulted which is given at the end of the volume shows, was spread over so wide an area that it was difficult of access. The seals, too, perhaps without exception, have all been published, but it is no small boon to have them collected together in one volume. But the main value of the book certainly does not lie in the engravings: it is rather in the

* *The Great Seals of England*. London: Elliot Stock, 1887.

clear description of each seal, the transcription of the legends, the statements of sizes and the dates between which each seal was employed. In the appendices Mr. Wyon has also collected matter the importance of which is evident. The first of these gives extracts from the records of the Privy Council from 1663 to 1878, regarding the ordering of new and the defacing of old great seals, and in these notes there is much historical matter to be gleaned, as, for example, that in 1689 the arms of Scotland were ordered to be *added* to the seal. To every seal described in the book a few charters are mentioned whereunto it is attached, and an appendix amplifies these lists by a large number of additional examples. The frequency with which early charters relating to the see of Durham occur bears overwhelming evidence to the power and importance of that prince-bishopric. The third appendix gives a list of the names which appear on the map which formed part of the seal of the Commonwealth, and for this the author very honestly notifies his obligations to the superb engraving of that magnificent seal in Vertue's work on the medals and shields of Thomas Simon, the engraver of seals to the Commonwealth. This map is of value as showing the places considered of importance in 1650, and Mr. Wyon did well to give a list of the names, for from the autotype in his book it is impossible to make out the majority. Another appendix gives a list of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal from the Conquest to the present time. It is noticeable that during the period when the Chancellors were Churchmen the Keepers of the Great Seal were also clerics, and not as a rule clerics very highly placed, which is sufficient proof that the office of keeper was not for some centuries regarded as one of great dignity or importance. In the list of keepers appear the names of two women, and both are queens: Queen Eleanor was appointed in 1253, and Queen Isabella in 1321. Appendix E, gives an account of the officers who in bygone days attended the great seal, although perfectly well known before, which adds to the completeness of the book; and the last appendix gives brief notices of the engravers of the great seal. These notices Mr. Wyon does not

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appear to have considered of much importance, for of many it would not have been a difficult matter to have given much fuller and more satisfactory biographical notices.

The book itself is superbly printed on good paper, and surely deserved better illustrations than those which adorn it. It is true that the autotypes possess the merit of faithful reproduction, but it is of form and not of effect. After examining some of the seals as shown in the book, one can barely recognise them in what may be called the flesh. A glance at Vertue's book, published in 1753, will show the enormous advantage engraving has over photography, but when the number of seals illustrated is considered, it is certainly no wonder that the author should have chosen a photographic process. But this is no excuse for his not giving us sections of at least some of the seals, a matter easy to do, and which would have afforded a means of judging the value of the engraver's workmanship, which no photograph will allow. The cymograph is a very inexpensive instrument, and it is a pity that it is not more used.

A. C. BICKLEY.



The Stewart Exhibition.

Nous avons vu le Prince Charles Edouard, réunissant en vain les vertus de ses pères et le courage du Roi Jean Sobieski, son ayeul maternel, exécuter les exploits et essuyer les malheurs les plus incroyables. Si quelque chose justifie ceux qui croient une fatalité à laquelle rien ne peut se soustraire, c'est cette suite continuelle de malheurs qui a persécuté la maison de Stuart, pendant plus de trois cent années.—*Voltaire.*



IN the new staircase of the National Gallery—which, by the way, is a poor thing, from an architectural point of view, when compared with Wilkins' entrance hall, which it has replaced—may be found the two groups of portraits that Sir Joshua Reynolds painted for the members of the Dilettanti Society. Amongst the figures which compose one group is that of Kenneth, seventh and last Earl of Seaforth, who is represented as with one hand upon a wine-decanter, and holding a gem in the other. That nobleman was grandson to

William, fifth Earl of Seaforth, hereditary chief of Kintail. In return for the Government's clemency to his house, whose sympathies had long been allied with the fortunes of the Stewarts, he raised a regiment of Highlanders, that mustered some 1,000 men strong at Elgin on 15th May, 1778, from amongst his own people in the Seaforth country in Cromarty, Ross-shire, and the Lewis. His letters of service bore date 29th December, 1777. The battalion, more commonly known as the MacRaes, so frequent was that surname upon the muster-roll, was originally numbered the 78th. Its number was subsequently changed to the 72nd, Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, and it now constitutes, under the recently adopted territorial system, the first battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders, and has exchanged its former trews of Macrae tartan for the Mackenzie kilt. Faithful to the traditions of his forefathers, the Earl William took part in the endeavour that was made to place King James III. upon the throne. He further commanded the Scots forces who, equipped from Spain, under the attainted Duke of Ormonde, made a descent upon the western coast of Scotland in 1719, and landed in his own country of Kintail. This expedition proved abortive. They were met by the English forces, under General Wightman, proceeding from Inverness. In the engagement that ensued at Glen Sheal, eastwards of Glenelg, Lord Seaforth was severely wounded. He escaped capture, however, by being carried on the shoulders of his trusty clansmen down to the Spanish vessels which had awaited the issue of the conflict. His departure from Scotland formed the subject of the bard's lament which Sir Walter Scott turned into English verse (1815), its Gaelic air being adapted to the double pull upon the oars of a galley, and thus distinct from an ordinary jhorram or boat-song. Major Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth, whom we may regard as titular chief of Kintail, sends to this exhibition a highly interesting military plan of the battle of Glen Sheal, showing the contour of the ground with disposition of the respective forces therein engaged. Close by are a map—sent by Captain Anstruther Thomson—of the Prince Charles Edward's fugitive wanderings through his father's kingdom, and

a plan, *penes* Lord Braye, of the campaign of 1745-6. This latter plan should be compared with the same nobleman's large-sized cartographical sheets which formerly belonged to the Prince's younger brother, Cardinal Henry Duke of York. The series is imprinted with "A Paris, chez Juillot, Geographe Ord^e du Roy." Boswell, in his journal of the Tour to the Hebrides, records how, on 1st September, 1773, he and Dr. Johnson, passing through Glen Sheal, "saw where the battle was fought," and on proceeding to Auchnasheal "sat down on a green turf seat at the end of a house," having a considerable circle about them, "men, women and children, all McCraes, Lord Seaforth's people. Not one of them could speak English."

"I am your Prince—will you give me shelter?" is the well-remembered appeal which sounds afresh in our ear as we enter into the Central Hall of the New Gallery. Triste, indeed, is the story of daring enterprise and disappointed venture which rests, as it were, between Holyrood Palace, here displayed to scale in miniature, and the adjoining case, wherein hangs a cloak worn by Prince Charles Edward—of goodly cloth, carefully patched and mended—together with one of his standards that was saved from burning by the common hangman. This is the flag belonging to Sir James Kinloch's battalion of the Ogilvie men. Under command of the Duke of Perth and Lord Ogilvie, that regiment was posted to act as the right reserve at Culloden. There stationed, they succeeded for a while in checking the savage pursuit of the Duke of Cumberland's dragoons. So bloodthirsty and indiscriminate was the slaughter which followed the defeat, that even many inoffensive inhabitants of Inverness, who had sallied forth to watch the outcome of the combat, were massacred by the English, who did not stop to consider how at first the citizens' dress misled them. It is still remembered that more than four out of the five miles between the battlefield on Drummossie Muir and Inverness was strewn with bodies of those slain in cold blood, and some of them were even found at Millburn beyond. The Duke of Cumberland advanced to take possession of the city. He found lodging in the same house, being Lady Drummuir's, where-

in her daughter, Lady, wife to Sir Æneas, Mac Intosh, had hospitably entertained the Prince. Some idea may be gathered of the pristine condition of this royal burgh at that epoch when we say that a four-wheeled coach had never yet been seen to pass through its streets, and that no metalled turnpike-road ran within thirty-five miles of its limits. The house I speak of was well considered, as we term it; inasmuch as it formed the only residence in Inverness which had a room without a bed—for use as parlour or sitting-room. As he had already done at Falkirk, Holyrood House, and elsewhere, the Duke used the same room, and the same bed, as had the Prince. What impressions Lady Drummuir formed of her unwelcome guest's visit can best be related in her own words: "I've ha'en twa kings' bairns living wi' me in my time," would say the good lady; "and, to tell to you the truth, I wish I may never hae anither." The house in question stood just below the Mason Lodge in Church Street; the bedroom occupied by the Prince, and by the Duke, being at the back, its window looking out upon the garden. This house should not be confused with Moy Hall, a few miles south-eastwards of Inverness, wherein the Prince had also been lodged for a day and two nights, and left his bonnet and plaid as keepsakes for his hostess, Lady Mac Intosh. Of that identical plaid a fragment is deposited in this Exhibition.

The proverbial caprice of the popular voice is notably exemplified by the contrast between the odium which at a later time attached to the Duke of Cumberland for his failure at Closterseven, and the extremity of fatuous adulation which he received after his victory in Scotland. In addition to the thanks of well-nigh every public body in the kingdom, his income of £15,000 a year, as paid out of the Civil List, was at once increased by £25,000, derived from the duties and revenues which went to make up the Aggregate Fund. He was made free of nearly every Scots burgh. His presentment was set up on innumerable tavern signs. The Duke of Argyll inscribed the foundation-stone of his new castle at Inverary with the words: "Gulielmus, Cumbriæ Dux, nobis hæc otia fecit." Meanwhile, Prince Charles Edward had set forth upon his fugitive course in the

North, which was protracted during a period of five months, owing to the vigilance with which both coast and mainland were watched and patrolled. Forced to turn his horse's head away from the battle-field, he crossed the river Nairn at Falie ford. There he persuaded his mounted retinue to scatter themselves as much as they could, and then made his way, with but a few chosen followers, to Gortuleg, belonging to one of the Frasers. There in Castle Dounie he met, for the only time, old Simon, Lord Lovat, who greeted him with an outburst of frenzied alarm, which, under other circumstances, would have been ludicrous enough. He quitted Gortuleg at ten o'clock that same night, going in a south-western direction along the eastern side of Loch Ness, seeking Invergarry, a seat of MacDonald of Glen-garry, situated by the northern shore of Loch Lochie. His disposals for still keeping touch with his adherents at this stage are set forth by Captain O'Neil, who remained in constant attendance upon him. O'Neil's account is written upon six playing cards—the ten, eight, and four of diamonds, with the eight, three, and ace of hearts—each marked off into three parts. This singularly interesting record was begun just before the engagement, and resumed at intervals until we find the Prince in the guidance of Flora MacDonald. The account has never been made public until the appearance some sixteen years since of a book entitled *Reminiscences of Society*, by the late Lady Clementina Davies, *née* Drummond, whose family, more perhaps than any other, suffered greatly through their loyalty to the Stewart dynasty. In that work, the cards are stated to be in possession of Miss Stanley Constable, of Otley, to whom they had passed by inheritance from MacDonald of Keppoch, who was beheaded for his share in the '45. Whilst the Prince's route may henceforward be tracked with tolerable certainty, the many accounts which I have by me of his progress vary in certain particulars. These diversities are not without interest in themselves; yet it were impossible to enter here upon any adjustment of the minor difficulties which they present. At three o'clock of the next morning, the Prince was observed to be passing by Fort Augustus.

His party arrived before daybreak at Invergarry, which they found untenanted, save by one domestic. They all lay down in their clothes until mid-day, and dined off two salmon which Edward Burke, Alexander MacLeod's servant, caught in the Garry. Here the Prince dismissed all of the party excepting Sullivan, O'Neil, and Burke. The last named undertook the office of guide, and changed dress with his Prince. Hence we follow them, through Glen Kinnie, to the home of Donald Cameron of Glen Pean, by Loch Arkraig, or Arkeg, which they reached at nine of the night. So exhausted was Charles Edward, that he fell fast asleep as Burke was unfastening his gaiters. Pushing on to Mewboil, on the verge of Lochiel's country, they there were compelled to relinquish their horses, and cross the mountains on foot. Reaching Loch Morar, or Morrer, they passed the night of Saturday, 19th April, in a sheeling, or hovel for shearing sheep on the outskirts of a wood. The next day, over rugged ground, they walked on to Glenbeisdale, in Arasaig, on the Sound of Sleat, finding themselves not far from the spot where the Prince had originally landed. Resolved to seek refuge in the Western Isles, contrary to Lord George Murray's opinion, he stayed here four days in the woods, awaiting the arrival of Donald MacLeod from Skye. He and Donald met by chance in a thicket: of an aged man whom he saw approaching he asked if he were Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill, and thereupon committed himself to his hands. On the evening of 24th April the little band made passage in a violent storm, and eventually landed on Rossinish Point, at the north-eastern extremity of Benbecula Island. They occupied a cow-shed, subsisting on oatmeal and boiled flesh, eaten out of the pot wherein it had been cooked. On Tuesday, 29th April, they again ventured to sea, making for Stornoway in the Lewis; but through stress of weather they were fain to land at Loch Seaforth, some thirty miles distant, having stopped awhile at Glass Island in the character of shipwrecked traders, and obtained a more seaworthy boat from one Donald Campbell, a crofter. At Loch Seaforth Mrs. Mackenzie, of Kildun, received them in her house by Arynish.

We next find the Prince and his few com-

panions in South Uist, where they are hard pressed by ships of war, and 2,000 soldiers. It was when in the Long Island that he owed his ultimate deliverance to a lady (then twenty-five years of age) whose memory will ever be associated with this portion of his unhappy career. Flora MacDonald was daughter to MacDonald of Melton, in South Uist. Her mother had married, to her second husband, MacDonald of Armadale, in the Isle of Skye, who was then in command of a company guarding South Uist. Introduced to the Prince by Lady Clanranald, she obtained passes from her stepfather for herself, a man-servant, and "her maid, Betty Burke," under pretence of a voyage to visit her mother in Skye. So beguiled was MacDonald, that he recommended "Betty Burke" to his wife as a good servant and an excellent spinner of flax. The mittens and a habit-shirt worn by the Prince when he seemed a "muckle woman" enough are lent to the Exhibition. The Prince played this part in ill-fashion. As said the little girl, he let his "coats wamble about her:" he bowed when he should have curtseyed: strode when he should have stepped: in crossing a stream he tucked up his skirts either too high or not high enough. Kingsburgh said to him: "Your enemies call you a pretender: I can only say you are the worst at your trade I ever saw." The remainder of this history need not be rehearsed. On 19th September Charles Edward embarked at Moidart on one of two French ships which were ready to sail. He left Scotland with a price upon his head equivalent to about £100,000 at the present day. The wild hills about Loch Nanuach see him no more; the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which he aroused by his winning presence and bold hazard are speedily dissipated by stronger arms than he could command: as to his after-life, whilst sorrowed for by thousands, silence is best.

Μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον, τὸ δ' ἔπει φανῇ,
βῆναι κείμενον ὅθεν περ ἦκει πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα.

It were idle to dwell upon the complex emotions which are kindled by the multifarious objects presented to our view. Our own generation, at any rate, can scarcely expect to see such a collection again. We have not here—as indeed we are promised at no

remote date—the tangible memorials of a triumphant dominant line of sovereigns, settled on the throne secure, after both land and government had been vexed by many years of civil war. Our concern, on the contrary, is rather with the domestic annals of a dynasty, the recollection of whose misfortunes has in every generous mind outlived that of their shortcomings. Portraits, personal souvenirs, medals, coins, autographs, MSS., etc., all contribute alike to a general display which surely is of surpassing interest. Of the pictures, some have long been famous as masterpieces after their kind; others are from the pencils of but inferior painters. The miniatures are lent by various individuals, including the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Galloway, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, and Mr. Stewart Dawson. Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick lends his fine collection of coins and medals, the descriptions and notes of the medals being mainly taken from Edward Hawkins's *Medallie Illustrations*, as edited by Mr. A. W. Franks and Mr. H. A. Grueber. Each division may have its own votaries; all visitors will join in a tribute of indebtedness to the committee and its coadjutors, and also to those owners whose liberality alone renders such a show possible.

Setting aside, however, for the present, as lying somewhat beyond purview of my theme, the attractions that centre around these exhibits, when even regarded only as works of art, or of intrinsic worth, let us glance for a minute or so at a few of the "relics." They are very numerous, and in many instances so small in size as to occasionally elude observation. We can smile at the tiny shirt and quilted red silk shoes of Charles I. when an infant, but not so when standing before the case wherein are deposited some of the clothes which he wore when kneeling at the block for execution of his sentence. From Boscobel—the house is still standing—we have a piece of the oak-tree, with a snuff-box made out of its wood; and another snuff-box of silver, bearing a copy of W. Hollar's view, *à vol d'oiseau*, of the house and grounds. A singular custom formerly obtained of commemorating the death of those who were condemned for active participation in the '45, by making pincushions which bore their names. Of these articles three or four examples are

shown. There are several specimens of locks of hair ranging from Mary Queen o' Scots to Prince Charles Edward. The large lock of the hair of the former should certainly determine for once and ever the oftentimes contested question as to what the colour of her hair really was, ere trouble and imprisonment had blanched its fair golden tinge. In the same case, too, should be noticed the set of leading strings, beautifully worked upon a rose-coloured cloth, which she made with her own hands for her unworthy son. Her pair of long, square-toed, white leather shoes must not be overlooked, if only for the circumstance that each is fitted with a flap, which, fastened on to the sole, extends to beneath the high heel, presumably to save the wearer from tripping in going downstairs. On the walls of the North Gallery the whole history of the later Stewarts seems to be written, so covered are they with portraits. The two paintings of Flora—or, rather, as her name really was, and as she herself wrote it (witness her marriage settlement), Flory—MacDonald will arrest attention, since the ordinary spectator would hardly take them for the same person. For my part I prefer that in which she appears as an undoubtedly Scots lassie, with a somewhat ruddy colour; not without a suggestiveness of that steadfastness of character, combined with simplicity of disposition, which formed striking elements in her nature. The romantic episode in which she enacted so leading a part was to her but the ordinary discharge of helpfulness to one in distress; nor was she at any time known to arrogate to herself the airs or affectation of a heroine. We see Charles II. dancing with his sister Mary at a ball celebrated at the Hague shortly before his restoration—dressed in black and wearing a plumed hat, also black; in another picture he rides out from Whitehall, with his consort, in an open carriage, accompanied by an imposing retinue both on horseback and on foot. This picture shows to us the open space before Whitehall when Holbein's gate had not been pulled down—the gate stood just in front of where is now the Secretary for Scotland's Office, more familiarly known, perhaps, as Dover House. It was through this gate, and the houses on its eastern side, that King Charles I. proceeded from the parade

ground by St. James's Park into the Banqueting House, and so out of the middle of the lower row of windows on to the scaffold. Amongst the weapons should be noticed the Prince's silver-mounted target; the Marquess of Montrose's broad-sword (so highly prized by Sir Walter Scott), and the claymore given by Charles Edward to William Drummond, fourth Viscount Strathallan, at Holyrood. He fell at Culloden; the sword was found some years later. His brother, Andrew, founded the now banking house of Messrs. Drummond, at Charing Cross. Andrew reckoned many Jacobite noblemen amongst his customers, including Lord Lovat, as appears from a letter, *penes me*, written to him by Lovat, asking for a small advance as against his next quarter's pension.

From some correspondence which has recently been addressed to the editor of the *Times*, it would appear that Lord Ashburnham's committee has excited some susceptibilities in adopting the French mode of spelling the surname of Stewart. In his large-sheet pedigree chart, Mr. W. A. Lindsay, Portcullis Pursuivant of Arms, closes the direct legitimate descent from Charles I. with the name of Prince Charles Edward, though many maintain that the latter left a son, the Count of Albany, born in wedlock, whose descendant, Colonel Charles Edward Stewart, is, if I mistake not, still living. On that wise, then, the existing representative of the royal house is Maria Theresa, wife to Louis, son of Luitpold, Regent of Bavaria. Maria Theresa, of Modena, derives her lineal descent (through the House of Savoy) from Henrietta Maria, daughter of Charles I., by her marriage with Louis XIV.'s brother, Philip, Duke of Orleans. Andrew Stewart in his *Genealogical History of the Stewarts*, avers that if it be established that Sir William Stewart, of Jedworth, was brother to Sir John Stewart, of Darnley, the heir maleship of the Darnley family indubitably vests in the Earls of Galloway. The present Earl of Galloway is descended from Alexander, Lord High-Steward of Scotland, whose grandson Walter, High-Steward, married the Princess Marjory, and was thus father of the first Stewart king—Robert II. Alexander was grandson of Alan, only son of Walter Fitz-Alan, to whom (died 1177) King David I. had granted the

office of Steward (Dapifer) of Scotland. For Dapifer, the name of Seneschallus was afterwards substituted; and that in course of time became changed for Stewart.

W. E. MILLIKEN.



"Giordano Bruno" and the Scottish Reviewer.

BY C. E. PLUMPTRE.



IN the July and October numbers of the *Scottish Review*, 1888, have appeared two articles, or to speak more correctly, two parts of one article, devoted to Giordano Bruno. The name of the first is "Giordano Bruno before the Venetian Inquisition;" the name of the second, "The Ultimate Fate of Giordano Bruno." They are both written in a strong spirit of antagonism to the Italian philosopher, though on p. 246 of the *Scottish Review*, the reviewer poses as one anxious to be very impartial in order to "place the evidence of both sides before the reader, and so enable him to arrive at an opinion for himself." They seem to be inspired by the reviewer's indignation that men so distinguished as Herbert Spencer, Max Muller, Renan, and others, should have thought fit to associate themselves into an English national committee in connection with the international one formed to procure the erection of a monument to Bruno's honour; or that two ladies—Mesdames Oppenheim and Ashurst-Venturi—should be found so lost to natural delicacy as to desire to do public homage to the author of *Il Candelajo*.

It is not easy, in a few pages, to give any adequate description of the very spiritual and refined philosophy of the Neapolitan thinker. Yet without comprehending somewhat of the philosophy, it is difficult to understand the man, and next to impossible to understand the man without a knowledge of the times and of the country in which he lived. Perhaps in no age was religion less lovely than under the form of the Roman Catholicism of the sixteenth century, as presented in Italy. Indeed, in any real sense of the word religion

there was none. The Church still existed, it is true, but it was the Church in her political aspect. The Papacy itself had become half pagan. Virtue was at as low an ebb as religion. Men flattered and truckled for place; and women (since in the words of the immortal Mrs. Poyser, "God Almighty made 'em to match the men") forgot all dignity and all modesty in their anxiety to become the wives or mistresses of such successful mates. On the other hand, science had made a greater leap than in any previous similar interval of time. Bruno had a passion for truth, both in the abstract and concrete sense of the word; and he was one of the very few at that period capable of toleration, or even admiration, of the upholder of opinions with which he did not himself agree. Thus, intellectually he dissented far more from the Lutheran than the Catholic doctrines; but for the Lutherans themselves he had nothing but praise, because he could see that they were genuine in their belief; whereas upon the Catholics he was unsparing in his vituperation, because of the rampant unbelief and servile place-hunting hidden under the thinnest veil of orthodoxy. Yet it was his love for abstract truth that held the largest place in his heart. He possessed to a degree almost unsurpassed that longing to penetrate the mystery of the universe that presses upon most thoughtful minds. The Copernican theory, then in all the freshness of novelty, had a fascination for him. In addition, he studied Lucretius, and began to conceive Nature as One and Uniform, until he gradually grew to adopt as his own religious belief a singularly subtle and refined kind of pantheism:

"That which the Magians, Plato, Empedocles, and Plotinus called respectively the Impregnator, the Fabricator of the World, the Distinguisher, the Father or Progenitor, ought in reality to be called the *Internal Artificer*, seeing that it forms the matter and the figure from within. From within the seed or root it gives forth or enfolds the stem; from within the stem it forces out the boughs; from within the boughs it forces out the branches; from within these it pushes out the buds; from within, it forms, shapes, and interlaces as with nerves, the leaves, the flowers, the fruits; and from within, at appointed times,

it recalls its moisture from the leaves and fruits to the branches; from the branches to the boughs; from the boughs to the stem; from the stem to the root. And there is a like method in the production of animals."

"Not only is life found in all things, but the soul is that which is the substantial form of all things." "This glorious Universe, then, is one and Infinite. Within this One are found multitude and number. . . . Every production, of whatever sort it be, is an alteration, the substance ever remaining the same; for that is only One—one Being, Divine, Immortal. Pythagoras was able to understand that, instead of fearing death, he need only contemplate a change. All philosophers, commonly called physical, have perceived the same thought, when they say that in respect of substance there is neither generation nor corruption, unless by these names we signify alteration. Solomon understood it when he said that there was no new thing under the sun. Understand, then, that all things are in the universe, and the universe in all things; we in that, that in us, and so all meet in one perfect Unity. For this Unity is alone and stable, and always remains. This One is Eternal. . . . These philosophers have again found their mistress, Sophia or Wisdom, who have found this Unity. Verily and indeed, Wisdom, Truth and Unity are but different names for the same thing." Yet it was Astronomy that fascinated him, almost more than his religious philosophy; or rather it formed the best vehicle for its presentation. "These magnificent stars and shining bodies," he exclaims, "which are so many inhabited worlds, and grand living creatures and excellent divinities, could not be what they are, could not have any permanent relation to each other, if there were not some cause or principle which they set forth in their operations, and the infinite excellence and majesty of which they with innumerable voices proclaim." And when before the Inquisition he justified his belief in an Infinite Universe, saying that he held it a thing unworthy of Divine goodness and power that, being able to produce infinite worlds, one alone should be produced. Yet he believed in the efficacy of good works far more than in any particular system of dogmas. And though he had a cordial esteem for certain individual Protest-

ants, strongly deprecated the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith; denouncing that kind of religion which would teach the people to confide in Faith without works as no religion in the true sense of the word. He even considered that it should be extirpated from the world as much as serpents or noxious beasts, since if carried out into daily life every bad tendency would become more bad; indeed, anyone who, under the pretext of Religion or Reformation, should exalt Faith at the expense of good works, should be called *Deformer* rather than *Reformer*.

Such, in very brief compass, is an outline of the Neapolitan philosophy.

Now, when a monument is about to be erected in honour of a man holding Bruno's opinions, it is not only excusable, but desirable, that one holding opposite opinions should have his say. We hardly know Truth to be Truth till we have heard all that can be said against her. And had the reviewer criticised Bruno's doctrines to the utmost degree of severity, I—even had I thought well to answer the criticism—should have done so in a spirit quite different from that in which I am about to criticise the two articles before us.

But the reviewer has attempted no criticism of Bruno's works. His plan of attack, either through suppression or distortion of Bruno's true meaning, is so to denigrate him as to make it appear to be a shame for any virtuous man or woman even so much as to speak of him. Indeed, so startling at times is his absolute misapprehension of his subject, that it has occurred more than once to the present writer whether the reviewer have really read one of Bruno's works for himself; or whether his only acquaintance with them be not through a mere secondhand and greatly garbled source. Take this comedy of *Il Candelaio* for instance. What right has he to speak of it as Bruno's "great dramatic work"?* and throughout both articles almost invariably to speak of Bruno by no other name than that of "the author of the *Candelaio*." If he have any acquaintance with the other and much better known works of Bruno, many of which are of rare spirituality and beauty, he must know it to be essentially misleading thus to name him as the author of this one play, as it would be to

give the great poetic creator of Hamlet, King Lear, and Richard the Second, no worthier name than the "author of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*." Had Shakespeare written no worthier play than this, assuredly he would not now be seated on the highest throne, peerless among poets; had Bruno written no nobler work than *Il Candelaio*, assuredly distinguished men throughout Europe would not now be seeking to do honour to his memory. Though not printed till 1582, *Il Candelaio*, as the reviewer himself concedes, was probably written when Bruno was a very young man; and though not wanting in passages of epigrammatic brilliancy, is certainly quite unworthy of his later works. It is a slight comedy, written to suit the taste of the period, in which he satirizes love, alchemy, and pedantry. The pedant is the hero; and the play probably gets its name from the fact of the pedant, after making ridiculous mistakes, proclaiming himself to be one of the lights of the world: Bruno dubbing him in sarcasm *Candelaio*, because the light to be gained from such a typical apostle of learning in those days was hardly more than that to be obtained from a candle.* Though the motto of the comedy is *In tristitia hilaris, in hilaritate tristis*, it is probable that Bruno's chief object in writing it was to gain a little money, he being entirely without private means.

The reviewer next draws attention to a few lines occurring in the dedication to Philip Sidney of one of Bruno's finest works, *Eroici Furori*, in which Bruno speaks somewhat slightly of women; and our reviewer, assuming a tone of virtuous indignation, asks whether the ladies, who "gave their names to appear publicly as promoting the monument to Bruno, knew what was 'his attitude and language in relation to their sex?'" But he has carefully suppressed the context, and has said nothing of Bruno's aim and object in thus expressing himself. Deprived of its context, the passage so absolutely misrepresents Bruno's true meaning, that it is needful for me to show how entirely disingenuous is the reviewer's mode of attack.

In all ages and in all countries it has been an impulse almost universal with those rare

* Such at least is the interpretation given in the admirable French work on Bruno by Bartolmèss.

* *Scottish Review*, p. 97.

souls—of whom, perhaps, there are not more than a few in each century—penetrated with a longing for Divine wisdom; craving for some communion with God, for some interpretation of the Mystery of the universe, to represent that longing under the semblance of earthly cravings and appetites. Thus the Psalmist describes his longing for God under the imagery of a hart panting for water. And in an Eastern climate, where the glare and heat of the sun's rays are intense, and where there are large tracts of land devoid of water, we can hardly imagine a metaphor more pathetic or more descriptive of intense longing than that of a timid, hunted animal, panting for water beyond its reach. So, again, Christ, preaching to the multitude, comprised largely of the lowest classes, and therefore but too familiar with the pangs of semi-starvation, told them to "hunger and thirst" after righteousness; and again we feel that no imagery could be more realistic and fit. But now Bruno, himself in the prime of manhood, and writing to Philip Sidney, six years younger than himself, and known as the disconsolate lover of *Stella*, thought that he could not more fitly describe his passion for Divine philosophy than under the guise of a lover's yearning for his beloved, in order to make Sidney fully understand how irresistible was the attraction Divine wisdom possessed for him; how impossible it was for him to cease from pursuit of her; how unconquerable was his determination to devote his entire energies—if necessary, even his life and liberty—to her service, to the defence of her honour, and the proclamation of her beauty. And if, as the reviewer is so eager to point out, Bruno has decried the attractiveness of woman in language not in accordance with modern taste, and is somewhat contemptuous of the lover's frenzy, he has done so only because, in the spirit of antithesis so characteristic of all his works, he wishes thereby to show forth the far greater attractiveness of Divine truth in her pure and dazzling spotlessness. Moreover, it must be remembered that adulation of woman was carried to an exaggerated extent in his day; and that woman herself—with certain brilliant exceptions—was seldom to be seen at her noblest. To Bruno it seemed at once pitiable and incomprehensible that

men should devote labour and time and high poetic gifts to composing sonnets to an eyebrow, or dittles to a small hand; and it may be that in dedicating the *Eroici Furori* to Sidney, he was endeavouring tentatively and very delicately to arouse in him the perception that there were nobler themes to exercise his gifts upon than the glorification of a lady who, if we may trust history, was hardly worthy of such labours. Yet Bruno was no ascetic; neither did he wish to stunt natural affection. Moreover, he was fully capable of admiring women worthy of admiration. His praise of the English Queen Elizabeth arose solely from his perception of her more than ordinary ability; his affection and reverence for Madame Castelnau, the gentle wife of the high-minded French ambassador, in whose house he lived on terms of intimacy for three years, was solely evoked by his admiration of her domestic qualities. But he deprecated the extent to which the worship of woman was carried, hindering thereby man's devotion to higher subjects. "What shall I say? How conclude, O illustrious *Cavaliero*?" he continues in this same dedication. "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's; that is to say, let woman receive the homage and admiration meet for her, but not the adoration that should alone be evoked by Divine things." A sonnet in praise of the beautiful and virtuous women that Bruno met with in England brings this dedication to a close.

I hold it to be as absolutely dishonest in the reviewer thus to single out for odium these few lines of Bruno, while carefully omitting to state his object in so writing (especially as he must be fully aware of the little probability there would be of his readers being able to correct his misrepresentations by knowledge of Bruno's works at first hand), as it would be if he were to inform some member of an alien religion, anxious for a knowledge of the Bible, though possessing no copy for himself, that it inculcated Atheism, since it contained the plain assertion, *There is no God*, consciously omitting to add the all-important, qualifying context, *The fool hath said in his heart*. The great cardinal virtues in their true essence will always remain the same; but the garb which they

wear varies with every clime and every age. It is useless to expect from an Italian dramatist of the sixteenth century expressions as absolutely free from offence as from a Wordsworth or Tennyson; but it is the letter that killeth, and the spirit that giveth life. And he who has learnt to penetrate beneath the appearance of things, will find in this dedication of the *Eroici Furori* to Sidney nothing more—or, shall I say? nothing *less*—than a glorification of Divine wisdom at the expense of earthly beauty.

Bruno was fond of this comparison between his passion for wisdom and that of the lover for his mistress, and recurs to it again and again. In another of his dedications—that to the French ambassador, Castelnau de Mauvissière—though the phraseology he employs is of a soberer character, as was natural to one of Castelnau's soberer years, the essential imagery will be found to be the same. It is the dedication to one of the noblest of Bruno's works, *Del Infinito Universo e Mondi*. In it occurs this passage:*

"I despise the authority of the multitude, and am enamoured of one particular lady. It is for her that I am free in servitude, content in pain, rich in necessity, and alive in death; and, therefore, it is likewise for her that I envy not those who are slaves in the midst of liberty, who suffer pain in their enjoyment of pleasure, who are poor though overflowing with riches, and dead when they are reputed to live. . . . Hence it is, even from my passion for this beauty, that as being weary I draw not back my feet from the difficult road; nor, as being lazy, hang down my hands from the work that is before me. . . . If I err, I am far from thinking that I do, and whether I speak or write, I dispute not for the mere love of victory (for I look upon all reputation and conquest to be hateful to God, to be most vile and dishonourable without truth); but it is for the love of true wisdom, and by the studious admiration of this mistress, that I fatigue, that I disquiet, that I torment myself."

Which is most likely to be the truer representation of the real Bruno? A work written when he was a very young man, confessedly a comedy, and therefore only written to

amuse; or a dedication (written in the first person, and obviously representing the writer's own views) to one of his most carefully thought-out works—a work, moreover, of which he had full perception, that did it bring him attention at all, it could but be of a dangerous and opprobrious kind. Such a work could have no *raison d'être*, save that it came from his very soul.

(*To be continued.*)



On Chronograms.

BY JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.

(*Continued from the Antiquary, vol. xvii., p. 106.*)

IV.



THE literature of chronograms comprises a multitude of books requiring to be drawn forth from the obscurity in which they have quietly outlived their contemporary admirers. All are curious—some of them are exceedingly so—most of them are strangers even to experienced book-collectors. Some few are entirely filled with chronograms, some afford only a few; and within these extremes there is much to excite our wonder, and to show the popularity which for a long period attached to the fanciful, but now well-nigh forgotten, art of chronogrammatic composition. It is not possible, within the limits of the pages of the *Antiquary*, to give even an outline of what I have elsewhere published in illustration of the whole subject. No single library contains more than a moderate proportion of such books; some libraries, important in their way, can hardly boast of a single book wherein any chronogrammatic composition may be found. My researches have been directed towards the unknown, and I may say that the delight experienced on making a discovery has sometimes been equal to what may be imagined to result from the discovery of a mine of material wealth, or the veritable tomb of Agamemnon. A few examples will perhaps enlist the reader's sympathy with this remark.

I have already mentioned (*Antiquary*,

* I avail myself of Toland's translation.

xvi., 61) a book of which the name of the author is also a chronogram of the date, a combination of very rare occurrence. The following is another example, in the title-page of a marvellous work by a Jesuit author, whose name gives also the date. The full title is: "Annus Sexagesimus hujus sæculi, sive res memorabiles inter Regna et Monarchias eo anno gestæ, et chronicis distichis evulgatæ.—

AVCTORE GERARDO GRVMSEL . S.I."=1660

The dedication is to Pope Alexander VII., and the verses are recommended to his protection in the following quaint sentence: "Admitte has igitur sub umbellâ tuâ camœnas, sive TRADENT AC LOQVENTVR ARMA; sive

TRADENT ET LOQVENTVR PACEM," thus giving the date 1660 twice. War and peace are the leading features of the subject, which is treated of in ten elegies on historical events of the century commencing with the year 1600, composed in Latin hexameter and pentameter chronogram verse, each couplet giving the particular date. There are, in all, no less than 2,068 chronogram lines, giving 1,034 dates. Take the following as an example, on the coronation of Charles II. of England, one that is likely to be more interesting than those relating to Continental history:

Elegia Septima.—Ad Carolum Secundum Angliæ regem, post miram fortunæ metamorphosim tripliciter hoc anno coronatum.

Exilium Regis.

QVI SQVIS ES HIC GESTOS QVI VIS EXPENDERE CASVS;	}	= 1660.
HVC ADES, HOC RVRSVS PERLEGE LECTOR OPVS.		
QVALE NEC EX PRISCIS ALIBI SCRIPTORIBVS VSQVAM,	}	= 1660.
QVALE NEC EX FASTIS, HISTORIISQVE LEGES.		
INVENIES CHRONICIS HOC APTA VOLVMINE; QVÆQVE,	}	= 1660.
FACTA LICET, FIERI VIX POTVISSE PVTES.		
QVÆ NEQVE CONSPEXIT, QVI CONSPICIT OMNIA, TITAN:	}	= 1660.
QVÆ NEQVE CONSPICIET SERIVS VLLVS AGI.		
COMICVS ACTOR ERVNT VNO TRAGICVSQVE THEATRO;	}	= 1660.
INQVE VICES VERSVS SÆPË COTHVRNVS ERIT.		
DE GREGE REX FACTVS, POPVLI CRVDVSQVE LANISTA,	}	= 1660.
IGNAVÆ REFERET SVCCVBVISSE NECI.		
EXVL ET VNDENIS FVERAT QVI MENSIBVS HERES,	}	= 1660.
IN SVA SALTANTI REGNA VEHETVR EQVO.		
HVNC PREMËT; HVNC TRIPLICI REGNO FORTVNA REPONET:	}	= 1660.
EXITVS HINC FELIX, HINC QVOQVE TRISTIS ERIT.		
QUALIS ET IS FVERIT; QVÆ SORS, CASVSVE SECVTI;	}	= 1660.
FERT ANIMVS CHRONICIS VERSIBVS HISCE LOQVI.		
PRÆBVERAS PATRIÆ IAM COLLA STVARTE BIPENNI:	}	= 1660.
REX QVOQVE NVNC TRVNCO VERTICE TRVNCVS ERAS.		

etc., etc.

Quisquis es hic gestos qui vis expendere casus;
Huc ades, hoc rursus perlege lector opus.
Quale nec ex priscis alibi Scriptoribus usquam,
Quale nec ex fastis, historiisque leges.
Invenies chronicis hoc apta volumine; quæque,
Facta licet, fieri vix potuisse putes.
Quæ neque conspexit, qui conspicit omnia, Titan:
Quæ neque conspiciet serius ullus agi.
Comicus actor erunt uno Tragicusque theatro;
Inque vices versus sæpe cothurnus erit.
De grege Rex factus, populi crudusque lanista,
Ignavæ referet succubuisse neci.
Exul et undenis fuerat qui mensibus hæres,
In sua saltanti regna vehetur equo.
Hunc premet; hunc triplici regno fortuna reponet:
Exitus hinc felix, hinc quoque tristis erit.
Qualis et is fuerit; quæ sors, casusve secuti;
Fert animus chronicis versibus hisce loqui.
Præbueras patriæ jam colla STUARTE bipenni:
Rex quoque nunc trunco vertice truncus eras.
etc., etc.

Each elegy is accompanied by a plain print of the verses (as above), on the pages opposite to those printed as chronograms, a ready help which I have not yet seen in any other work exhibiting chronograms, for which the reader of the book in question should be grateful. A copy may be seen in the library of the British Museum; I have never met with another. This Gerard Grumsel, according to Backer's "Bibliothèque des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus," wrote two other chronogrammatic works:

"MIRABILIS DEVS IN SANCTIS SVIS. } =
Psalm 67.

Mechlina illustrata luce Miraculorum S. Francisci Xaverii orbis utriusque solis ac thaumaturgi Chronicis Distichis evulgata anno 1666. Auctore Gerardo Grumsel, Societatis Jesu Sacerdote."

Printed at Mechlin, 1666. 4to., pp. 121.

"Chronica gratulatio, pace inter utramque Coronam conclusa anno MANIBVS DATE LILIA PLENIS. Æn. vi. Auctore Gerardo Grumsel (sic) Societatis Jesu."

Printed at Antwerp, 1660. 4to., pp. 52.

Neither of these works is in the British Museum library, and I have never met with a copy.

A still more marvellous work is one composed entirely in chronogram prose, by the blind John Rudolph Sporck, once Bishop of Adrat, and Bishop-Suffragan of Prague, after he had lost his eyesight. The full title-page is as follows:

CANCER
CHRONOGRAPHICE,
AT
RETROGRADE, AC LENTE
INCEDENS,
ET
NON PROFICIENS
*
CHRONOGRAPHICA OFFERT.
SIC RIDE, DEFLE ET EA CORRIGE
LECTOR PRECLARE!

There is some humour in this. It may be translated thus:

A crab chronographically, but in a retrograde manner, and slowly marching along and not advancing, presents the chronograms. So, O distinguished reader, do thou laugh at, weep over, and correct them!

The asterisk in the title divides the two chronograms, which make the date 1754 twice.

This book is almost the greatest chrono-

grammatic work ever produced. It contains about 3,427 chronograms, filling 452 pages in quarto size, on a great variety of subjects, all in prose, and all making one and the same date, that of the book itself, 1754. I have given a dozen pages of characteristic extracts in my volume, "Chronograms Continued." There is no space here to repeat them, but I give a few examples. First a serious sentence:

De Deo uno et trino.

À NATIVITATE JESU CHRISTI SALVATORIS
NOSTRI, MILLE, SEPTIES CENTENI, QVIN-
QVAGINTA QVATUOR INCHOANT ANNI: SIT
HONOR ET GLORIA SOLI CÆLI, ET TERRÆ
REGI! =1754.

i.e., The years now number 1754 from the nativity of Jesus Christ our Saviour: To the only king of heaven and earth be glory and honour.

O SANCTA TRINITAS! TE DICTARE, SCRIBERE,
PRÆDICARE, CANTARE, ET HONORARE AUGUS-
TINUS OPTAT, SI VIVERE POSSET: VERBA
HÆC COR EXPRESSERAT EJUS. =1754.

i.e., O Holy Trinity! Saint Augustine, if perchance he could be alive, wishes to declare, to write, to preach, to praise, and honour thee: these words his heart had expressed.

VISITETUR À TE DEUS HABITATIO ISTA,
CUNCTÆQUE TENTATIONES HOSTIS LONGÈ
PELLANTUR, BEATI ANGELI HABITENT IN
EA, PROTEGENTES NOS, ET TUA SANCTA BENE-
DICTIO SIT CONSTANTER SUPER NOS! =1754.

i.e., May this house be visited by Thee, O God, and may all temptations of the enemy be driven far away. May the blessed angels dwell therein, protecting us; and may Thy holy blessing be always upon us!

QVI VIVIS ET REGNAS UNUS DEUS, GLORIOSE
REX PER PERPETUÀ SÆCULÀ, AMEN. =1754.

i.e., Who livest and reignest one God, King in glory for ever. Amen.

The next is an example of his jocose little stories, "Serio-jocosæ narratiunculæ":

A PISCIS PASCI, AC PASCERE PISCÈM, HO C
SÆPE CONTINGERE SOLET. =1754.

NEGOTIATOR IN OCEANO NAVIGANS, JACTA-
TIONE NAVIS NAUSEÀ CREATÀ EX STOMACHO
PISCES, QVIBUS VESCEBATUR, EJECTERAT; =1754.

CUI EX ASTANTIBUS, BENE GRATUS ES, AIT:
QVI PISCES À QVELS TOTIES PASTUS ES, PARI
MODO NUTRIS. =1754.

i.e., To be fed by fish, and to feed the fishes, are two things closely allied. | A merchant on a voyage being sick through the motion of the ship, ejected from his stomach the fish that he had eaten; | one of the bystanders said, You are indeed grateful; with the fish you have so frequently fed on, you in like manner nourish the fishes.

It is a singular fact that the book appears anonymously, and it is only by a marginal note, in small print, at page 373 that we are led to recognise the author in the following chronograms :

"De Authore."

JOANNES RUDOLPHUS SPORCK NATUS EST
IN URBE PRAGENSIS, BAPTIZATUSQUE A RE-
LIGIOSO INSTITUTI ROSARIANI, VIGENÂ ET
SEPTENÂ MARTII, =1754.
ANNO MILLENO SEXIES CENTO SUPRAQUE
NONAGINTA QUINTO, IN FESTO SANCTI RU-
PERTI EPISCOPI SALISBURGENSIS BAVARÆ,
AC NORICÆ GENTIS APOSTOLI : =1754.
PROGENITUS EX PARENTIBUS QVI FUERE
FERDINANDUS PATER APOLLONIA GENITRIX,
STIRPIS DE SPORCK. =1754.
NUNC CRUX SEXTA PRÆTERITOS ANNOS SIG-
NIFICAT. DE HOC ARBORIS LIGNO PATER
ÆTERNUS NOBIS PEREGRINIS PONTES PRO
VIA PATRIÆ CÆLESTIS ÆDIFICET. =1754.
DEUS PRÆSTET RUDOLPHO ! VT VIVAT PRO
GLORIA DEI ; ET PARENTIBUS LUX FULGEAT
ÆTERNA ! =1754.
JESUS FILIUS ÆTERNI PATRIS ISTA LARGI-
ATUR ! MARIA, JOSEPH, JOANNES, ATQUE
RUDOLPHUS GLoriosi PATRONI ISTA EX-
ORENT ! =1754.

i.e., Concerning the author of the book.—John Rudolph Sporck was born in the city of Prague, and was baptized by a "religious" (a professed member) of the institute of the Rosary on the 27th of March | in the year 1695, on the festival of Saint Rupert, Bishop of Salzburg, the apostle of the Noric and Bavarian nation ; | Born of parents who were, Ferdinand his father, Apollonia his mother, of the lineage of Sporck. | Now the sixth cross signifies the years gone by. From this wood of the tree† may the Eternal Father build for us strangers bridges as our road to the celestial abodes. | May God stand before Rudolph ! so that he may live for the glory of God, and that eternal light may shine on his parents ! | May Jesus, the son of the Eternal Father, bestow these benefits ! May Mary, Joseph, John, also Rudolph, all glorious patrons, also entreat for them !*

After 452 pages of chronograms the blind author thus writes :

IN ISTIS IGITUR OMNIBUS CREATURIS
HONORETUR, ATQUE VENERETUR BENIGNUS
NOSTER CREATOR DEUS. =1753.
i.e., In all these created things let God, our benignant Creator, be honoured and worshipped.

The book bears the usual license to print, and the official approbation is given in unusually flattering terms. It is an exceedingly rare book, unknown to Brunet, Graesse, and other leading bibliographers. Search has

* Meaning six times the letter X=60 years from his birth in 1695 to the date of his book in 1754.

† Meaning the Cross.

been made in the British Museum and other libraries in England, and in several Continental libraries, without finding a copy. The only copy I know of is in the possession of the Rev. Walter Begley.

The book is a very treasury of thought, fact, and events, fun and sadness, piety and precept, all put together with but a slight attempt at arrangement, forwards and backwards : subjects which the author had apparently disposed of in earlier pages taken up again in later ones, as if in imitation of the irregular progress of a crab, so quaintly expressed on the title-page.

Most studious readers are acquainted with the book, "De Imitatione Christi," by Thomas à Kempis, for we may now assume that the authorship is* correctly attributed to him who is known by that appellation in allusion to Kempen, near Cologne, the place of his birth ; the same person who became a priest, and friar of the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, at Kampen, near Zwolle, in Holland. Perhaps no book, save the Bible, has been so often reproduced in its original Latin, or translated into more languages, both European and Oriental, than that celebrated work. It was probably written at the monastery between the years 1400 and 1471, in which latter year the author died at the age of ninety-two. Keeping this work in view, our next book to be noticed is one insignificant in size, but remarkable in character. It commences with a chronogrammatic title as follows :

DE SPIRITUALI IMITATIONE CHRISTI. =1658.
ADMONITIONES SACRÆ ET VTILES. =1658.
PIIS IN LVCEM DATÆ. =1658.

a R. P. Antonio Vanden Stock societatis Iesu. Ruræmundæ, Apud Gasparem du Pree.

The frontispiece and title-page are represented in fac-simile on the adjoining page. The work is entirely in chronogram (except the preface and index of contents), filling 87 pages with those compositions which give the date of the book, 1658, in so many single

* Some recently discovered evidence on this point, together with much interesting information, is contained in a work, "Thomas à Kempis, notes of a visit to the scenes in which his life was spent, with some account of the examination of his relics." By Francis Richard Cruise, M.D. London, 1887.

DE
SPIRITUALI IMITATIONE
CHRISTI.
ADMONITIONES
SACRÆ ET VTILES.
PILS
IN LVCEM
DATE.

a R. P. Antonio Vanden Stock
Societatis IESV.



RUREMUNDE,
Apud GASPARUM DV PREB-



lines. The author, in his preface, refers to the very numerous editions of the work of Thomas à Kempis in various languages, and tells that he has undertaken to render it "chronographically." He observes, too, almost by way of apology, that his latinity is not exactly "Ciceronian," but rather "Kempian." It may be added that Latin composition in the form of chronograms may be of necessity somewhat cramped or even faulty in style. The work is neither a parody nor a version of the original: it is, in truth, an imitation designed to impart religious teaching after the manner of Thomas à Kempis. As appears by the title-page, it was printed in 1658, at Roermond, in Holland. The author was Antonius Vanden Stock, a Jesuit. There is a copy in the British Museum library, but I know of no other; it is probably very rare. The dedication to Jesus Christ is as follows. Each line makes the date 1658:

DILECTO, ET PRÆPOTENTI REGVM REGI.
ORBIS DOMINO CÆLIQVE.
VERBO PATRIS COLENDISSIMO.
DEO VERO HOMINI SANCTO ET GLORIOSO.
SALVATORI ET REDEMPTORI CHRISTO
IESV PER OMNIA DILECTO:
REGI DVLCISSIMO.
MISERICORDI ET BENEVOLO.
DVCTORI AMABILI.
SVIS AD CÆLOS ITER MONSTRANTI.
VERE SANCTO ET ADMIRABILI.
MILITES AD S: VOCANTI.
AD SEQVELAM INCITANTI.
CÆLVM IIS SPONDENTI.

Cui servire, regnare:
Cui adhærere æternum vivere:
Quem sequi, non errare
Quem amare deliciosum:
Quem imitari, gloriosum:
Cui placere necessarium.

DE SPIRITUALI IMITATIONE CHRISTI.
SACRAS ET VTILES HAS ADMONITIONES,
IESV AD GLORIAM SCRIPTAS:
PIIS IN LVCEM DATAS,
IESV DICATAS ET OBLATAS DESIDERAT.

Jesu Societatis Filii indignissimus.

ANTONIUS VANDEN STOCK.

Three pages are filled with an "exhortation" to the following of Jesus Christ, in rhyming verse, as follows:

HORTATIO AD SEQVELAM CHRISTI.
AD SEQVELAM, CHRISTIANI,
DVLCIS REGIS: MENTE SANI,
LÆTI, SANCTI, NON MVNDANI,
LIMITATO CORDE VANI.
INDIT LVCEM TENEBROSIS,
DVLCIS IS EST NON MOROSIS,
QVI DECENTER MILITARF
CHRISTO DILIGVNT: AMARE
DISCENT ISTI, AMBVLARE,
MAGIS VIAS DECLINARE
MALEDICTAS VIATORI,
MALÈ VISAS CONDITORI.

[Here the first four lines are repeated.]

CHRISTVS OMNES DILIGENTES
DVCIT, REDDIT ET LIBENTES.
CVRRANT OMNES DILIGENTI
PEDE, FIRMO, VI PLACENTI.
etc., etc.

The first "chapter" commences thus. Each line makes the date 1658:

Caput I. De imitatione Christi, et contemptu omnium Vanitatum mundi.

§ 1.

CHRISTO ADHÆRENS NON AMBVLAT IN TENEBRIS.
CHRISTI MORES ATTENDE, ET SEQVI LABORA,
ET INTERNÈ SENTIES LV MEN CORDIS.
FREQVENTER MEDITARE CHRISTI LABORES:

§ 2.

IESV DOCTRINA LONGÈ OMNES PRÆIT;
IN EA DVLCIORA MANNÂ REPERIES.
VERBA DOMINI PLÈNÈ CAPIES,
SI IIS STVDEAS TE PLANÈ CONFORMARE.
NEC PRODEST ALTA DE TRINITATE DISPVTARE;
SI NON ES HVMILIS CORDE,
MAGIS ITA DISPLICEBIS TRINITATI.
ALTA SAPIENTIS VERBA SANCTITATEM NON ADFERENT
VITA PIA, REDDET NOS DILECTOS.
QVID EST BIBLIAM CAFERE,
ET PHILOSOPHORVM DICTA RETINERE,
ABSQVE FLAGRANTI DEI AMORE AC GRATIA?
OMNIA VANITAS, SI DEO NON PLACES.
VERA SAPIENTIA EST, AD COELESTIA DONA TENDERE,
VANA OMNIA NEGLIGERE ET DESPICERE.
etc., etc.

There are twenty-five chapters in similar form, followed by an index of their titles. The concluding line of this singular work is,

OMNIS CHRISTO DETVR GLORIA,

making the date 1658, followed by the episcopal approbation that as the book is not contrary to right faith and good morals, licence is given to print it.

Among the works by the same author I find mentioned in Backer's "Bibliothèque des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus," two others composed in chronogram, but no copies of them have ever come under my notice :

"Pia monita ad salutem Litteris Chronicis anni 1656 expressa." Printed at Antwerp, 1656. 8°.

"Dogmata Salutaria ac pia Litteris Chronicis anni 1657." Printed at Roermond, 1657. 8°.

Backer remarks concerning these works, "Que de patience et d'intelligence il a fallu pour produire ces nugee difficiles ! Et cependant le xvi^e et surtout le xvii^e siècles en ont fourni."

Joannes Rempen, who is mentioned in *Antiquary*, vol. xvii., p. 149, wrote his chronogrammatic poetry mostly in Sapphic metre, and frequently in rhyming lines. He wrote, apparently, with great facility, and with as much classical elegance as the chronogrammatic fetters would permit. The following are extracted as examples from the work there referred to. A nuptial ode to Joseph, King of Hungary (afterwards Emperor of Germany), and his wife, Wilhelmina Amalia, begins thus :

LVNA VILESCIT, FVGIA NTQVE STELLÆ,
VILIS EST PALLAS, CHARITESQVE BELLÆ,
INSTAR AVRORÆ RADIAT DIANA

HANNOVERANA :
AD IVBAR SPONSÆ VENVS ERVBESCIT,
SPRETA JVNONIS SPECIES HEBESCIT,
SE STVPET VINCI NIVEO DECORA

CORPORE FLORA :
QVIS SATIS VVLTVS CELEBRABIT ILLOS?
FRONTE SPIRANTES HELENÆ CAPILLOS,
ORE NATIVO RVBRA PVRPVRISSEO,

CANDIDA BYSSO ?
PAR NIVI FRONS EST, GENA LILIIETO,
ÆQVA VERNANTI LABRA SVNT ROSETO ;
SI VVILHELMINÆ FACIES CORVSCAT,

ÆTHERA FVSCAT :
QVIS CANET CASTI JVBAR ILLVD ORIS?
NON POTES PHCEBVS CYTHARIS CANORIS
ASSEQVI VVLTVS ROSEOS DECORES,

FRONTIS HONORES :
SI SVO PLECTRO CELEBRES NOVENÆ
VOCIbVS JVNCtIS VENIANT CAMENÆ,
IRRITÂ VENÂ SVA FILA TANGENT,
BARBITA FRANGENT :

SI LEVAT FVLCHROS DEA TANTA GRESSVS,
TRISTIS ARCE TVR DOLOR ATQVE LESSVS,
ET FVGAT FRONTIS FACE PRINCIPISSA
NVEILA SPISSA.
etc., etc.

Each stanza makes the date 1699, when the royal couple were married. The ode to Tirso Gonzalez, supreme general of the society of Jesuits, begins thus, making the date 1699, when the Jesuits' house at Rome was built :

ARA LOIOLÆ, RADIANSQVE BELL
AVREO VVLTV SPECIES SACCELLI
FVLGET, ET PLAVSVS AGITANT SONORÆ
TIBRIDIS ORE.
FABRICÆ RVMOR VOLITAT PER ALPES,
TRANS SINVS PONTI, JVGA CELSA CALPES,
LÆTVS EXVLtat FRAGOR IN SERENI
LITTORE RHENI.
OSSA LOIOLÆ* CINERISQVE PIGNVS
CLAVDIT ORNATVS RADIIS BENIGNVS :
FVLGOR EST INGENS : NITOR ISTE TALIS
INCOLA QVALIS.
ISTA NON AVRÏ PRETIQVE PARCA
QVÆ SACRVM PIGNVS SACRA GESTAT ARCA,
STELLAT, ET TANTO FLAGRAT INQVILINO,
FVLGVRE BINO.
ILLE QVI MAJOR FVIT ORBE TOTO,
BVLLIENS ZELO SVPER ASTRA NOTO,
PARVA CONTRAXIT RECVBANS IN ISTÂ
CORPORE CISTÂ.
etc., etc.

A satirical ode on the death of Luther was written in 1699, in Leonine hexameter and pentameter verse, but not in chronogram. It contains many expressions consonant, probably, with the rough and coarse talk of the period. It is followed by a chronogrammatic ode, which begins as follows, and ends by consigning him to the lower regions, where, according to classical description, the rivers Styx, Acheron and Phlegethon were geographical realities :

VIVIT, ET NVLLVS SPATIIIS SENESCIT,
FATA LVTHERVVS NIGRA NON TÎMES CIT,
JVBELET PALLAS, RESONANSQVE CLIO
INSONET IO.
SPIRAT, ET NVLLO MORIETVR ÆVO,
FLAGRAT ACCENSÆ PICIS IGNE SÆVO,
IN FEROS IGNES ACHERONTIS IVIT
IN PICE VIVIT.
ILLE QVI SPVRCÂ FACE NVPER ARSIT,
QVI FACEM BELLÏ FVRIASQVE SPARSIT,
ÆSTVAT TOSTÂ PICEAQVE FRONTE
IN PHLEGETONTE :
PLECTITVR NIGRÂ STYGE PATRIARCHA,
IN LVTHERANO GREGE CHILIIARCHA :
EST DEVS VINDEX, REPETITQVE PLENAS
VLTIO PÆNAS.
etc., etc.

* The bones of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order, were said to be deposited in the house built at Rome.

Rempen wrote in a very different strain after he forsook his old faith in favour of the doctrines of Luther. This appears from the last ode in the book on the "blessed death of Luther," which begins as follows, each stanza making the date 1710, when the ode was composed :

ASTRA LVThERVs VoLVCEr sVhIVIT,
AC ThRONO fVLTVs RVtILANTE VIVIT,
TARTARO, PAPâ, PHLEGETONTE FRACTo,
MARTE PERACTo :
PAPA CONTVsVs PEDE GLORIOSO,
TARTARÎ FRETVs GREGE BELLICOSO,
CONCIDIT, PVLsV sVPERANTE QVASSVs,
VVLNERRA PASSVs
PACE CœLESTI FRVITVR LVThERVs,
MARTIVs LAVRO TEGITVR GALERVs :
IRRITO NISV CREPAT HELLVONIS
IRA LEONIS*
PLAVSVs HEROÎ RESONABIT ISTI,
sCEPTRA QVI VICIT TRVCIS ANTIChRISTi
TVRBINEM PAPÆ RABIENTIS VLTÆ
VI CATAPVLTAÆ.
REGNA QVI VICTOR SATANÆ SVBEGIT,
ET STYGIS VIREs ACIESQVE FREGIT,
LETVs IN CœLO REGIT INQVILINIS
CVM ChERVbINIS.
etc., etc.

This work by Rempen, *Deliciæ Parnassii* (The Recreations of Parnassus), is a remarkable production; the chronogrammatic portion of it contains 3,248 metrical lines, making 1,050 chronograms of various dates. My earlier acquaintance with the author's writings was obtained from a periodical published at Hamburg, *Nova Literaria Germaniæ*, volumes for 1706 and 1709.

(To be continued.)



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

The House of Stuart.—At the present time much attention is being given to Stuart and Jacobite relics, history, and tradition, owing to the exhibition which is being held at the New Gallery, Regent Street. Our readers will find due prominence given to this subject in *The Antiquary*. Mr. Brailsford's article on "The Standard-Bearer of Charles I.," which did not appear when announced some time ago, will perhaps yield

increased interest now (*ante*, p. 44); and the article on the exhibition in the present number is contributed by one who has been a devotee of Jacobite lore and legend for many years. Mr. Chafy-Chafy, of Rous Lench Court, has sent us a verbatim extract from the parish register of Rous Lench, Evesham, showing the entire entries of burial for the year 1644. The entry of most interest is that of the burial of Thomas Arden, standard-bearer of the King's army, apparently successor to Sir Edmund Verney, who was slain at Edge Hill, October 23, 1642 :

- 1644. Thomas the sonne of Michael Andrew was buried y^e 5th of Aprill.
- 1644. Thomas Arden signifer Regis exercitus was buryd ye 12th of July.
- 1644. Joane Amphlett* Pedissequa was buried y^e 14 day of October.
- 1644. ffrancis Hemming† Porcarius was buried the 8th day of December.
- 1644. Margaret Lock de Hobbe Lench‡ was bur: y^e 26th day of January.

Mr. Chafy-Chafy adds : "My predecessors in the possession of this Rous Lench estate were Cromwell's chief supporters in this county, and by-and-by Sir John Rous, knight, was taken prisoner in my gardens in a certain quaint yew arbour, still flourishing, by the Royalists, and immured at Warwick, where he died, and was afterwards exhumed and buried here, as the register shows."

* The description of Joane Amphlett as "Pedissequa" seems to point additionally to this little village having been embroiled in the Civil War. *Amphlett* is a thorough Worcestershire name. The late Lord Justice Amphlett's ancestors were seated at Hadzor (near Droitwich) till his father sold it to the Galtons, who now hold it. Common people also bear the name.

† *Hemming* is still more abundantly found in this county—some having risen to great wealth as *needle-makers* (an appropriate name!). In this village the registers record them as far back as 1549. They still abound in our midst.

‡ *Hobbe Lench* (vulgò *Hobbe*)—"Abbe," or "Ab" Lench, is part of this estate. I am attempting to revive the ancient appellation, as against *Abbots*, which is already exercising an injurious *historical* influence.



* "Pope Leo X., the persecutor of Luther."
VOL. I.

Antiquarian News.

THE King of Italy has signed a decree, authorizing the institution of a National School of Archaeology, with Signor Fiorelli for its head. Bursaries for students are founded for three years; the first to be spent in Rome, the second in Naples under the direction of the Inspector of Excavations at Pompeii, the third in Greece.

In connection with the discovery of the fossil grove at Whiteinch, near Glasgow, the workmen who found and preserved the grove have been presented with a testimonial. A committee has been appointed to see to the proper covering of the grove.

A very beautiful and rare specimen of Flemish tapestry weaving, possibly of Bruges or Brussels manufacture of the end of the fifteenth century, has just passed into the possession of the South Kensington Museum, having been purchased by the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education from the representatives of the well-known connoisseur and collector, the late Signor Alessandro Castellani, of Rome.

The old inn known as The Plough, situate in Bondgate Without, Alnwick, also the dwelling-house behind the inn, and the extensive gardens adjoining, were offered for sale in the early part of January, but the bidding did not reach the reserve price. The inn is an old-fashioned thatch-roofed house, and the following quaint inscription may be seen over the doorway:

That which your father
Old hath purchased, and left
You to possess, do you dearly
Hold, to show his worthiness.

—M.W., 1714.

At Dover the Early Roman Church, situated on the heights, has been reopened, after having been restored, partly at the expense of the War Office, but mainly at that of a private individual. In the early part of the last century the roof had disappeared, and little was left but the massive tower and the walls.

Some workmen having cut out a Saxon burying-ground at the back of St. John's College, Cambridge, a committee took the matter up, and as a result a number of skeletons, about 100 urns, and a large number of weapons and ornaments have been placed in the museum.

Early in January a silver penny of the reign of Henry II. was found at Lyme Regis, Dorset. Coins of this reign are very scarce, and the one under notice bears evidence of being long in the ground. The coin is over 700 years old.

The Montrose Natural History and Antiquarian Society have resolved to go on with a plan for the extension of the museum at a cost of over £1,000. The new building will contain a lecture-room for 200 persons, laboratory, and other small rooms.

It is reported that Seville Cathedral is in a most alarming condition, and that, unless the building is at once shored up and strengthened, the greater portion may come down at any moment.

Another very handsome Saxon tomb-slab has been found in the north transept of Peterborough Cathedral. By its side is a smaller one, and they are supposed to mark the graves of mother and child.

At Lerwick, on January 29, the old festival of Up-halie Day was celebrated. The festival marks the close of the Yule festivities, being the twenty-fourth night after Christmas (old style). At nine o'clock a large number of masqueraders, representing all sorts of characters, assembled at the Market Cross, at which a great crowd had gathered. Here over a hundred torches were served out, and the masqueraders, falling into procession, marched through the principal thoroughfares of the town.

At a meeting of the Dumfries Antiquarian Society, on February 1, Mr. Barbour exhibited a silhouette miniature on ivory of "Clarinda." It is the same portrait which is referred to in the letters exchanged by Mrs. M'Lehose and Burns, on February 7, 1788, which the lady promised to get done by Miers, that she might make a gift of it to the poet. At the same meeting there was shown a charter belonging to the Lag family, with the seal of the Princess Margaret (daughter of Robert III.), widow of the fifth Earl Douglas, Lord of Galloway and Duke of Touraine, attached to it, the seal being in good preservation.

An interesting discovery in connection with Canterbury Cathedral has been made. In the year 1827 there were two large portraits above the Warriors' Chapel—one was that of St. Gregory, and the other that of St. Augustine. They suddenly disappeared, and were supposed to have been stolen, but they have come to light again. From a communication made by the Countess of Guildford to Mr. H. G. Austin, that gentleman visited Eythorne, and there recognised the pictures. They had been stored away in Eythorne Church, covered with straw, no doubt being considered practically useless. They have just been handed over to the cathedral authorities by the Rector of Eythorne.

Earl Spencer has addressed the following letter to Lord Aberdare from Althorp, Northampton: "My brother-in-law, Lord Charles Bruce, has found in the library here, among our numerous Bibles, a Welsh

Bible, with an inscription which may interest some of those learned in Welsh literature and curiosities. The book itself is a very beautiful specimen of printing in 1677. The inscription, in writing, is to the effect that it was presented to Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor in 1677, in token of the exertions which he made in getting the Bible printed, whereby many hundreds of people in Wales were taught to read and received instruction. It is signed by Tillotson and others. I send the actual memorandum, as copied, with the names. Tillotson was then Canon of St. Paul's, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. I think this may interest some of my friends at the colleges at Cardiff and Aberystwith, but I send you the information, as you will know best who will care to hear of this accidental find in this library." These Bibles were one of the results of a great educational movement which occurred in Wales after the devastations of the civil wars, and this particular edition cost no less than £2,000. Another specimen of the Welsh Bible, bearing the same date, is in the library of the Duke of Bedford. But there were Welsh Bibles before this date. Mr. S. E. Thompson, of the Swansea Public Library, states that the Reference Library in that town contains twenty-seven editions of the Welsh Bible, including that of 1677. The earliest is dated 1588, being the first translation of the entire Scriptures done into Welsh, by Bishop Morgan; the second, published in 1620, is the corrected or new version by Bishop Parry, and is much the same as that in use at this day. The remaining twenty-five date from 1677 to 1867. The library likewise includes a copy of the first translation of the Liturgy into Welsh by Bishop Davies, assisted by William Salesbury, dated 1567. The work is exceedingly rare and valuable. The date of the earliest edition of the Common Prayer Book in Welsh in the British Museum is 1599; there is also a copy of the New Testament, mostly the work of William Salesbury, printed in the same year. Both the latter copies are somewhat imperfect. Mr. Windsor Cary-Elwes, writing from Plas Newydd, Llanfairpwll, Anglesey, mentions other copies of these earlier issues, and refers to editions published in 1630, 1647, and 1654.

An interesting diary of a London citizen of the seventeenth century has, says the *Athenæum*, recently come into the hands of Mr. Alfred Wallis, of Exeter. The writer was James Lever, of Bolton, Lancashire, whose elder brother, Robert, was the founder of the Grammar School in that town. His sister married Dr. Calamy, the famous Presbyterian, concerning whose death and family there are many entries of interest. James Lever came to London in 1630, when the diary commences. It not only deals with personal adventures and details of London city life,

but abounds in allusion to contemporary political events.

The northern archaeological societies have been roused by the threatened destruction of a portion of the Antonine Wall. On January 7, the Glasgow Archaeological Society addressed the following letter to the general manager of the North British Railway Company: "At the last meeting of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, it was reported that considerable alarm had recently been caused by certain proposed operations of the North British Railway Company in connection with the construction of a branch line near Bonnybridge to Camelon Chemical Works, it being feared that the eventual result of the projected works would be the destruction of one of the best preserved portions of the Antonine Wall. It is true that the proposed branch railway itself runs to the north of the wall and does not interfere with it, but the line of deviation is so drawn as to include that specially interesting section of the old rampart at Tayavalla, which was examined with much pleasure by the members of the British Archaeological Association in September last, and it is thus evident that if the railway company extend their operations to the south at this point, every vestige of the portion of the wall above referred to will be swept away. The risk of such irreparable injury to so interesting a relic of the Roman occupation of Britain has excited very great anxiety among all who are interested in the history of the past, and we have been authorized in name and on behalf of the Glasgow Archaeological Society to represent to you the great importance in the opinion of the society of preserving from destruction the few remaining portions of the wall, and to respectfully urge with this view that, if at all possible, the line of deviation of the proposed branch railway should be made to run to the north of the wall, so as to obviate all danger to the section at Tayavalla. Your courteous letter to Mr. Forbes, of Callander, of the 15th ult., while satisfactory at present, does not diminish the anxiety felt as regards ultimate danger to the wall in the future from operations undertaken within the line of deviation." Mr. Forbes was the former proprietor of the ground, but, unfortunately, he conveyed it to the railway company without any provision for the protection of the wall. The Glasgow Archaeological Society, as well as the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, had, previously to the above letter, invoked the aid of General Pitt Rivers, the inspector of ancient monuments under the Act of 1882, and he has addressed the railway company on the subject. Mr. Dalrymple Duncan points out that if the railway company desire to retain an access to the road from Bonnyhill to Falkirk, this could easily be arranged by their constructing a road on the north

side of the wall, joining the Bonnyhill road to the east of Tayavalla, in which case they could have no objection to the menaced portion being brought under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act.

Lord Justice Fry delivered a lecture on "The Saxon Chronicle" at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, on January 19.

The Rev. T. Le Bœuf, the Rector of Croyland Abbey, has written as follows to the *Times*: "Sir,—Permit me to thank you for your powerful help given to my first appeal on behalf of the Croyland Abbey Preservation Fund. It may interest the antiquarian and architect if I give, through your columns, a brief description of the foundation of that portion of the abbey known as Joffrid's Tower (1114 A.D.), forming the south-west corner of the present tower. The first course was laid at a depth of only 4 feet 7 inches, and consisted of small Helpstone stones, laid on edge; height of course, 1 foot 2 inches. Then a layer of light stone quarry dust for 9 inches, on which another course of small Helpstone stones, 9 inches in height, laid on their bed. This is covered by another layer of light stone quarry dust to the height of 1 foot, on which a course of 11-inch Helpstone stone was laid. It is most surprising that the building has held together so long, as the foundations are not only very decayed, but, having been laid on so precarious a soil, have at last yielded. The tower is not solid work, but simply encases other previous towers, to which this outer shell is not bonded. A mason recently placed his plumb-rule up between those walls. Movements 25 feet long by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width have appeared during the last fifteen days. Therefore prompt action is absolutely necessary. I wish it to be distinctly understood I do not attempt to restore the abbey, but simply to make it safe as a place of worship. Last year three sections of the work have been well done, but seven important sections still remain, for which an outlay of £3,000 is required. Surely, sir, Croyland Abbey claims support from all lovers of antiquity, the architect, the antiquarian, the historian, as well as Churchmen. I therefore pray of you to use your powerful pen so that the stewards to whom God has intrusted this world's wealth may be moved to send an offering for the Croyland Abbey Preservation Fund."

At a quarterly meeting of the Town Council of Flint, held on Thursday, February 7, Alderman J. K. Huntley, Mayor, in the chair, the Town Clerk (Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A.) stated he was desired by Mr. Philip B. Davies-Cooke, of Gwysaney, to offer for the acceptance of the Corporation a handsome illuminated drawing of the celebrated monumental brass of Sir Nicholas Hawberk, Knight, in Cobham Church,

Kent. It is the same size as the original brass, in fact, I believe it is a rubbing from the brass made by Mr. Davies-Cooke himself, the armorial bearings being emblazoned by a heraldic artist, under the supervision of the authorities at the British Museum. The frame is of oak, and is panelled at the back. It measures 8 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 8 inches. Sir Nicholas was appointed for life Constable of Flint Castle (and therefore Mayor of the borough) and Sheriff of the county, together with the "ragloria," or Stewardship of the county, on December 19, 1396, in the reign of King Richard II. This appointment was afterwards confirmed by King Henry IV. on November 2, 1399. It is recorded that Sir Nicholas kept the castle in some state, that he maintained there at least four men-at-arms and twelve archers, and that he spent on it no less than £146 a year, a sum equal to about £1,750 per annum of our money. Sir Nicholas married Joan, the granddaughter and heiress of John de Cobham, third Lord Cobham. This lady was married no less than five times, viz., first, Sir Robert Hemingdale; second, Sir Reginald Braybrooke; third, Sir Nicholas Hawberk; fourth, Sir John Oldcastle (the leader of the Lollards); and fifth, Sir John Harpeden. Mr. Taylor gave further interesting particulars of Sir Nicholas Hawberk and the fine brass, which was formally accepted by the Council.

The following appeared in the *Brighton Herald* of February 12: We are informed that the Shakespearean rarities belonging to the late Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S., F.S.A., LL.D., of Hollingbury Copse, Brighton, have now been removed very carefully by Messrs. Hudson and Co., carriers, of Brighton, to the Chancery Lane Safe Deposit Company's office, London, under the superintendence of Mr. Ernest Baker and Lieut. Hall, R.N., the executors of the will, and also the collections from Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's house at 11, Tregunter Road, West Brompton. They will be kept by the Safe Deposit Company until the will is proved, and the offer made to the Birmingham Shakespeare Library in that newcity to purchase a portion of the collection for £7,000. The type of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, which he bequeathed to the New York Shakespeare Society, as well as the books presented to the University of Edinburgh, have also been removed to Chancery Lane. The study at Hollingbury is now, therefore, quite emptied of all those unique and most valuable collections which so many people from all parts of the world used to journey to see, and which yielded so rich a return, especially to Shakespearean scholars and students.—A meeting of the Stratford-on-Avon Town Council was held on Monday evening, under the presidency of the Mayor

(Mr. R. Hawkes). At the commencement of the business his Worship moved the following resolution : " This Council, calling to mind the eminent services rendered to the Corporation and to this town by the late lamented J. O. Halliwell - Phillips, LL.D., especially in the arrangement and calendaring of the Corporation records connected with the borough ; also having in remembrance the work done by him, and the interest he took in the birthplace, New Place, and all objects and matters of Shakespearean interest in this town for a number of years, desires to place upon record its great regret at his decease. The Council also desires to express its sympathy with the widow and family in their bereavement ; and that a copy of this resolution under the common seal be forwarded by the Town Clerk to Mrs. Phillips." Alderman Cox seconded, and in supporting the resolution Mr. Lunn said it was deeply to be regretted that an unfortunate misunderstanding arose between Mr. Halliwell-Phillips and the town. There were hopes expressed—and he entertained hopes himself at one time—that that misunderstanding might be got over. The Great Disposer, however, had prevented that, and they now could only regret the past and join in respectful sympathy with the family of the deceased. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, has acquired a dress-pin of bronze, coated thickly with gold, from the site of the Temple of Aphrodite, at Paphos, presented to the trustees of the Cyprus Exploration Fund, and ornamented with a group of doves about to drink from flowers. It bears a dedication to Aphrodite.

On February 7, Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., lectured to the Strood Elocution Class and their friends on Kentish antiquities, under the presidency of Mr. Roach Smith. In a popular and lucid manner Mr. Payne took a survey of the remains of the Celto-British, Roman, and Saxon epochs, illustrating them with diagrams and drawings, together with a large map showing the various sites and the ancient roads. By these means Mr. Payne kept his audience in rapt attention for over two hours. By his individual researches he has succeeded in making valuable collections, some of which are now in the British Museum. In unsuspected places in the vicinity of Sittingbourne he has excavated Roman buildings and rich sepulchral interments, accounts of which have been published with excellent illustrations in the *Archæologia Cantiana*. A warmly-expressed vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Payne.

A valuable signet-ring has just been discovered, embedded in clay, in a brick-field at Sittingbourne by a workman. The man was engaged in digging clay, when he turned up with his spade a large gold ring of

antique pattern. A large cameo is let into the metal, upon which is beautifully engraved a representation of a pair of horses harnessed to a chariot, which is being driven by a man in the dress of a Roman charioteer. The ring is in perfect preservation, and is, no doubt, a Roman relic, as it was discovered on the site of an old Roman settlement. A short time before this discovery a man was occupied in screening ashes in another brick-field at Sittingbourne, when he came across a new gold Jubilee five-pound piece, which, doubtless, found its way thither amongst some of the large quantities of London refuse used extensively in the manufacture of bricks. The moral is that workmen should look-out.

A *Reuter* telegram of February 17 stated that M. Tricoupis, the Premier, has asked the Greek Archæological Society whether it would be willing to co-operate with the American School at Athens in order to carry out the excavations at Delphi. The Society, however, declined the proposal, but the hope is entertained that when its funds are augmented by the grant of four million drachmas, to be made from the new Government loan, the Society will carry out the excavations unassisted.

We learn from *L'Impartial* of November 7 last that the Commission of the Boulogne museums has made an important acquisition—a cippus, raised probably in the third century in the Roman necropolis of Gesoriacum, which became the Vieil-Atre and then the Cemetery de l'Est of the present time. The monument is in "marquise" stone, of beautiful proportions, and in an excellent state of preservation. It was discovered in the grounds of Capet-Huhez in the course of some archæological excavations undertaken by M. Lelaurain. The inscription has been deciphered by M. Vaillant :

D	-M
FILIS. PAR	
BVLIS	
DOMITI	
ANVS	
<hr/>	
TR.	

Domitianus held the rank of Trierarch in the British navy. Amongst other peculiarities of the inscription are two fish, engraved at the first and third lines.

The Town Council of Bristol has just unanimously granted the request of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, as far as it affects the Corporation properties, suggesting that memorial tablets should be erected on houses where distinguished persons were born, or had lived, and that certain time-honoured remains, such as Bristol Castle, should be indicated to strangers by suitable inscriptions. The names of Robert Southey,

Hannah More, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Edward Colston, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Chatterton, Sir Humphry Davy, Sebastian Cabot, and Bishop Butler, all belong to Bristol, and the city is full of historic interest. This action of the Clifton Antiquarian Club is a capital idea, and might be followed in other cities. On the Continent it is a common thing to mark houses in this way.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

British Archæological Association.—Wednesday, January 2.—Mr. B. Winstone, F.S.A., in the chair. It was reported by Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., that an extension of the North British Railway was contemplated near Lanark, and that the lines of deviation of the deposited plans included an important part of the Wall of Antoninus, near Bonnybridge. A resolution was proposed by Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., and duly carried, to the effect that a strenuous effort should be made to avert the danger in which the wall was placed. Mr. J. T. Irvine exhibited a collection of drawings of ancient remains recently found near Peterborough, among which were portions of stone interlaced work from the tower of Helpstone Church, now in the vicarage gardens, and part of a cross shaft also of interlaced patterns now lying in a mason's yard, having been used as pitching to a public road at Caistor.—A paper was then read by Messrs. Peters, the historians of Launceston, on the remains of the ancient priory of that town which have been recently found in making an extension of the railway. These works revealed the foundation of the day-room. Further excavations for the gas-works have laid bare a large portion of the east end of the priory church. The foundations of the presbytery, 56 feet long and 19 feet wide, and also those of the side-chapels, each 15 feet long and 11 feet 6 inches wide, have been exposed to view; also several graves and encaustic tiles.—A paper on the representation of a Roman house on one of the remarkable Roman mosaic pavements recently placed on the staircase of the British Museum, was then read by Mr. de Gray Birch, F.S.A. The pavement is one of the fine series brought from Carthage by Dr. Davies.—A third paper, by Mr. Swainson Cowper, was then read. It described a curious moated enclosure at Acton on the road to Willesden. It consists of an irregular parallelogram surrounded by a broad shallow ditch, there being no visible means of crossing the latter. It is situated in a field known as the Moated Meadow.

January 16.—The Rev. S. M. Mayhew in the chair. An interesting notice of the discovery of the ruins of the ancient Basilica Church of St. Valentine at Rome, demolished in the fifteenth century, was rendered by Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A. The site was met with

after the excavation of an ancient cemetery, which was found to adjoin the church.—Mr. Earle Way exhibited two almost perfect pilgrims' bottles found in Tarbard Street, Southwark, in some recent excavations, one being of green-glazed ware, the other red. Their connection with the Canterbury pilgrims, owing to the position where they were discovered, appears fairly evident. Some examples of forged antiquities, well known as "Billy and Charley" castings, were exhibited as a warning to unwary collectors, and it was suggested that a collection of these articles should be made and published, with a view to the protection of the public in years to come. The Chairman exhibited a fine incense boat of latten, once gilt, found near Rochester. It is of Italian work early in the sixteenth century.—A paper was read by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew on North Caithness and Orkney, in which the results of an extended visit were detailed, and many curious facts relating to the early history of the almost treeless district were reported. The lecture was illustrated by a large series of drawings and photographs.—A short paper was also read by the Rev. Canon Collier, on certain inscribed stones in South Wales, near Haverfordwest.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—January 26.—Annual meeting, held in the Old Castle, Newcastle, the Earl of Ravensworth in the chair.—Dr. Bruce announced the loss to the society of two eminent members, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, who was elected to the society in 1839, and Commendatore Giovanni Montiroli. (We have inserted Dr. Bruce's remarks on Signor Montiroli in our obituary, *q.v.*)—Dr. Hodgkin read the annual report, which said that no great archæological discoveries had been made during the year. The excavations at Holy Island had greatly increased the knowledge of the ground-plan of the monastery at Lindisfarne. Similar excavations at Cartington Castle would doubtless add to their stores of information. The report referred at length to the suggested combination of archæological societies and antiquarian societies throughout the kingdom, and pointed out the good likely to arise therefrom. During the year excursions had been numerous and successful. Most of the battlefields of Northumberland had been visited by the members. The report thanked all who had shown hospitality in entertaining the members on those occasions, and specially referred to the kindness of Sir W. Crossman, at Lindisfarne.—Mr. John Phillipson read the financial statement, which showed a balance in hand, and a continued increase in the amount of the society's income.—Dr. Hodgkin, in submitting a series of recommendations, said the receipts from the Castle and Black Gate enabled them to keep up their Museum, and to devote their subscriptions to publishing their transactions and proceedings.

Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.—January 30.—The Rev. D. Murphy, S.J., exhibited an ancient manuscript, being the history of Holycross, written in 1640 by a monk named Harty, of the Cistercian Order. The manuscript was an heirloom of the Archbishopric of Cashel, but the present Archbishop, Dr. Croke, had given it to him to prepare it for publication. He intended soon to issue it from the press, with the Latin text, the English translation, and annotations by himself.—Mr.

J. G. Robertson sent in an ancient MS., of which the following is a copy: "Corporation of Gowran, to wit.—To the Burgesses and Freemen of said corporation.—This is to give notice, that on Monday, the 28th day of June instant, there will be an assembly of the Portrieve, Burgesses, and Freemen of said Corporation, that being ye day prescribed by ye Charter, to elect a Portrieve of ye said Corporation for the ensuing year, at the usual Tholsel of said corporation. And will then and there, between the hours of 10 and 12 of the clock of said day, proceed to the election of Recorder of said Corporation, in the room of Nicholas Aylward, Esq., deceased, of wch. all persons concerned are to take notice.—Dated and sealed with my seal of office, this 18th day of June, 1756.—A true copy of ye above was duly posted up at ye usual place of sd. corporation for posting corporation notices, being first signed and sealed by GEORGE GORTLOR, Esq., Portrieve." Mr. Robertson exhibited stone implements, amongst them a stone hatchet of peculiar shape, and also an ancient Scotch lamp of iron. It was used for burning fish or whale oil with wicks made of the pith of rushes, such as are occasionally still found in use in the Shetland Isles, showing "the existence of the past in the present." Lamps of somewhat similar design from Holland are to be found in the fine collection of the National Museum, Dublin—Science and Art Department.—Mr. Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.A., sent the second part of his paper on "The History of Ennis Abbey, 1617-1692": In 1615 the abbey had been adapted as a parish church by the regal visitors, Ennis being the assize town, and the congregations of Doora, Dromcliff, and Kilmaley forced to use it, their semi-ruinous churches being closed. The report of the Bishop of Killaloe states, "This church is fairly built and adorned by ye Right Hoble. the Earl of Thomond." In 1621, William Dongan, or Donegan, was granted the unoccupied buildings, described as "the house of the junior brothers, called Grey Friars, of Innish, with one church, belfry, graveyard, mill, salmon and eel weir, two messuages with stone walls, and two cottages in the village, with lands at Clonroad." The history of the second colony is at first very obscure; the monks had returned before 1628, and brought no unnecessary attention on themselves.* The civil wars raged round them, but we hear nothing of Ennis. Scarcely had Limerick fallen, 1691, when a war of extermination was waged against the wretched monks. Many must have perished unrecorded; my limited search has doubtless missed many more, but the following may be noted: Eugene O'Cahan (Keane) had entered Ennis, 1628. After founding an important and flourishing college at Quin, he was made guardian of Ennis, and, being taken prisoner, was hanged on Mount Luochren. Thaddeus Creagh was hanged and his body barbarously mangled. The Rev. Denis Neylane, priest of Kilraghtis, joined the Observantines of Ennis, and was educated in France. Returning to Clare, 1642, he worked for ten years among the peasantry. He was taken, 1651, in the house of his relative, Lawrence MacInerheny, brought to Inchicronan Castle, and called on to adopt the Puritan doctrine. He replied that he "desired to die for the Catholic faith, which he was not going to desert in his old age," hearing

* Bundinus.

which the soldiers straightway hanged him. Thadd Carighy, another Ennis monk, met the same fate, and the abbey was defaced.† The monks crept back unnoticed in the reign of Charles II., and, strange to say, in their day of poverty and danger did what their protected and wealthier predecessors failed to do—established a daughter monastery. Maurice O'Connell granted them the site at Roosca, an out-of-the-way place near Dysertodea. The prior was Flan Brody, and the buildings were erected 1663. Three years later Colonel Gore, of Clonroad Castle, examined Mortogh O'Griffa and other monks, and suppressed the cell December 21, 1666, but he did nothing against the abbey in sight of his very windows. In 1675 Morough the Burner, the terrible Earl of Inchiquin, probably remembering with remorse the monks roasted alive at Cashel and slain elsewhere by his orders, left £20 "to the Franciscan Fryers of Ennis, in the county of Clare," 27th October, 1673. Thomas Dyneley sketched the abbey in 1681. At that time the transept alone was roofed and the belfry adorned with a lofty flagstaff. Ten years later François Allemande says: "It is still quite perfect by favour of the Earl of Thomond, although this house belonged to a Protestant, who was anxious to sell the material." An interesting slab, 1686, still tells how Eugenius Considine repaired his ancestral tomb, "formerly destroyed in the war of raging Cromwell (Cromvelli marte furentis)." However, the abbey had not long to live. Bishop Ryder, of Killaloe, records in 1693 that the "Rev. Patrick Fitzsymons holds the livings of Kilraghtis, Dromcliff, and curé served by him in the abbey there (Ennis) in good repair." This restoration to the Protestants ends its monastic history, and their removal, since the Disestablishment, to a new church has left the fine old priory to complete neglect and shameful ruin. Mr. James Mills, of the Public Record Office, sent the following: "Notices of the Manor of St. Sepulchre, Dublin, in the fourteenth century."—Adjoining the liberties of the city of Dublin, and approaching at one point to within a few yards of the southern walls of the ancient city, was the Archbishop's chief manor of St. Sepulchre. The manor house, or palace, adjoined St. Patrick's Cathedral, the building being now occupied as the station of the city mounted police. The seneschal of the manor exercised his jurisdiction, until half a century ago, over a district represented nearly by the portions of the parishes of St. Peter (including the former parish of St. Kevin), and St. Nicholas, outside the city boundaries. The district had probably been originally an Irish suburb of the Danish city, for here, almost alone in the neighbourhood of Dublin, do we find the churches dedicated to Irish saints—St. Kevin, St. Patrick, and, perhaps, St. Brigid. If this were so, the documents now submitted show that, like the city, the population of St. Sepulchre's had by the fourteenth century become thoroughly Norman and English. Though early an important suburb, and long a component part of the city, and deserving increased attention from its independent government, which sometimes brought it into conflict with the city authorities, the manor of St. Sepulchre's has secured but the briefest notice from the historians of Dublin. I venture now to bring before you two notices of this manor, both of the

* Buildings and monuments.

fourteenth century, and containing an unusual amount of interesting detail. One is preserved in the archives of St. Patrick's. This I have had access to by the goodness of the Dean, through the kind introduction of Rev. Professor Stokes, whose wide research makes him keen to appreciate the value of such material for history. This document is a rental of the manor made in the fifth year of Richard II. (1382), by the seneschal, Thomas Tanner, assisted by a jury of twelve of the leading tenants. It is not an original, but a copy made for Archbishop Alan in 1531. It forms a roll of parchment, consisting of two membrances stitched together, and written on both sides in a bold, clear court-hand. There are numerous interlined and marginal notes, some, probably, in the hand of the Archbishop. Many of these written with a fine stroke not suited to the rather coarse surface of the parchment, are now obliterated. A very full abstract of this document is appended. The other document referred to is an inquisition, or Extent of the manor taken before the sheriff in the nineteenth year of Edward II., 1326. Alexander de Biknor was at this time Archbishop. He was at the same time Treasurer of Ireland, and having been accused of malpractice in his accounts, the possessions of the see appear to have been seized by the Crown. The Extent was in effect taken to supply an inventory of the property, before placing it in the hands of the royal custodian. This document is appended in full. It will be referred to as "the Extent," the former as "the rental." The information contained in these two documents is of a varied character. To begin with the Archbishop's manor house, we have in the Extent a description of it as found 1326. This is very different from what we should expect in a chief residence of so powerful a prelate in feudal times, thus: "The jurors say on their oath that there are at St. Sepulchre's a stone hall, badly roofed with shingles, and weak, a chamber annexed to the said hall, a kitchen, a chapel badly roofed, valued at nothing, because nothing can be received from them, but they need much repair. And there are there certain prisons which are now broken and thrown to the ground." The ruined state of the house was perhaps mainly owing to the frequent absence of the Archbishop, who during the ten years he had held the See had been occupied for the most part in England and France. Adjoining the manor house was a suburban district including Patrick Street, Kevin Street, and New Street. The rental supplies the names of the tenants of these in 1381, in many cases the names of the previous tenants, and the respective rents. Some of these tenants held several tenements, and therefore probably sublet to unnamed occupiers, but in most instances, each tenant is set down for a single holding, and thus we have the material for a tolerably complete directory of these streets 500 years ago. We may reasonably assume these holdings to be house plots, as they bear a fair proportion to the number of existing houses. Thus the rental gives thirty-five holdings in Patrick Street, as against eighty-three in the present directory (although parts of the street were not in possession of the Archbishop). New Street in rental has more than forty-one as against seventy-one now. We find, too, in one case the note, "rent when built, 6s. 8d., now 2s. 6d.," im-

plying that the street holdings were understood to be houses. The names of tenants are almost all English. After one name, that of Wm. Begge in New Street, is added as something exceptionally "Hibernicus." Though outside the city jurisdiction several of the tenants were intimately connected with it; thus Peter Woder had been Mayor of the city in 1367; John Passavaunt in 1369-71, and again in 1387; and Roger Kylemore, provost or bailiff, 1379. One John Sexten, who held of the Archbishop no fewer than nineteen of the houses in Patrick Street, was no doubt that John Sexten, or John the sexton, who some years before (in 1362), as we learn from the annals, had been in some way the cause of the burning of St. Patrick's Cathedral. A large proportion of the names still survive in the city. We find in our rental—Ashbourne, Walshe, Tanner, Carpenter, Sexten, Brown, Blakebourne, Rowe, Neill, Begge, Dermot, Brownynge, Wessely, North, Giffard, Alexander, etc. The first entry in the rental is one which strongly marks the different aspect of the district at the time. This is a mill in Patrick Street, worked by the Poddle stream, not, as now, an underground sewer, but an open brook flowing beside Patrick Street, opposite the west front of the cathedral. Thence it passed northward into the city foss, on the outer side of which were several other mills, these latter being within the jurisdiction of the city. Against fraudulent millers and bakers the city laws (to be found in *Historical Municipal Documents*, edited by Mr. Gilbert), directed their most unmerciful enactments. This mill, with its accompanying bakery, standing within a few yards of the city gate, yet beyond the reach of its legal powers, must have been a thorn in the side of the civic authorities. Of this we have a hint in the complaints of the commons, in *Historical and Municipal Documents*, where one of the special grievances was the immunity of the bakers living on the Archbishop's lands. The rental mentions that this mill had been let by indenture, and we find the deed itself entered in the *Liber Niger Alani*. It was leased for sixty years to John Pasvaun, citizen of Dublin, 45 of Edward III. It is described as "the place of a mill formerly called Shyreclogs, in St. Patrick's-street, Dublin, now almost prostrate;" the tenant to rebuild at his own expense. A right of way is permitted for those going to the mill by a certain bridge over the watercourse beside the mill on the south side, as was anciently accustomed. The lessee also got the custody of the millpond, stone bridge, and "flodrates" (? flood-gates) of the watercourse. This mill was in existence until the sixteenth century, as a reference in *Liber Niger Alani* (p. 346) shows. Another mill is mentioned in Kevin Street, and was in the hands of the prior of Holy Trinity. It was probably at the western extremity of the street, across which the east branch of the Poddle flowed. One or other of these mills was no doubt older than the Norman invasion, as a charter of Prince John soon after confirms to the Archbishop the lands of St. Kevin. We may now turn to the rural district belonging to the manor. It extended from Kevin Street and New Street southward to Dundrum, and from the road to Donnybrook and Milltown, on the east, to the bounds of Rathfarnham parish, and following this to near Crumlin.

The lands here may be classed under four heads according to the relations of the occupiers to the Archbishop. Thus: 1. Lands worked directly for the Archbishop; 2. Lands occupied by his serfs; 3. Lands let to small free occupiers; and 4. Lands held in larger holdings, or by non-resident tenants.

1. Of the first we have an example in the subordinate manor of Colon, which formed the corps of the Archbishop's prebend in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The name is still preserved in the suburb of Cullenswood. This at the time of the Extent seems to have been used as a home farm of the Archbishop. The house was, in 1326, described as "a hall with stone walls now prostrate, a chamber for the Archbishop with a chapel annexed to the chamber, roofed with shingles; also there were a kitchen formed of wood, a grange, stable, and granary covered with boards, now totally prostrate to the ground." The ruin of this house, as of that of St. Sepulchre, is perhaps attributable to the lawless times of Bruce's invasion, followed by a period when the Archbishop was, for the most part, non-resident. Of the demesne arable lands fifty acres were sown with wheat and sixty-eight with oats. The meadows were in separate patches, called Broad mead, the meadow of St. Thomas, Strif mede, Crook mede, Schendhilmore. St. Thomas meadow lay near the highroad (to Donnybrook), and was destroyed by the carriers. The pasture was valueless for want of stock, which it was probably thought useless to provide, as "the greater part of the pasture is near malefactors." There were here also sixty-six acres of wood (the original Cullenswood), but wholly devastated, and nothing to be had from it either by sale of underwood (for the city fuel) or for pasture; perhaps in the unsettled state of the country the citizens and neighbours had helped themselves. These demesne lands were probably tilled by hired labour, as we know was the case a few years later in the neighbouring manor of Clonkeyn, where harvest labourers received 1d. a day, and ploughmen, etc., permanently employed, had 5s. a year, with allowance of corn, etc. (*App. 20th Rep. D. K. Records in Ireland*, pp. 78-9).

2. Of the next class we have examples in the lands of Boly major and Boly minor—the former apparently the modern townland of Farranboley, the latter probably nearer the mountains, but its exact position, perhaps, cannot be ascertained. It baffled even Archbishop Alan 350 years ago, as we learn from his note on the rental. Both these lands are described as lands of Betagü. These Betagü were the Irish cottiers, whose ancestors no doubt had cultivated the same lands successively under Irish, Danish, and Norman lords. They thus represented the native of feudal language, and were treated by the Normans as serfs bound to the soil. In a deed quoted in Harris's *Ware*, the word "Betagü" is used as an equivalent of native. The Extent affords us some hints as to the causes of their disappearance here. The Betagü at Boly major had been completely destroyed by malefactors—probably the mountain Irish. Forty acres of their lands remained unoccupied, while the remaining twenty-one acres had been let to newly-introduced free tenants. At Boly minor five Betagü occupied its sixty acres of land. They paid 6d. an acre in time of

peace, but in time of war nothing, because of the neighbourhood of the malefactors. They were also bound to work for their landlord, but these works could not be claimed, because no one dared to remain in the marches by night. Boly major is not named in the rental, but Boly minor had then passed into the hand of a single tenant, who paid but 11s. a year, little more than a third of what was expected from the Betagü. By the time of Archbishop Alan, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Archbishop's serfs in this manor were extinct. We learn this negatively from a short entry in the Archbishop's *Liber Niger*, giving particulars of the few on the Archbishop's manors. This entry is interesting as giving as well the names of the few remaining serfs, as the forms by which they entered into servitude, and were declared free. 3. The lands of the third class occupied by free tenants of small holdings include Newland, 58 acres, 5 tenants at will; Ardinata-noke, 22 acres, 8 free tenants; Thanaly (Taney), 80 acres, certain English and Irish tenants, besides 40 acres and four cottages unoccupied for want of tenants. The two former near the city, about the Circular Road, extending from New Street in the direction of Portobello and Ranelagh, were held at rents of 16d. and 2s. an acre. Taney at 3d. 4. Of the lands held by larger proprietors the chief example is the Rath held in 1326 by Gilbert de Menes, and 1381 by William Menes, Meones, or Mones. Colon, which at the earlier date was in the Archbishop's own hands, had at the later been farmed to Richard Chamberlayne at ten marks a year, and the same landgrabber had got possession of the lands formerly occupied by the small tenants at Taney. The remaining lands at Taney were held by John Locumbe, and that part known also as Dundrum, by William FitzWilliam, whose representative, Lord Pembroke, is still the proprietor. We have a description of the style of residence suited to occupiers of the class, in a lease of the part of Taney held by Locumbe made a few years later (in 1414) by the Archbishop to Tho. Locum, subject to the condition that he should, within four years, build at his own expense a sufficient stone house, walled and battlemented. The house to be 18 feet in breadth by 26 in length within the walls, and 40 feet in height (*Liber Niger Alani*, p. 258). Rents.—As above pointed out, the rents of the Betagü in the two places where they are mentioned were 6d. an acre, in addition to certain unrecorded services due to the landlord. The rents of free tenants were in general also about 6d., as among the farmers at Colon. They were 8d. at Paar and Stoneway, about Handsome. Approaching the city the rent rose to 20d. and even 2s. an acre, while further off at Taney they sunk to

* "Sequitur [schedula] nativorum domini Archiepiscopi, Dublin, Tempore Johannis viimi.

"1. Inprimis Johne Neile (nowe of Swerds, 1531), and Katherine, his wife, Walter, Symond, and Robert, his souns; alsoe Johane, his yonge daughter.

"(2) Item now at Finglas, Thomas Carlle, and Isabell, his wife, with his two brethern (Willm and John), and two sutores, Christian and Alson.

"(3) Item Willelmus Nolane de Tawelaght anno regni regis H. 8 20, in curia domini plena fatebatur se villanum cum sua posteritate ab illo, Tempore.

"(4) Item Thomam Moore de Swerdes duoden a electa triate et pirate liberum hominem fet non nativum domini) sen servum legalem juridiciale invenerint."—*Lib. Nig. Alani*, p. 399.

3d. In addition to this these tenants were obliged to render suit of court—to attend and assist at the sittings of the manor court. With reference to these rents it may be observed that the acre here used was probably considerably larger than the statute or even the Irish plantation acre. The term was used both in England and Ireland for measures differing according to local custom. If we can trust the rental and Extent as giving a fairly complete acreage of the district we may set it down at about 1,150 acres. The same district, as nearly as we can trace it on the ordnance map, contains about 2,850 statute acres, almost exactly 2½. Very few of the fourteenth century denominations admit of direct comparison with the modern townlands, but the townland of Farranboley exhibits almost exactly this proportion to the acreage of Boley major. The Rath.—In this name we find the earlier stages in the development of the name of the well-known suburb, Rathmines. In the margin of the rental it is written, as in older documents, Rath, but over it is inserted "Mean." In a deed (*Liber Niger Alani*, p. 462), a few years later than this rental (22nd Richard II.), William Meones styles himself lord of Meonesrath. In later documents the forms Menrath, Meanrath, and Menesrath are found down to the sixteenth century. In a deed, dated 1611, quoted in Dalton's "County Dublin," it is called Meynsrath, *alias* Rathmines. The adjoining district of Bagotrath was at first known as "Rath," or "the Rath," and the family name of its fourteenth century owner was afterwards prefixed for distinction. Rathmines must have been acquired by the Meones family shortly before the time of the Extent, as in the same reign (Edward II.) we find Richard de Welton confirmed in possession of the Rath. The family of Meones appear to have come to Ireland in the train of John de Derlington, Archbishop of Dublin, 1279-84. The first of the names we find here was William de Menes, who in 1284 was one of the executors of that prelate. This William, about 1296, became Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and two or three years later one of the Barons of that court. His connection with the Archbishop may have given him a footing on the See estate, though, as pointed out above, the Rath does not seem to have come into the hands of the family until some years later. Gilbert de Meones "of the Extent" obtained some local importance, and in 20th Edward III. was made custos of the peace to protect the marches or frontier at the Leinster (that is, the south) side of Dublin, with power to muster the men for defence of the marches. He had previously been constable of the castles of Arklow and of Newcastle, county Wicklow. Others of the name are not unfrequent during the fourteenth century, but it seems to have become extinct soon after. A copy of the Extent and an abstract of the rental follow. The Extent has been printed from the copy of Archbishop Alan's *Liber Niger* (pp. 226-9), preserved in Marsh's Library, Dublin.—The Rev. Professor Stokes, in referring to the paper, said that there was a great difference between the manner in which the Government treated English and Irish historians. The former obtained every assistance in their researches, whilst the latter, who could have in their aid numbers of genuine documents, were not given the aid necessary for them

to use the materials which were at hand in this country.—The following papers were also sent in: Discovery of cinerary urns at Adamstown, county Wexford, by the Rev. T. M. J. Ffrench, Clonegal. On the Castle of Adamstown and the Devereux monument, by Mr. T. Wakeman. Portnascully Rath, county Kilkenny, by Dr. James Martin. Description of an antique bronze object found at Woodview, Portlaw, by Dr. James Martin. Reports of the old castle at Kilmallock, county Limerick, by Mr. George J. Hewson, M.A., honorary local secretary, Limerick; ditto, by P. J. Lynch, C.E., architect. An account of the reception of a new charter from King James II. to the town of New Ross, county Wexford, in 1687, by Colonel P. D. Vigers, J.P. Sketch of a two-light window, cut in the solid from a single stone, from the old Church of Kilmorgan, county Sligo, by Mr. R. A. Duke, Sligo. Reports on condition of Round Tower, Tory Island, county Donegal, Clone Church, and St. Catherine's Abbey, county Wexford, by Mr. George H. Kinahan, hon. local secretary, county Donegal. MS. volume, in thirteen parts, on the ancient history of Ireland, by the Rev. William Kilbride, M.A. Notes on the pedigree of the Scanlans of Ossory, by the Rev. R. Scanlan.



Obituary.

HENRY ECROYD SMITH.

WE regret to have to record the death of Henry Ecroyd Smith, which occurred at Middleham, in Yorkshire, on January 25 last, at the age of sixty-six. He was a native of Yorkshire, and his last work was a *History of Coningsburg Castle*, in that county. Before this he lived at Saffron Walden, and while there he printed an elaborate and illustrated work on discoveries of ancient remains, excavated in the grounds of the late Mr. G. S. Gibson; he also collected and prepared materials to include in a new edition of Lord Braybrooke's *History of Saffron Walden*, but the work was not brought to completion. We learn from Mr. Roach Smith's *Retrospections* (ii. 72) that some years ago he printed a volume on the history of his family—the Smiths of Yorkshire; and by general consent his faculty for genealogical research was remarkable. But Smith's *chef d'œuvre* was his *Reliquie Isuriane*, a work which has been warmly praised by eminent antiquaries. Of some other work of his Mr. Roach Smith writes: "For the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Mr. Ecroyd Smith contributed some excellent papers on the Archæology and Natural History of the Mersey district; and on the Roman stations at Brough-under-Stainmoor; written with sound judgment, and in a most honest spirit in reference to the researches of others, a commendable quality not very common." He published a series of Roman tessellated floors found in different parts of Britain, one of which is in the museum at Saffron Walden. He also furnished a most complete history

to the Essex Archæological Society, of the Saxon cemetery, which was discovered within an ancient British *Oppidum*, partially surrounded by earthworks, now erroneously called the Battle-ditches.

It is pleasing to know he was living in his native county at the time of his death. This is not the place to go into a record of matters of a personal nature; but it may be said with truth that while Mr. Smith's enthusiasm for the study of antiquities was lifelong and his work incessant, he needed all the scholar's consolations for having shunned self-seeking endeavour.

COMMENDATORE GIOVANNI MONTIROLI.

At the annual meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries held in January, Dr. Bruce made the following remarks on Signor Montirolì, who had been an honorary member of that society since the year 1860: "It was towards the close of the year 1854 that he first had the pleasure of meeting this able architect, artist, and antiquary. The Duke of Northumberland had resolved upon the restoration and reorganization of his ancestral home at Alnwick. He had wisely come to the resolution that the whole of the external work of the lordly pile should be done in accordance with the style which was in vogue when the Percies came into possession of it, but how to adorn and furnish its interior was long a matter of anxious consideration. The decorations and the fittings which satisfied Harry Hotspur and his wife Elizabeth would not be suitable in the middle of the nineteenth century. He had understood that, before coming to a decision upon this point, his Grace and the Duchess resolved to inspect some of the chief places of Europe, so as to have the fullest opportunity of coming to a wise conclusion. After this full examination they determined that, if they could not go back to the Edwardian era, they would go as far back as they could; that was, to the time when men of real genius gave attention to palatial decorations—in other words, to the period of Raphael and Michael Angelo. In Rome he was invited to a reception by the duke and duchess at their hotel, where he met, among other distinguished persons, Commendatore Canina, and Signor Montirolì. Canina was an eminent artist. Amongst other works to which he gave his mind was the restoration, as far as pictorial representation could do it, of the temples, palaces, and tombs of ancient Rome, which had been defaced and damaged by the barbarians of the early and the middle ages. Montirolì, then a much younger man than himself, assisted him in the work, and continued it after his death. By the advice of Canina, the Duke of Northumberland placed the decorations of the interior of the Castle in the hands of Montirolì. That he acted wisely in doing so was proved by the result. Probably no other place in England was so artistically adorned. In the discharge of his duties, Montirolì visited Alnwick every summer, and made many friends there. Amongst others he met with a lady who became his wife. She was a native of Rome, but at that time was acting as Italian and French governess to a family residing in the neighbourhood of Alnwick. He (Dr. Bruce) was told by Mr. Brown, who still occupied the carving studio in Alnwick Castle, and who had for some years the

carrying out of Montirolì's designs, that his plans were peculiarly accurate and easily understood. He never made a mistake, so that, during the ten years that the work was going on, no disarrangement occurred and no rectification was required. In so extensive a work this was remarkable. Montirolì was a true patriot. In the years 1848 and 1849, when Rome was besieged by the French, he served as captain among the troops that fought in its defence. One of his latest works was a design for a national monument to King Victor Emmanuel. The idea conveyed in it was one of great power and artistic beauty, but, unfortunately its magnificence exceeded the funds in the hands of the projectors. It was to be hoped, however, that the citizens of Rome might yet be enabled to erect it, and thus emulate in the present day the works of their most gifted ancestors. On the occasion of his (Dr. Bruce's) last visit to Rome, in the early part of 1882, he had the pleasure of renewing his acquaintance with their fellow-member. Dining with the Duchess Eleanor of Northumberland, who was again a visitor in Rome, he spent an agreeable evening in the company of her Grace and Signor and Signora Montirolì. Amongst other things, copies of the plans and decorations of Alnwick Castle lay upon the table, and pleasant reminiscences of the past were conned over. Commendatore Montirolì became an honorary member of their society in 1860, and died in Rome on December 12 last, deeply lamented by the whole of the artistic and scientific bodies of the seven-hilled city.



Reviews.

Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail, with especial reference to the Hypothesis of its Celtic Origin
By ALFRED NUTT, Author of the "Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula among the Celts," etc. (London: David Nutt.)

It is nearly fifty years since the Vicomte de la Villemarqué, in the first edition of his *Contes populaires des anciens Bretons*, started the theory that the Grail is Celtic in origin—is, in fact, the Druidic basin of Taliesin, which reappears in the twelfth century Mabinogi of Peredur. In 1861 M. de la Villemarqué republished his work under the title, *Les Romans de la Table ronde, et les Contes des anciens Bretons*, reaffirming his contention that (in Mr. Nutt's words, p. 98) "the Welsh story-tellers received from the ancient bards a pagan tradition, which, changed in character and confounded with the Mystery of the Sacrament, they handed on to the romance-writers of Northern France and Germany, who gave it fresh and undying life." Perhaps M. de la Villemarqué's views on the subject are more widely known in England than those of subsequent English writers, for Mr. Baring Gould embodied them in his "Essay on the Sangreal" in *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*. And yet the authority for those views was at the time far from convincing. M. de la Villemarqué was given to unauthorized statements. A Breton poem, for

instance—the story of which is a good deal like the tale of Perceval's youth—he assigns without a shadow of evidence to the end of the tenth century; and, despite his account of how he went about legend-hunting among the *Bretons bretonnants*—an account as charming as that of Mr. J. F. Campbell in the introduction to his *Tales of the Western Highlands*—there was a mystery about the MSS. discovered in the Abbey of Landewednec which was, I believe, never satisfactorily cleared up. His explanation of Peredur, the equivalent of the Perceval of romance, as “the basin-seeker,” has been laughed at by Cymric scholars; and the name in the Breton folk-tale (as given in Souvestre's *Foyer Breton*), is not Peredur, but Peronik. Still M. de la Villemarqué did what Frenchmen have so often done, pointed the way along the very interesting road of which Mr. A. Nutt, in his Grail studies, has now carefully surveyed a portion.

Since Villemarqué wrote there has been a whole literature on the subject, in which, as in most literatures, the Germans have the lion's share. Between San Marte, whose *Die Arthur-Sage und die Märchen des rothen Buchs von Hergest* is a very little earlier than Villemarqué's first edition, down to Birch-Hirschfeld's *Grail Sage*, which Mr. Nutt says gives in German that careful comparison of the leading forms of the legend which his own book gives us in English, we have Simrock, with his excessive patriotism, trying to deny the Welsh connection altogether, and seeing in the Grail myth “the reproductive power of the slain god's blood,” the vessel itself being the charger in which John Baptist's head was placed, and John being the Christian analogue of Baldur! Bergmann, on the other hand, admits that the whole framework of the story is Celtic (Nutt, p. 104). Hucher, a few years later (1875) goes further and says, “The Grail is Celtic in origin, and may be seen figured on pre-Christian Gaulish coins!” Among the few English writers on the subject is Mr. Skeat, who, as well as Mr. Halliwell and Mr. Furnivall, edited (the one for the Roxburghe Club, the other for the Early English Text Society) several Grail texts. Of Skeat's remark, that “the quest is probably an after-thought of the romance-writers,” Mr. Nutt says: “Speculations such as these were little calculated to further the true criticism of the Grail cycle.” Nay, he adds (p. 126), “I have not thought it necessary or even advisable to notice what the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and some other English ‘authorities’ say about the Grail legends.” It is humiliating to be thus wholly out of it, when the matter is one that concerns England far more than it does Germany; more humiliating even than it is for Ireland to have so much of its Gaelic criticism done by Germans, so little by native scholars. England has less excuse, for Ireland has—instead of the Roxburghe Club and Early Text Society, and three or four more—only the Archaeological, while the meagre help doled out by Government is too often dependent on political arrangements. Mr. Nutt, therefore, deserves special praise. He has rolled away this reproach from English scholarship; and though he does not conceal his own leanings (he was led by J. F. Campbell's book to the study of Celtic legends), he never allows them to interfere with the full and impartial setting forth of all that is to be said on all sides. Thus he points out how his great

authority, Birch-Hirschfeld, denies “any real analogy between the Grail and the magic caldron of Celtic fable, though he will not definitely say that there never was a genuine old Peredur saga, to which such adventures in the quite modern Mabinogi of Peredur (in the *Red Book*), as cannot be referred to Chrestien of Troyes may possibly belong.”

Later Germans, such as Martin and Hertz, have impugned many of Birch-Hirschfeld's conclusions. Martin points out that even in the most Christianized romances the Celtic basis is apparent; the romance-grail was a basin, the vessel used at the last supper was a cup. The first Grail-keepers were Brons and Alain, purely Celtic names (Nutt, p. 123), and so on.

I have dwelt long on Mr. A. Nutt's fourth chapter, because it summarizes the views held by those who, having studied the subject, can speak with authority. If I say less about J. F. Campbell, it is because I would wish everyone who does not know his book to make acquaintance with it. I am thankful that, however backward we Gaels may be in Gaelic scholarship and criticism, the most suggestive as well as the most delightful book on Gaelic folk-lore is the work of a Gael of the Dalriadan Scots.

Mr. Nutt makes great use of J. F. Campbell, taking from him one of the mottoes on his title-page: “In all the Fionn stories, mention is made of Fionn's healing-cup; it is the same as the *Holy Grail*, of course,” an assertion to which I hesitate to give unqualified assent. He shows the close analogy between the Fionn legend (Campbell's eighty-second tale, and “the boyish exploits of Finn MacCumhall,” translated by O'Donovan) and the early history of Perceval. Indeed, he thinks that while, “as a whole, Welsh literature is but meagre, and has kept little that is archaic, the study of Irish promises far better. Of all the races of modern Europe, the Irish have the most considerable and most archaic mass of pre-Christian traditions. By the side of their heroic traditional literature, that of Cymric or Teuton (High or Low), or Slav, is recent, scanty, and unoriginal” (xiii.). Much has been done since Villemarqué wrote to explore this rich mine. We have had O'Curry, O'Donovan, W. M. Hennessy; and I trust Mr. Standish O'Grady is wrong when he says (*Academy*, January 26) that “changed times forbid the hope that he can be replaced by a compatriot.” Irish tradition still lives. I have heard in a county Clare cabin all the essentials of the *Diarmuid agus Graine* episode, which is, of course, the Gaelic analogue of the Lancelot and Guinevere idyll.* Times have changed, but they will change again; and in the mass of Irish MSS. a more complete parallel may be found than the tales hitherto translated supply for the non-Christian elements of the Grail-quest. It is, I fear, too much to hope that any such confirmation of Mr. Nutt's theory may be supplied from old Welsh literature. Probably all that will ever be recovered of the fragments of that literature has been recovered, and has been again lost in that mass of forgeries which is far less like what it pretends to be than Macpherson's “Ossian” is like the Gaelic “Oisín.”

* I hope Mr. Nutt will by-and-by follow up his “Grail Studies” by a similar book on “Lancelot and its Gaelic Analogue.” The parallel can be very completely worked out. M. Gaston Paris, he says (p. 132), has done it in “Romania.”

The value of the Mabinogi of Branwen I leave to Cymric scholars; the Mabinogi of Peredur is confessedly late—made up, say most of the Germans, out of Chrestien's romance, *with* (there is the difficulty) *certain uncomformable additions*.

What, then, is the sum of Mr. A. Nutt's contention? Briefly this, that the Grail-story (with which I assume every reader of the *Antiquary* to be acquainted—if not, there is Mr. Baring Gould, and the Laureate, and Mr. Hawker, of Morwenstow, whose fine poem deserves to be far better known than it is) is made up of two elements, the heathen-Celtic and the Christian, as it is of two parts, the Grail-story and the Quest; that the former is mainly Christian, owing much to that "Gospel of Nicodemus" which very early got vogue in our island, while the latter is fundamentally a heathen story, of which "the great fool" in Celtic folk-lore is the popular form. And his thesis he has worked out with a thoroughness which few Germans could surpass. Even to those who are not deeply in love with the subject, the book may be recommended as a model of arrangement and method; nor can I help believing that there is an increasing number who do love the subject, while I am very sure that *entrées* of J. F. Campbell, with Mr. A. Nutt as the *pièce de résistance*, form a fare on which this love is sure to thrive.

Moreover, to my thinking, there is just now a special value in such studies. They are not without their bearing on what is unhappily being made the prey of party politics. Things Irish are having a wholly undeserved slur cast on them, because Kerry moonlighters have often carried out in a savage way what was often a mere family *vendetta*. In such a standard book—a book for the whole of the United Kingdom—as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the editor has, by an unaccountable oversight, allowed Elizabeth's biographer to speak of the treacherous murder of Shane O'Neil by the Scots as "a characteristic Irish brawl." No doubt Irish and Scotch are ethnically the same—they were "the Irish of the Isles;" but, unhappily, the two words have come to connote wholly opposite ideas, and it will surely help to swing the pendulum the other way if we can get folk-lore readers to consider that the romances of which the idylls are the nineteenth-century adaptation were based on Celtic legend, and that of this legend the most archaic and, at the same time, best-preserved forms are not Cymric, but Gaelic, belonging to that people with whom it is surely the interest of Englishmen to be linked in loving brotherhood. Like the Welsh, the less-educated Irish have had, in some ways, exaggerated notions about their language, which, alas! unlike the Welsh, "they are forgetting." Most of us have met old Welsh people who believed Welsh to be a form of Hebrew, *i.e.*, of Adam's speech. In many an Irish village you could, when I was young, find some who held the same view. Had they not General Vallancy to countenance them in that and other absurdities? But then, on the other hand, till Zeuss took Gaelic in hand some accepted English authorities held it to be a non-Aryan speech, and several high-class ethnologists asserted that the race which spoke it is non-Aryan. It is, therefore, a good and timely work to prove that not only are the Irish Aryans, but that they have preserved a very remarkable form of the Aryan epic,

a form which, as soon as Geoffrey of Monmouth revealed it to the literary world of the twelfth century, rooted itself everywhere, and bore flowers and fruit, of which the fragrance and the savour have lasted till to-day. Men will think less hardly of the Irish when they have recognised that the Round-table romances were shaped from legends of which Irish literature contains the earliest known forms.

I have not space to follow Mr. Nutt into detail. He finds many parallels besides the general one between Fionn and Perceval. The "loathly damsel," for instance, is "the carlin" (boy) of so many Gaelic tales. Nor will I attempt to do more than hint at the very interesting subject of his closing chapter, "The Moral Ideas of the Quest, and the Sex-relations of the Middle Ages." This is a subject which each reader will settle for him or her self. Mr. Furnivall looks at it with quite other eyes than those of Mr. Nutt. I will only suggest that the heathen Celts were unmoral, not immoral; and when, in the romance times, unmistakable evil had been wrought by making this unmorality the rule of life, Sir Galahad, embodying a hitherto unknown ideal, was set up by way of protest.

I think I have said enough to show that for those who already know something, and also for those who want to know something, about Arthurian romance in its connection with Celtic legend, Mr. Nutt's book is sure to be as helpful as it will be interesting.

HENRY STUART FAGAN.

Phœnicia. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Cambden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. (*The Story of the Nations*.) London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888. 8vo., pp. 356.

The maritime tract of land, some two hundred miles in length by a maximum of thirty-five in width, must have had a name before it was recognised as Phœnicie, or the "Land of Palms," by the Greeks; but that name is unknown to moderns. Its inhabitants are admitted to have been Hamitic, until that race was superseded by the more civilized Semites. The Greeks, with some exceptions, looked upon Phœnicia as an Egyptian colony, and so it possibly was before a Semitic people came from the lower valley of the Euphrates to occupy the country. Professor Rawlinson follows the "Father of History," Justin, and others, in placing the primitive abode of the Phœnicians on the Lower Euphrates. Renan, in his *Histoire des Langues sémitiques*, is of the same opinion. But it must be borne in mind that there was, as in Phœnicia, a Hamitic element that preceded the Semitic on the Lower Euphrates, although the latter superseded the former.

Equally uncertain is it if the Greeks received the letters of the alphabet from the Phœnicians, and the adaptation of hieroglyphs to the sound of the human voice. Such must have been known long before, and Professor Rawlinson justly remarks that "Phœnicia is rather to be praised for curtailing the excessive redundancy of the primitive methods of expressing speech in a written form than for any actual invention or discovery."

Whatever the origin of the alphabet, the Greeks were mainly indebted to the Phœnician Kadmus for instruction in its use, and so also they appear to have been largely indebted to them for their first

mythological conceptions—the idea of metamorphoses of which their poets so ably availed themselves—and this although the Phœnicians were anticipated by more Eastern nations in the apotheosis of historical facts, the admiration of the celestial bodies as animated by a Divine spirit, and the personification of abstract ideas.

Those interested in such inquiries will find much that is local and peculiar in Professor Rawlinson's chapters on Ithobal and Ahab, or "the darker aspect of the Phœnician religion," as he terms it. As also in his account of the worship of Baal and Astarte, which spread from Samaria into Judæa, and was accompanied by human sacrifices not peculiar to Phœnicia, but common alike in ancient times among Western as well as ancient nations. Cynics have remarked upon Abraham's reception of the order to sacrifice his son as an ordinary incident; and the practice has even received a kind of apology from Bossuet, who says, "Since the spilling of blood was pleasant to Heaven, was it not natural to offer up on many occasions human blood as a more marked testimony of devotion?"

Equally repugnant to modern ideas was not only the worship, but the frequent reproduction, of the abstract idea of the perpetual power of nature, an idea which, from the frequency of its emblems found in Chaldea and Assyria, appears to have been the most popular of all religious expressions. The mysterious egg venerated in Thebes (one of the many emblems of the same idea) was not only known to the Kelts and Gauls, but is still handed down (unknowingly) in the red eggs of the Easter festival. In Phœnicia, as in Syria and in Cyprus, extreme contrasts existed; and while in some temples voluptuousness was deemed to be a form of worship, in others perpetual celibacy and even mutilation were practised.

It was, however, as a navigating and enterprising as well as a trading and colonizing nation that Phœnicia attained a place in history wondrous for so small a country—so much so that Professor Rawlinson compares that history with that of England itself.

Their cities Tyre and Sidon have won immortal renown. Their colonies were of equal importance, but are less familiar, and therefore the more worthy of study in the pages before us.

Of their enterprise, industry, and skill, from Hiram's dealings with David and Solomon to the founding of Carthage, and under Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian domination as under that of Greeks and Romans, as well as when independent, the pen of their well-known, able, and erudite historian has given an account almost unprecedented in its detail. It renders the work a classic one, and one which no student of the history of the past can afford to be without.

One omission is perchance to be regretted, and that is that the philosophic aspect of Phœnicia is not presented to us. Pythagoras was but a pupil of Pherecydes, and yet did the doctrines inculcated by him and his disciples, as revealed to us by Plato and others, spread over the whole globe, and modify all the moral and religious ideas of Europeans.

Small criticisms are detestable where great topics have to be dealt with, but the rocks whereof Casius is composed are not igneous. They consist of in-

durated chalk and supra-cretaceous marls and limestones. The sharp and pyramidal form of Mount Casius itself is by no means due to an igneous origin. The uplifting rocks are euphotides, serpentines, and diallage rocks, and are only rarely to be met with.

Cogitations and Conclusions. A Commonplace Book of Passing Thoughts. By O. F. ROUTH. London: Elliot Stock, 1889. 8vo., pp. xxx., 261.

The cogitations and conclusions in this volume are expressed in short detached paragraphs which are numbered, and the number of the last is 838. When first glancing at the pages this system of numeration recalled to our mind the plan of Cardinal Newman's *Development of Christian Doctrine*. But the subdivision of that famous work into sections and subdivisions, represented by Arabic numerals, marks the various stages in a demonstration which, starting from a given basis, has all the precision and inevitability of those of Euclid. Mr. Routh's method is the opposite of this. The book can be opened at any page, and the separate ideas or reflections may be conned at any point. There is something very agreeable in this. The mind is so constantly taken up with the laboured compositions of everyday literature in articles and essays, that it is refreshing to come directly upon thoughts themselves without tiresome exordium or peroration. The form of the book strikes us as novel in our literature, and recalls the *Pensées* of the Abbé Roux, published some two years since. The vein of reflection is not so original as in that work; the writer's standpoint is less removed and peculiar; but the thoughts—aptly styled *Cogitations and Conclusions*—are expressed with much epigrammatic force, and never fail to arrest attention.

The book does not deal with the subjects treated of in the pages of the *Antiquary*, but it is evidently from the pen of one in sympathy with our objects, for it is dedicated to Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., who, the inscription tells us, has been the friend and acquaintance of the author more than sixty years. And in recommending the book to the attention of our readers we are not unmindful of the service to our cause which has been rendered by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Retro-spections*, by indicating to the antiquary how his special interest may go hand in hand with the larger interests of the world and society.

It may seem ungracious on our part, but we cannot refrain from protesting against the anomaly styled the "index of subjects." It is nothing of the kind; it is not an index at all, and the book would have been better without it.

A History of the New Hampshire Convention, etc., and of the old North Meeting-House of Concord, in which it was ratified. By JOSEPH B. WALKER. Boston: Cupples and Hurd, 1888. 8vo., pp. viii., 128.

Since the publication of Mr. Bryce's recent great work on the Constitution of the United States, the subject has come into clearer view, and the number of the students of American institutions has very largely increased. In this book on the New Hampshire Convention is told the story of the inception of the Federal Constitution, which came into operation on June 21, 1788. The author gives the names of the delegates,

and biographical notices of the more prominent members. The work of the Convention is described, in the course of which it is shown that the first check to the process of ratification was met with in the New Hampshire Convention. Mr. Walker points out that, but for this check, New Hampshire would have been the seventh State to ratify the Federal Constitution, "and the honour of being the ninth, and thereby completing the number required to render operative its provisions, would have attached to another."

Not the least interesting feature of the book is the history of the old north meeting-house of Concord, which is given at some length, with illustrations. A view of the meeting-house forms the frontispiece of the volume.

The work of the publisher and printer leave nothing to be desired.

Lewisham Antiquarian Society: Proceedings 1886-7.—

The Register of all the Marriages, Christenings, and Burials in the Church of St. Margaret, Lee, in the County of Kent, from 1579 to 1754. Edited by LELAND L. DUNCAN and A. O. BARRON. 1888, 4to., pp. iii., 99.

In the address of the president, Mr. E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A., he speaks of "our unpretending little society," while in his review of the year he cannot help showing its activity. Visits to the churches and historic houses in the neighbourhood, varied by excursions farther afield, with occasional lectures by well-known antiquaries, have doubtless yielded abundant interest, and have not been without educational value. But Mr. Brabrook naturally looks expectantly forward to the time when all this shall issue in definite contributions to our knowledge of the past. He is convinced that Lewisham and the neighbourhood will yield a rich harvest to investigation, and in particular he instances the life of Abraham Colfe, who, among other bequests to the village two hundred years ago, provided a free library "for all well-known ministers and for gentlemen of the Hundred of Blackheath, and for all godly students that will frequent it, whom he desired should give a book thereto." It is to be hoped that a paper on Colfe will be among the early transactions of the society. Perhaps the establishment of the Lewisham Institute, and the focussing therein the culture of the locality, will bring increased support to this society, and lead to the fulfilment of some of the dreams of its first president.

If the handsome volume on the registers of Lee is, as we believe, the first separate publication of the society, an excellent beginning has been made. In addition to the complete transcripts of the registers, the editors have furnished appendices: (1) of extracts from wills proved in the Consistory Court of Rochester, (2) of extracts from wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. There is an index (1) of persons, (2) of places; this we have tested in several places, and found it correct. The arrangement and printing here and throughout the volume are very clear, and materially enhance the usefulness of the book for reference. There are some interesting entries relating to the families of Burbage, "Laynam" and "Toune," which will be of interest to students of the Elizabethan stage.

Correspondence.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN.

May I make it known through your columns that I have undertaken to continue the series of annual papers which Mr. Th. Watkin used to contribute to the *Archaeological Journal*, dealing with Roman inscriptions found in Britain? I should be very grateful for any help or information. All students of Roman Britain will, I think, desire the continuance of the series, and this can only be carried out effectively by local aid. I should be particularly obliged by any immediate information, as I am collecting the inscriptions found (roughly) during the last ten years for the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

I may here add that Mr. Roach Smith's very ingenious suggestion (p. 44), *Herma Cor[nicularius]* for *Hermag* . . ., on one of the Chester stones, is impossible. I have copied the stone and possess a squeeze, and the disputed letter is most undoubtedly "g." Mr. Earwaker's book contains a good many blunders, for which he is not responsible, in connection with the inscriptions, mostly in the matter of expansion and interpretation, but this is not one.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Lancing College, Shorcham,
February 8, 1889.

THE LINCOLN PROSECUTION.

It may not be inopportune to recall attention to the curious instance of revivalism which this case in some respects presents. In the time of Charles I., and a few years before the outbreak of the Civil War, which proved fatal to episcopacy, the example and influence of Archbishop Laud were kindling all over the country, including Scotland, a spirit of resentment and controversy, which went far in helping the Republican and Puritanical cause. One of the most prominent movers on the High Church and Ritualistic side was John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who was eventually Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper. In 1637, just when Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and others were agitating against the hierarchy and the spiritual lords, Bishop Williams published, for the use of his own diocese, a volume entitled *The Holy Table, Name and Thing, more antiently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of an Altar*.

This production purports on the title to have been written in the time of Queen Mary, by a Lincolnshire divine, in answer to Dr. Cole, and Williams gives a motto from Prudentius: *Illa Sacramenti donatrix Mensa*.

Now an imposing conclave is deliberating at Lambeth on this very subject, and the existing tenant of this same See. Will those clergymen, who, at the present moment, row in the same boat with the defendant bishop, be bound by the judgment of the Court? Some say that the Church is insensibly disestablishing itself, and speak of an incident of this kind as likely to prove an influenza contributory to such a result.

W. CAREW HAZLITT.

Barnes Common, Surrey,
February 13.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Walton (Izaak), The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14B, care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment; price £5 5s.—1B, care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzorah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. The Isiac Tablet Mensa, Isiaca Tabula Bombard of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), £1 1s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

Berjeau's Bookworm, a number of old parts for sale or exchange.—W. E. M., care of Manager.

Dumas' Monte Cristo; édition de luxe; 5 vols.; £2 8s.—2C, care of Manager.

Blades' Enemies of Books; large-paper edition; £2 2s.—3C, care of Manager.

Sexagyma, Esoteric Physiology; a digest of the works of John Davenport, privately printed for subscribers; £3 3s.—5C, care of Manager.

Sooner or Later; in original parts; £1 10s.—6C, care of Manager.

Seventeenth Century Tokens of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Oxon, Wilts, Bucks, Middlesex, and other counties.—W. H. Taylor, Ivy View, Erdington.

Antiquary, i.—xiv., in publisher's binding, xv. and xvi. unbound; £5, or offers. Cox's Churches of Derbyshire, 4 vols. York Cathedral and its Antiquities, by Poole and Hugall. Boutell's Monumental Brasses. Chronicles of All Saints', Derby, by Cox and Hope. Early and Imperial Rome, by Westropp. Old St. Paul's, by Simpson. What offers?—1, Barnard Road, Birkenhead.

Breeches Bible (black-letter), dated 1595.—W. Bailey, Shalford, Guildford.

Bentivolio and Urania, by Nathaniel Ingelo. London, 1669.—Murray, Cowper Street, Lochee.

The Dead Leman, by Lang and Sylvester, large paper (only 50 copies), £1 10s.; Obiter Dicta, 1st series, 1st edition, 15s.—M., care of Manager.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Hardy's New Testament; The White Cat, illustrated by E. V. B.; Visitation of Pembrokeshire; Burkett's Commentary on the Bible; Hamilton's The Lamp and the Lantern; Gardiner's England, 8vo., vols. 1 and 2; Pleasures of a Book-worm, Roxburgh edition; Ball's State of Man; Lupot on Violin, English edition; Manual of Siege and Garrison Artillery, vol. 7; Notes on Ammunition, 5th edition; Finney's Gospel Themes; Finney's Systematic Theology; Fergusson's Antiquities; Early History of the County of Bedford; Kirk's Light out of Darkness; Bell Scott's The Poet's Harvest-Home; The Laird O'Coull's Ghost; Shakespeare, vol. 7 (1818); Whittingham, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. 50; Thomas à Kempis' Works, 2 vols., 32mo., Jones; Thomas à Kempis' Works, Vandergucht.—Retail Department, Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Berjeau's Bookworm, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; new series, 1869, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; new series, 1870, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12; Printers' Marks, Nos. 5, 6.—Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

White's Lays and Legends of the English Lake Country, in any condition.—Roland A. Philipson, Richelieu, Jersey.





The Antiquary.



APRIL, 1889.

Memories of North Country Antiquities.

BY WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.*



IMPOSSIBLE to forget are the tracts of wild border-land in the extreme North of England. The bold range of the Cheviots rises from vast picturesque moors, where over rocks and stones the river Till meanders hither and thither beside clumps of broom and heather in endless waste of rough beauty. The town of Wooler seems to spring up as a bit of cultivation in the wrong place, while the secluded village of Chillingham presents an extraordinary manifestation of pleasant civilization as an English country home. Here there is a noble castle, a square compact building with four towers, dating from the reign of Henry III. Near unto this edifice is the little church, chiefly remarkable for a very fine altar-tomb of alabaster, situate in a side-chapel. This is the stately and magnificent memorial of Sir Ralph Grey, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Fitzhugh, of Ravensworth. The effigies lie side by side, the knight in a full suit of armour, the helmet globular in form, and his sword straight and long, in the mode of the early part of the sixteenth century. The two figures resemble those engraved on a brass in Trotton Church, Sussex, illustrative of a Lord and Lady Camoys who lived in the reign of Henry VI., A.D. 1420. But the most remarkable feature of Chillingham consists in the wild cattle, a unique herd, the direct descendants of the original British breed, the *Bos primigenius*. They are white, with a black muzzle, medium size, straight backs, short legs, and are full of

savage freedom, refusing all endeavours to overcome their shyness. It is not often that any stranger is able to approach them. At the time of my visit, I had the great gratification of seeing the entire herd on the brow of a hill, and also of a closer inspection of two of the cows who had been somehow caught and separated from the rest for purposes of cross-breeding, the two animals being kept in a small paddock palisaded, and carefully watched. These wild creatures are wonderful examples of what may be called living antiquities. From them to the site of one of the most severe engagements of ancient Scottish and English history is in the certainty of a day's journey, though it must be owned a visit to Flodden Field is not a satisfactory proceeding, for there is nothing to identify the spot with the "brave days of old." The country, once so desolate, so rough and picturesque, is now almost entirely under cultivation. Farms and level holdings have taken the place of "Flodden's fatal field." It is difficult to believe that hereabouts a large number of the Scottish peers lost their lives, and a place where deeds of the darkest horror were perpetrated. Alnwick Town and Alnwick Castle both present the aspect of feudal times. In and about the entire neighbourhood you can, by little force of the imagination, realize those old days of chivalry and romance so cleverly depicted by Sir Walter Scott. A marked feature of the castle is the barbican. It immediately impresses those who see it for the first time with a sense of dignity and nobility. The front towers are square, those in the background being octagon in shape. Figures in stone confront you, as they stand on the battlements.* The space occupied by this magnificent castle is stated to be close upon five acres. The walls are flanked by sixteen towers, and the names of these are suggestive of feudality, as, for example, the Ravine Tower, or Hotspur's Chair; the Postern Tower, or Sally-Port; the Falconer's Tower, and so on. The old wheels and the axle whereby a large well was worked, together with a figure in the act of blessing, are fixed in a niche near one of the gates.†

* For Mr. Brailsford's previous paper of "Reminiscences," see *ante* xvii., 89.

† This is sometimes called the Draw-well. In

The keep of the castle was declared by Grose to have been founded by the Romans, but no part at present remaining can be traced to them.*

Leaving the castle, the antiquary directs his steps to the Church of St. Michael, which is close by. In it specially to be noted is a stone figure of St. Sebastian, which was dug up from under the north aisle. Also to be examined are the rope-mouldings on the capitals of the pillars. Outside are pinnacled buttresses and a fine Perpendicular tower. One of the bells in the church had at the time of a visit paid some twenty years since the inscription, "Michael Archangeli veni in adjutorio populo Dei." In the principal street of the town is one of the four towers, formerly built for defence, the rest having long since disappeared. This is called Bondgate. About a mile out of town are all that remains of Alnwick Abbey, one tower and gateway near unto the river Alne. This abbey belonged to the order of Premonstratensian Canons. It was founded by Eustace Fitz John, and his wife Beatrice, daughter of Ivo de Vesey, and grand-daughter of the Saxon Lord of Alnwick. Hulne Abbey, further from the town, is celebrated as the earliest monastery of Carmelite Friars in England. It was erected in A.D. 1240, William de Vesey giving a grant of the ground. A tower as a place of refuge in the event of Border disturbances was built by Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland. There is, or was, the following inscription adjacent:

In the year of Christ Ihu MCCC^{XX}_{III} & VIII
This Towr was bilded by Sir hen Percy
The fourth Erle of Northüberlād of gret hōn & worth
That espoused Maud ye good lady full of vertue & beūt
Daughtir to Sr willm harbirt right noble and hardy
Erle of Pembrock whos soulis god save
And with his grace conserve the bilder of this towr.†

The extraordinary ruins of Dunstanborough Castle, with the rocks from which they spring, afford a prospect unlike any other ruins on

feudal times the water was drawn from this well, and thus the defenders of the castle were enabled to endure a long siege.

* The late Mr. Hartshorne said that no possessor of Alnwick Castle prior to the Conquest had any concern in the present structure.

† This fourth Earl of Northumberland lies buried in the Percy Chantry in Beverley Minster. There is an altar-tomb, but no effigy. Over against the wall is a helmet said to have been worn by this nobleman.

this, or indeed any other, coast.* Lilburne's Tower and Queen Margaret's Tower seem to rise from the very edge of the cliff, and a gigantic hole in the rock gives entrance to the waves, whose stormy utterance, in rough weather, sounds like the voices of all the furies. This part is designated the Rumble Churn. The castle was built by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, a grandson of Henry III., in 1315, but it was chiefly celebrated as the place of refuge of Queen Margaret after the Battle of Hexham. A tremendous siege was made by Lord Hastings and others, the result of the bombardment being the ruin and desolation of the entire fortress, as now exhibited. A more dreary scene could hardly exist. The magnificent castle of Bamborough has numberless features of interest—the massive keep, the outworks, the inner bailey, the two round towers, the grand situation both by sea and land, and the history of its many changes of owners from the time of the early Northumberland kings to the days of Elizabeth, when the Forsters were a power in the land, and the subsequent rebellious times of 1715. Nor is the church at Bamborough without many noticeable points of antiquarian mark. Here is a long chancel and a curious hagioscope; an effigy in armour of a crusader, called the monument of Sir Lancelot du Luke; and a highly interesting memorial erected in 1711, by Dorothy, Lady Crewe, the daughter of Sir William Forster, in honour of her three brothers. There is a crypt with a groined roof. In the village are many little houses, all possessing a ground floor, but no upper story. In these habitations are yet preserved many box bedsteads peculiar to the North, while in some of them quaint and elaborate carvings abound.†

The ruins of Tynemouth Priory, placed at the extremity of the land, seem almost to hang over the sea. In this respect they resemble the remains of Whithy, on the east coast of Yorkshire, while the style of architecture, being Early English, as at Whitby,

* The very picturesque fishing village of Craster leads to Dunstanborough, and should be taken *en route*.

† An elegant monument in the churchyard to the memory of Grace Darling, whose heroic conduct in saving the lives of some of the crew and passengers of the *Forfarshire* in 1838, and who died of consumption in 1842, deserves to be seen, though out of the sphere of archæological interest.

present similar forms of apposition.* Some portions of the structure have traces of Norman work. The mansion of Seaton Delaval, twice destroyed by fire, claims notice as the work of Sir John Vanbrugh. The wings are of great size, and a chapel near the house has some interesting Norman remains.

At the Church of St. Mary, at Morpeth, there is a Jesse window and a singular hagioscope. The town itself contains a gate-house, being all that is left of the castle.† Bothal is separated from Morpeth by hanging woods skirting the course of the Wansbeck, a picturesque river flowing over boulders and murmuring pleasantly all the way. In the little church at Bothal is a noble altar-tomb of the family of the Ogles. Its condition is significant of decay and ill-treatment. The Ogles were allied to the Bertrams, who flourished in the time of Henry II.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne has some points of antiquarian interest, such, for example, as the castle, which is a very conspicuous object from the High Level Bridge, and cannot possibly be overlooked. It was built about the year 1080. It was twice visited by King John, and in 1236 Henry III. had a conference with Alexander, King of Scotland, in the Hall of State. In the year 1291 Edward I. came here, and in 1292 John Baliol, King of Scotland, did homage to the English king for his crown. The chronicle recording the event states "in aulâ palatii ipsius Domini Regis infra castrum." When the Civil Wars broke out, the town declared for Charles I., and the Castle was besieged by the army of the Scots on behalf of the Parliament. Later on, in 1620, a survey was made, and much of the roof, etc., of the fortress, was taken away. The great thickness of the walls, and the passages which lead to no particular part, are remarkable. The windows and loopholes are cleverly arranged so as to permit the general strength of the structure to remain intact. In the chapel some fine zigzag moulding yet remains in evidence of great decorative richness. On the lower floor more than one Roman altar

* Tynemouth Priory was originally built of wood in the early part of the seventh century, but rebuilt of stone about 660.

† A small figure stands over the clock in the market-place; it is said that there were formerly two. The town-hall was built by Sir John Vanbrugh.

and some sepulchral stones are carefully preserved, relics dug up in the vicinity. Near unto the castle is the Black Gate, a picturesque remain which at one time formed one of the entrances to the castle wards. It has a drawbridge and double portcullis. Erected in 1248 by the Crown, the cost amounted to £514 15s. 11d. There were three other smaller gates, only one of which exists, and that bears traces of Norman work. St. Nicholas Church, now the cathedral, is a little further north than the castle and Black Gate. It is remarkable for the fine flying buttresses, four in number, which are seen converging under the graceful spire. All Saints' Church possesses one of the finest brasses preserved in this country. It bears date 1429, and commemorates Roger Thornton, his wife, and family. It is now placed against the wall of the vestry, but was formerly on an altar-tomb. Unfortunately no travelling antiquarian can now see the Carliol Tower, or Weaver's Tower, one of the oldest buildings in the city. It was in the most thorough state of preservation until a few years since, when it was ruthlessly destroyed for the purpose of erecting an ugly modern free library. It took its name from a family long connected with Newcastle, De Carliol by name. Henry de Carliol was Mayor of Newcastle in 1254, and for fourteen succeeding years. It was used for defensive work in 1745, when it was fortified against a possible attack by the Pretender and his army. When I visited it, many features of archæological interest were attached to it. Around the neighbourhood of Newcastle traces of the Roman Wall are to be seen, and relics of Roman occupation at Chesters would occupy a good long day to inspect.

The town of Hexham, though altered from much of its old condition, has many noticeable remnants of archæological interest. These centre chiefly in the abbey. Here are some fine examples of Early English architecture, and some unusual arrangements, such as a stone balcony and a ponderous flight of steps leading to the spiral stairs and conducting to the gallery of the choir, to the battlements, and belfry.* A rood-screen

* The bells were once the glory of this belfry. Each of them was baptized and bore a rhyming inscription or legend. Thus one has this:

divides the choir from the transept. There are some curious paintings on both sides of the screen. Passages from the Danse macabre, showing the visits of Death to the Pope, Bishop, Cardinal, and King, are on the one side; whilst on the other are figures of the Virgin, surrounded by many of the bishops of Hexham. In the transept is an oratory, called Prior Richard's Shrine. Within is a monument, which has been placed there without any authoritative origin; this consists of the figure of a monk, with a cowl drawn over the face. Other odd groups carved to represent St. George, with devices of animals, birds, etc., exhibit strange ingenuity on the part of their designers. In an open recess there is a tomb, having on its surface a cross formed of vine-leaves. On the pavement in the cross aisle is inscribed: "Hic jacet Thomas de Devilston," with a crozier. On a brass plate is the inscription: "Hic jacet Robertus Ogle fili Elene Bertram filie Roberti Bertram militis qui obiit in vigilia omni Sancti Augustini Anno Domini mccciv cujus aetate periclitatus est D. Dme." On another part is the figure of a knight in mail armour, with hauberk and chausses, together with a shield, on which are the arms of the Aytons. Another knight, with crossed legs, is reputed to represent Gilbert de Umfraville, who died in the early part of the fourteenth century. The effigy of a lady is supposed to be one of the Superiors of a convent. A quantity of stone slabs, with incised floriated crosses of no common workmanship, were to be seen in many parts of the church.* In the neighbourhood of Hexham, in a deep dale, is situated Queen Margaret's Cave; and in the midst of a wooded hill, on another side, is all that is left of Devilstone, or Dilston, as it

Omnibus in Annis
Est vox Deo orate Johannis,

and another:

Andrea mi care
Johanni Consociare.

* Space altogether fails to give any adequate notice of all the varied architectural and other noteworthy objects in this grand Church of St. Andrew. Not to be forgotten is the crypt, which was a portion of the old church founded by St. Wilfrid. Here large slabs of Roman work have been utilized for practical purposes. Then the Frith Stool, or Seat of Sanctuary, one of the oldest remnants of the Saxon times, is an object of intense interest. It has undergone some severe mutilation.

is now called. This was the residence of the Earl of Derwentwater beheaded in the early part of the last century. Halton Castle, a square building, once the abode of the Carnabys. In the garden a Roman altar let into the wall, and a curious sundial, with family arms round it, give some interest to the place. Still more attractive is Aydon Castle, which was never a baronial residence or feudal fortress, but a dwelling-house fortified against the attacks of marauders and moss-troopers, and now used as a farm-house. It is said to date from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and stands on a great elevation. It has three courts, and the outer wall is pierced with arrow-holes. The stable has an arched roof of stone, while the mangers are formed entirely of stone. Below, the ground slopes to an almost precipitous declivity, which is called Jack's Leap, from the circumstance of a Scotchman who contrived to effect his escape when his companions were slain after a raid on the castle. Of all the northern antiquities, this is by much the most singular, and though a visit to it requires time and a special conveyance, it should be certainly undertaken by all lovers of antiquity. Near Aydon is Corbridge, remarkable for a noble bridge, which was erected in 1674. It was at this place where a fine example of Roman silver was dredged out of the river Tyne; it is now among the treasures kept at Alnwick Castle.* The ruins of Prudhoe Castle stand on an elevation which enables passengers by the train for Hexham and Carlisle to see them very distinctly. Shoulder-headed doorways in the curtain wall and double-headed corbels claim attention. A principal architectural feature is the chapel, which has an oriel window; it is more manifest from the exterior. It is supported on corbels, and was evidently an after-thought to afford space for the erection of an altar, the place not being large enough otherwise for worship. Odinal de Umfraville built the older part of Prudhoe. In a metrical chronicle we learn that in the reign of Henry II. the Scotch king, William the Lion, unsuccessfully besieged this castle, the de-

* Dr. Stukeley was of opinion that this exquisite specimen of the silversmith's craft belonged to St. Wilfrid, who, he conjectured, might have brought it from Rome.

fence being so good that the assailants had to raise the siege. Richard de Umfraville, in the reign of King John, gave up his four sons and the castle as pledges of his good faith, though later he sided with the barons against the king. There is but little left of Bywell Castle, once the baronial residence of the Baliols and of the Nevils. The property was forfeited to the Crown in 1571. The ruins consist of a machicolated gateway, with corbelled turrets; the roof is gone, and little remains to indicate the several divisions of stories. A dial, upon which I could find no date, has these words upon it: "*Spectator fas suus sibi molestus.*" A stone cross, like that at Norham, stands near, and has the pleasant appearance of age without restoration. Here or hereabouts a fisherman discovered in the Tyne a small silver cup of Roman origin, having the motto, "*Desideri vivas.*" Two churches stand close together; the origin of this anomaly is said to be that two sisters, who were engaged in founding and building a church, managed to quarrel, so that a second church was built, each lady being dominant over her particular edifice. Into the wall of St. Andrew's are built several incised slabs, some having a plain, others a floriated cross; whilst some have a sword, and others a pair of shears sculptured. Similar blocks are attached to the wall by the entrance-door of St. Peter's.* Bywell is at present the most secluded of villages, but was a busy place in the middle of the sixteenth century.†

The market town of Haltwhistle, or Haltwesell, bears evidence of the days of moss-trooping and faction fights, many of the dwelling-places of the inhabitants having battlements, and an old inn having walls of enormous thickness and massive beams like those appertaining to castellated houses. The district was once the abode of a very wild, turbulent people, so much so that Camden was afraid to visit it. The Lord Warden of the Middle Marshes, Sir Robert Carey, took excellent means to punish the Scotch outlaws who plundered Haltwhistle in the

reign of Queen Elizabeth. The town is situated on the banks of the South Tyne, and has a church dedicated to the Holy Cross. Here is an altar-tomb to the memory of John Ridley, Esq., brother to Dr. Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London. An inscription runs as under:

John Redel that sum tim did be
The laird of the Walton, Gon is he
Out of this val of misere
His bons lies under this ston
1562.

The church is the burial-place of the old family of Blenkinsop Coulsons, of Blenkinsop, and there are numerous memorials of them in the chancel and other parts. Over one of the tombs is inscribed the family arms, a flowered crozier, a broken-hilted sword, and a staff and scrip. On a mound, near the church, views are obtained of the ruins of Blenkinsop Castle on the one side, and of Bellister on the other. Further on is a tower, the solitary remain of Thirlwall Castle; it stands on the bank of the Tippal. This castle, together with Glenwhelt, Ridley, Beltingham, Bellister, and Featherstone, are all in the parish of Haltwhistle. The great estate of Featherstone belonged to Thomas de Featherstonhaugh in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., and to Alexander de Featherstonhaugh in the time of Edward III.; the name so called "the castle in the meadow," where the stones are stratified featherwise, as in the bed of the Tyne at Hartley Burn Foot. The older portion of the present castle shows a turreted square tower; most of the rest of the edifice is made up of modern additions. Passing farther on, the river Irthing is reached, but with it ends the great northernmost county of Northumberland. All the places hitherto mentioned are situate in it, and our slight summary of them thus comes fitly to a conclusion.*

* The above professes to give notes only of places seen by the writer during walking tours in the district. Some important localities, notably Lindisfarne, were not visited. Slight though the account undoubtedly is, enough is set forth to show the great extent of antiquarian richness to be met with in every part of Northumberland.

* These indicate the sex of the person memorialised, the sword being for a man and the shears for a woman.

† From a survey made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1569, it is known to have possessed large manufactories of all kinds of saddlery, bits, bridles, stirrups, and the like.



London Sculptured House-Signs.

BY PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A.

UNTIL the beginning of this century, I may almost say till the development of our railway system some fifty years ago, though London was continually spreading in all directions, its heart, the City, remained very much as Wren had left it. Here many a well-to-do trader was content to dwell in the substantial old house in which his business was carried on, and to pray in the neighbouring parish church where his father had prayed before him. Now the church has, likely enough, disappeared; the monuments of his ancestors are bundled off no one knows where; perhaps the very street in which he lived is changed out of all power of recognition. In short, to meet our modern requirements, the commercial part of London is rapidly becoming a mere mass of offices, warehouses, and gigantic railway-stations, whence issue each morning myriads of human beings, who spend the day in struggling for wealth or a livelihood, and at night return to their homes which are spread over an area some sixty miles in diameter, leaving the centre to be protected by a scanty population of porters and caretakers. One cannot but regret the disappearance of ancient landmarks, but we must bow to the inevitable, consoling ourselves with the thought that it is probably better for mind and body to dwell in a wholesome suburb than in a densely crowded town, however interesting its associations may be. At the same time, it is, to my mind, a duty to preserve from oblivion all that is characteristic of the London of former generations.

The following is an abstract of notes I have put together on a class of relics which have never been systematically described and illustrated. I hope my readers will agree with me that the subject is an interesting one. It is hardly necessary to mention that until the early part of the eighteenth century, when the plan of numbering came into vogue, not only taverns but all houses of business were distinguished by signs. On the rebuilding of the City after the great fire, a good many of these

instead of being hung out, were sculptured in stone and let into the brick fronts of the new houses, usually above or below a first-floor window. It is curious that signs of a very similar description were used by the Romans; for instance, the well-known terra cotta bas-relief of two men carrying an amphora, and the figure of a goat at Pompeii. These however were cast in a mould which was probably used again and again. Our plan seems to have been adopted from the Continent, where many stone signs are still to be found; they are commonest perhaps in Holland and the Low Countries. Here, since the middle of the sixteenth century, brick has been the usual building material. Fortunately many of the old Dutch houses still survive: they hang together with wonderful pertinacity in spite of bad foundations, and beautiful specimens of architecture they are, with their step gables and picturesque ornamentation. The Dutch signs are often elaborate and spirited in design; they are to be found of all ages from about the year 1560 till near the end of the eighteenth century, but as might be expected the earlier ones are the best. They were placed like those in London, and generally had an ornamental border; sometimes in place of a sign was a pious distich or other inscription, sometimes merely a date. A large collection from buildings now destroyed is to be seen in an annexe of the new picture gallery at Amsterdam. I am glad to say that our City authorities have shown a like respect for similar relics of Old London, and some fine specimens have found a home in the Guildhall museum. I hope that public attention will be drawn to others till now unnoticed, so that they may not be lost sight of when, in the inevitable march of time, the houses to which they belong shall be improved off the face of the earth.

The plan of using sculptured signs appears never to have been generally adopted in London. The total number which in the course of many wanderings I have been able to discover, or of which I have found any record, is under forty. I shall give a list of the whole later on, and shall be sincerely obliged to any of my readers who will point out omissions. The interesting signs which still exist more or less *in situ* will now be de-

scribed in alphabetical order, and this and the succeeding papers will therefore form a convenient hand-list or directory of London sculptured house-signs. I shall begin with one lately found in the heart of the City, namely the

BEAR WITH COLLAR AND CHAIN,
CHEAPSIDE.

This was dug up in 1882, when a drain was being dug under the house numbered 47 on the south side of Cheapside, which had been rebuilt. It was buried seven or eight feet below the surface, and is now let into the wall inside the shop, which is occupied by Messrs. Cow, Hill, and Co., india-rubber manufacturers. Adjoining is an old arched cellar or crypt, still used, which extends for some distance below the street. The stone is a good deal damaged; I failed to see traces of either date or initials. A suggestion has been made that this is the White Bear, the sign of Robert Hicks, who kept a mercer's shop at Soper Lane and was the father of Sir Baptist Hicks, born there in 1551, who built Hicks's Hall and became Lord Campden. This however is very improbable; sculptured arms were to be found on buildings before the seventeenth century, but I am not aware that commercial signs of this description existed in London. The oldest known to me is a bear in Addle Street or more likely Addle Hill, described by Archer, with date 1610. Moreover Soper Lane, now Queen Street, is some distance east of Bow Church, while No. 47 is to the west, near Bread Street. On the opposite side of the way was a Brown Bear, next door to Mercer's Chapel, as appears from an advertisement in the *London Gazette* of October 5, 1693.

BEAR WITH COLLAR AND CHAIN, LOWER
THAMES STREET.

This handsome bas-relief, with initials ME and date 1670, is to be found on the new wall of Messrs. Cox and Hammond's quay, No. 6, Lower Thames Street, close to Billingsgate. It fortunately escaped a fire which destroyed the greater part of the premises not long since, and the owner is to be thanked for having restored it to its original position. It is mentioned in the *Builder* of July 21,

1883, and in 1886 was photographed for the Society, now alas! dissolved, which, under the able guidance of Mr. Alfred Marks, has done so much to preserve records of vanishing London. This sign escaped a most destructive fire, which began on Thursday, January 13, 1714-15, through an explosion in a gunpowder-shop between the Custom House and Billingsgate, when "above a hundred and twenty houses were either burnt or blown up" and fifty persons are said to have perished. In a quaint little guide-book, called *Remarks on London* by W. Stow, published in 1722, we are told that a corn market was kept three days a week on Bear Key in Thames Street.

BELL, HIGH HOLBORN.

Below a second-floor window, in a courtyard which once was attached to the Red Lion Inn, the house in front being numbered 251, High Holborn, is a sculptured sign of a bell, with initials τ_A and date 1668. This has probably been moved from its original position: I should think it came from the City as it was put up immediately after the Great Fire, but so far I have not succeeded in getting any information about it. The Bell was a very common sign; one of the first in London belonged to the tavern of that name in King Street, Westminster. In the expenses of Sir John Howard it is several times referred to; for instance, Nov. 15, 1466, "Item my mastyr spent for his costes at the Belle at Westemenstre iii' viii'." I have seen a modern bell-sign with the appropriate inscription, "Intactum taceo."

BELL, KNIGHTRIDER STREET.

Between the first and second floor of No. 67, Knightrider Street, appears a stone carving of a bell in very high relief, and on the keystones of the three first-floor windows are the initials τ_A^M and date 1668. I know nothing about this house except that it is a fair specimen of the plain brick buildings commonly put up after the Great Fire. Curiously enough, there was a hostelry with the same sign hard by, which had a proud distinction. From the Bell Inn, Carter Lane, Richard Quyne wrote, in 1598, to his "loveing good freind and contreyman Mr. Willm Shackspere," the only letter addressed

to our greatest poet which is known to exist. It is now preserved at Stratford-on-Avon. This inn is also mentioned in the Vade Mecum for maltworms, and a seventeenth-century trade token was issued from the Bell yard, not yet destroyed, which connects Carter Lane and Knight-rider Street. Adjoining it there is now a modern Bell Tavern, where Dickens is said to have often rested when taking notes for *David Copperfield*.

THE BOY, PANYER ALLEY.

This well-known sign hardly needs description. It is still to be seen, its base resting on the ground, and let into the wall of a house on the east side of Panyer Alley, a narrow passage which leads from Paternoster Row to Newgate Street. It represents a naked boy seated on a pannier or basket, and holding a bunch of grapes between his hand and foot. Within an ornamental border is the following inscription:

When y^e have sought the Citty round
Yet still this is the highest ground.
August the 27, 1688.

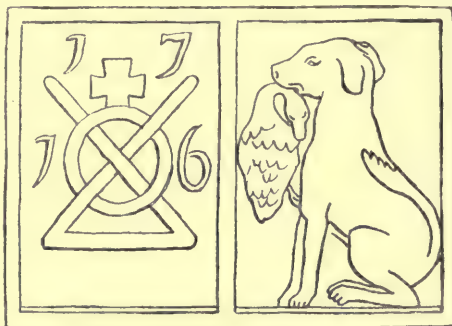
Height, 52 inches; breadth in the broadest part, 26 inches. It is now somewhat dilapidated and is exposed to injury. The sign, no doubt, dates from after the Great Fire, but seems to have represented a previous one. Stow, in 1598, says that Panyer Alley was so called of such a sign. A writer in the *Antiquary* of 1880, vol. ii., p. 22, tries to connect it with a far more remote antiquity. He argues that it may have been placed there to transmit the tradition of a "hweatmaundes stane" or wheat-maund's-stone, maund being equivalent to basket (mentioned in a grant by King Alfred, A.D. 889), which marked the ancient meal market and was equivalent to a market cross; but if this had been the case, it would almost certainly have been mentioned by one of the older writers. Mr. W. J. Loftie tells us that at present this is not the highest spot in the City, being 59 feet, while the site of the Standard in Cornhill is 60 feet above sea-level.

DOG AND DUCK, BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.

This sign is to be found imbedded in the garden wall of Bethlehem Hospital, in the district formerly called St. George's Fields. Size, 4 feet by 2 feet 6 inches. It is in two

divisions; the part to the right represents a spaniel sitting on its haunches with a duck in its mouth, and appears to me a capital example of the grotesque in art. This was the sign of the Dog and Duck public-house, which became a fashionable spa, and finally a resort of thieves and vagabonds. Its growth and decay have been fully set forth in a book lately published on old Southwark* inns, for which Mr. William Rendle and I are responsible.

I shall now merely say a few words on the curious device to the left which marks the Bridge House estate, and may be described as an annulet ensigned with a cross pattée interlaced with a saltire conjoined in base. It is sometimes but erroneously, called the Southwark arms, for arms cannot in truth be borne



by any public body which has not received a charter of incorporation with a right to use a common seal, and Southwark was never more than a ward of the City. It resembles a merchant's mark, but its origin has not hitherto been satisfactorily explained. Perhaps a letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1758, from Joseph Ames, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, may throw light on the subject. It seems that in pulling down a part of old London Bridge three inscriptions were found engraved on stone. The oldest dated from 1497. The second, now in the Guildhall Museum, had perhaps been placed on the completion of repairs rendered necessary by two great fires which occurred in 1504. It measures 10 inches by 13 $\frac{3}{4}$, and is inscribed "Anno Domini 1509." At the

* *The Inns of Old Southwark and their Associations*, by William Rendle, F.R.C.S., and Philip Norman, F.S.A.

end of the date appears an arbitrary mark of a cross charged with a small saltire, which may have been the old device for the estate of London Bridge. The third was dated 1514, and had on it the City sword and the initials of Sir Roger Achiley, draper and alderman of Bridge Ward without. They are represented below :

May they not have suggested an addition to the previous device ?

I will add that many of the merchants' marks belonged to clothiers or wool staplers. As to the Bridge House estate, it is held in

of great labour, but would bring to light many interesting facts. The property acquired by the Corporation has gradually increased in value, till out of it they have been able to rebuild London and Blackfriars Bridges, and are now creating the huge structure by the Tower. Much of St. George's Fields belonged to the estate—it had been Crown land, and was included in the grant to the City in the fourth year of Edward VI.'s reign. The Dog and Duck formed part of this Bridge House property. It was finally closed in 1812. On the removal of Bethlehem Hos-



trust by the Corporation, its proceeds being devoted to the construction and repair of bridges, especially London Bridge. It is said to have originated in small offerings by pious citizens to the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket on London Bridge. The earliest document relating to it, which is still in existence, appears to be a small volume on vellum, probably dating from the earlier part of the fourteenth century, with additions made in the reign of Edward IV. A thorough examination of all the records would be a work

pital from Moor Fields to this site, two acres, which had belonged to Old Bethlehem, and on part of which Liverpool Street now stands, were exchanged for about twelve acres in St. George's Fields.

ELEPHANT AND CASTLE, BELLE SAVAGE YARD.

This stone bas-relief, the crest of the Cutlers' Company, still exists let into the wall on the east side of Belle Savage Yard, said to have been placed there about twenty-

six years ago, some time after the old inn was levelled to the ground. It formerly stood over the gateway below the sign of the Bell. In 1568 John Craythorne gave the reversion of this inn, and after his wife's death the house called the Rose in Fleet Street, to the Cutlers' Company for ever, on condition that two exhibitions to the universities, and certain sums to poor prisoners, were paid by them out of the estate. A portrait of Mrs. Craythorne hangs in Cutler's Hall.

THE FEATHERS, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

On a level with the fourth-floor windows of a confectioner's shop at the corner of Canon Alley and No. 63, St. Paul's Churchyard, is a sculptured sign of the Feathers, with the motto "Ich Dien," and date 1670. Being a



very handsome bas-relief we give it as an illustration, though little information could be obtained about it. This was one of the signs put up soon after the Great Fire, probably on the site of a former house known by the same sign. It must have been a tavern to judge from a seventeenth century trade token, described in Boyne thus :

O. FEATHERS . TAVERNE = A plume of feathers.
R. IN . PAUL'S . CHVRCH - YARD = I. S. F.
A variety exists.

This house has been occupied by the Holt family for upwards of half a century. Canon Alley was so called from the canons of St. Paul's, who formerly had their residence on the site.

(To be continued.)



"Giordano Bruno" and the Scottish Reviewer.

By C. E. PLUMPTRE.

(Concluded.)

BUT, in truth, it is not only in this work (*Del Infinito Universo e Mondi*) that Bruno thus reveals himself. It is impossible for any real student of his life and works not to see that the Scottish reviewer is not even able dimly to conceive the character he is at such pains to denigrate ; is quite unable to realize that, if at times Bruno seems to speak slightly of earthly love, it is only that all love pales before his passion for the divine mistress, to whom he has dedicated his life, and for whom he will even not shrink from death. Listen to this sonnet for instance :

Amor, per cui tant' alto il ver discerno,
Ch' apre le porte di diamante e nere,
Per gli occhi entra il mio nume, e per vedere
Nasce, vive, si nutre, ha regno eterno,
Fa scorgere, quant' ha il ciel, terra et inferno,
Fa presenti d' assenti effigie vere,
Ripiglia forze, e trando dritto fere,
E impiega sempre il cor, scopre ogn' interno.
Oh dunque, volgo vile, al vero attendi,
Porgi l' orecchio al mio dir non fallace,
Apri, apri, se puoi, gli occhi, insano e bieco !
Fanciullo il credi, per che poco intendi ;
Per che ratto ti cangi, ei par fugace ;
Per esser orbo tu, lo chiami cieco !

Causa, Principio, ed Uno sempiterno,
Onde l' esser, la vita, il moto pende,
E a lungo, a largo, e profondo si stende,
Quanto si dice in ciel, terra et inferno ;
Con senso, con ragion, con mente scerno,
Ch' atto, misura e conto non comprende
Quel vigor, mole, e numero, che tende
Olt' ogn' inferior, mezzo, e superno.
Cieco error, tempo avaro, ria fortuna,
Sorda invidia, vil rabbia, iniquo zelo,
Crudo cor, empio ingegno, strano ardire
Non basteranno a farmi l' aria bruna,
Non mi porrann' avanti gli occhi il velo,
Non faran mai, ch' il mio bel sol non mire.

These two sonnets are at the conclusion of the dedication of the *De la Causa, Principio ed Uno*. Had the reviewer read them, I wonder, or was he even aware of their existence, when he represents his sense of modesty so outraged by two ladies having allowed their names publicly to appear in connection with the scheme now afloat to do honour to the memory of Bruno? Or take a still finer sonnet—one that has been admirably translated by Mr. J. A. Symonds :

Poi che spiegate ho l' ali al bel desio,
Quanto più sotto il piè l' aria mi scorgo,
Più le veloci penne al vento porgo,
E spregio il mondo, e verso il ciel m' invio.
Nè del figliol di Dedalo il fin rio
Fa che giù pieghi, anzi via più risorgo.
Ch' io cadrò morto a terra, ben m' accorgo ;
Ma qual vita pareggia al morir mio ?
La voce del mio cor per l' aria sento :
Ovi mi porti, temerario ? china,
Chè raro è senza duol troppo ardimento.
Non temer, rispond' io, l' alta ruina !
Fendi sicur le nubi, e muor' contento,
S' il ciel sì illustre morte ne destina !

This sonnet, together with many others nearly equally fine in their spiritual grandeur, appears in the *Eroici Furori*. Now the *Eroici Furori* Bruno dedicated, as we know, to Sir Philip Sidney. Had the Scottish reviewer really read it for himself, I wonder, when he stigmatizes Bruno as a creature whom Sir Philip Sidney "would not so much as name"?

And again, in his splendidly dramatic oration before the professors and assemblage of the University of Wittenberg in the year 1588, Bruno describes in his vivid Italian manner the legend of the three goddesses who appeared before Paris. They are allegorical, he says, of a like vision that has appeared before himself. The first goddess to present herself before him was Venus. He would hardly be an Italian did he not realize her attractiveness to the full ; yet while she gratifies the eyes she has no hold upon the soul. "Let those in love," he exclaims, "give their service to Venus ; for she is beloved of gods and men." The next goddess to appear before him is Juno. Yet neither can she satisfy his longings : "Let others," he says, "pay homage to her who with Jove is the ruler of nations." Then lastly appears Minerva, of dark and threatening aspect. At first he turns away from her ;

to her, surely he will never feel attracted. Then slowly, almost imperceptibly, his senses become enthralled, his soul intoxicated. She has thrown a magnetic spell upon him from which it is in vain to try and escape. Then suddenly he awakes to the perception of her loveliness, and breaks forth into an eulogy upon her. How was it that he had thought her first aspect so threatening? How could he have deemed her unattractive? She, and she alone, shall be the star and goddess of his adoration. What are the beauties of Venus in comparison with those of Minerva? What can Juno bestow which is not within the gift of Minerva? And so on, in a speech too long for reproduction here ; but a good abbreviated description of which will be found in the recent *Life of Bruno*, published in Trübner's Philosophical Series.

But now, our reviewer having proved, to his own satisfaction, Bruno to be a "creature" so utterly and shamelessly worthless as to make it a matter wholly incomprehensible that there should be found persons of repute capable even of mentioning him ; let us pass from this part of our subject, and proceed to the other, viz., the ridicule the reviewer casts at such distinguished men throughout Europe and America as have actually been able to convince themselves that the "author of the *Candelajo*" was ever burnt at all. In this part of his article, as elsewhere, he persists in speaking of Bruno as the "author of the *Candelajo* ;" though he must know that it is not in this character that distinguished men are now seeking to do him honour ; that had he written only this work, he would assuredly have faded from memory ; that had he not written it, his philosophy, his scientific speculations—which the astronomer Kepler esteemed very highly—his rebellion against mere authority, and inculcation of the right of private judgment, together with his life and death, would have fully accounted for the interest so tardily displayed in him. To proceed, however, to the question of Bruno's death.

The Scottish reviewer advances very few original arguments in support of his position, but confessedly bases the larger part of his discussion upon a small pamphlet consisting of twenty-seven pages, published in 1885 by M. Desdouts, called *La Légende tragique de*

Jordano Bruno—comment elle a été formé—son origine suspecte—et son invraisemblance—a pamphlet that has become tolerably well known to most English readers interested in Bruno through Mr. R. C. Christie's lucid examination and refutation of it in the October number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1885. To this article, however, the reviewer makes no allusion; and here, as in his attack upon Bruno's works, it is difficult to decide whether he is really in ignorance of all but his own side, or whether, knowing the other, he consciously suppresses it. I have not seen M. Desdout's pamphlet myself, but his argument, both from Mr. Christie's and the Scottish reviewer's account of it seems to be as follows:

The only piece of evidence on which the burning of Bruno rests is a letter purporting to be written by Gaspar Schoppe, or Scioppius, from Rome on the 17th of February, 1600, to Conrad Rittershusius, professor of law at Altdorf, giving a detailed account of the trial of Bruno by the Inquisition, and of his burning, which, as Scioppius alleged, had occurred that day, and at which he was present. The letter is evidently from one who not only had no sympathy with Bruno's opinions, but fully acquiesced in the justice of his sentence. For in it, after giving a detailed account of Bruno's life, opinions and trial, he proceeds: "To-day then he was led to the stake. When the image of the crucified Saviour was shown to him he repelled it with disdain, and with a savage air. The wretch died in the middle of the flames, and I have no doubt that he has gone to relate in those other worlds which he had imagined, how the Romans are accustomed to treat the blasphemers and the impious. You see, my dear friend, in what manner we proceed here against this species of men, or rather of monsters." Now this letter, though purporting to be written on the day of Bruno's execution, was not printed till 1620; and M. Desdout's submits that it was a forgery. His reasons for so thinking, and Mr. Christie's examination of them will be seen in the article in *Macmillan* already mentioned. But M. Desdout's goes further than this. He says that no contemporary mentions Bruno as having been burnt; though he acknowledges in a supplement that his atten-

tion has been called to a line of *Mersenne*, who in his *Impiété des Deistes*, printed in 1624, speaks of Bruno as "*un athée brûlé en Italie*." But he is not aware that in the *Correspondence of Kepler and Brengger*, first printed in 1858, occurs this passage from one of Kepler's letters: "*I learned from Wacker that Bruno was burnt at Rome, and that he suffered his punishment with firmness*." Now *Wacker*, in February, 1600, was residing at Rome as the Imperial Ambassador. This testimony (than which what could be stronger?) the reviewer stigmatizes as *gossip*. But M. Desdout's alleges a still further reason for his scepticism as to the alleged burning of Bruno. He asserts there to be an entire absence of all "official" record of his execution. But he is evidently in ignorance of Berti's *Documenti intorno a Giordano Bruno*, and of the *Copernico e le Vicende del sistema Copernicano in Italia con documenti inediti intorno a Giordano Bruno e Galileo*, also by Berti, but published a few years earlier. In these two works Berti summarizes the results of the investigations of various Italian scholars during the last twenty-five years in the Archives of the Vatican, in which a full and undeniable account of Bruno's death is given, and in the Archives of the Inquisition in which there is an equally full account of the trial and sentence. Moreover the Scottish reviewer himself draws attention to another testimony (of which also Berti makes slight mention on p. 75 of his *Documenti Intorno a G. Bruno, Roma, 1880*), viz., that the Archives of *San Giovanni Decollato* contain a notice of the execution of Bruno given in all its details. The day of the week is stated to be Thursday; the day of the month, the 16th of February; the year 1600. The reviewer has made a calculation, and finds that the 16th of February in the year 1600, fell on a Wednesday. And upon this mistake he draws his conclusions that the entire account is untrustworthy. He has evidently forgotten, which is somewhat strange, seeing that, unlike M. Desdout's, he is conversant with the records of the Vatican and Inquisition, that Bruno's death has always been represented as falling on the 17th of February, and this would be on a Thursday. Thus the mistake is not in the day of the week, but in the difference between "16th

and 17th," a mistake that might easily be traced to a misprint, or to careless copying. However, so as to give the reviewer's criticism its fullest weight, I will suppose it to be not any slight verbal slip, but a *bonâ fide* error; and we shall find the *pros* and *cons* of the case to be as follows:

- | <i>For.</i> | <i>Against.</i> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I. A letter from Scioppius, giving a full and detailed account of the execution of Bruno which took place on Thursday, February 17, 1600, in the presence of Scioppius himself. This letter having been conclusively proved to be genuine from internal evidence by Mr. R. C. Christie. | I. None. |
| II. Mersenne's mention of Bruno as <i>un athée brûlé en Italie</i> in a work printed in 1624. | II. None. |
| III. The Imperial Ambassador, Wacker, residing at Rome in 1600, informing Kepler of the event. | III. None. |
| IV. The full detail of the trial and sentence contained in the Archives of the Inquisition. | IV. None. |
| V. <i>The Avvisi di Roma</i> (contained in the manuscripts of the Vatican, a sort of newspaper in those days) of February 19, 1600, records the execution of Bruno as having taken place on the previous Thursday, the 17th. | V. The reviewer attempts to throw discredit on this source of information as being anonymous. But as he is perfectly willing to accept the same authority in proof that Bruno was not burnt on the 12th of the month as was first contemplated, it is difficult to see where he draws the distinction. |
| VI. The Archives of <i>San Giovanni Decollato</i> , containing a notice of the execution of Bruno, given in all its details. The day of the week is said to be Thursday; the day of the month February 16; the year 1600. | VI. A false statement of the day of the month representing the execution to have occurred on the 16th instead of the 17th of February. |

In addition to the reviewer's discovery of the error in the day of the week (as he imagined it to be), he lays stress upon the fact of Bruno's death having received so little attention from contemporaries, seeing that the year 1600 was the year of the Jubilee, and, consequently, Rome was crowded with

visitors. But to the present writer, this very excitement of the Jubilee seems sufficient to account for the comparatively little attention paid to Bruno's death. A greater excitement invariably drives a lesser from recollection, or even from observation. Bruno's opinions were too greatly beyond ordinary comprehension to be popular; and he himself was comparatively unknown. Unfortunately, too, deaths by the horrible means of burning, though not so frequent at Rome as at Toulouse, were by no means rare. Was it very likely, then, that at a time of great excitement, such as the Jubilee, the death of Bruno would receive marked attention? Even in our own day, when newspapers are so cheap, and news consequently so widespread, how many of the English and foreign visitors thronging London at the time of our own Queen's Jubilee, would carry away with them any remembrance of the execution of some comparatively unknown criminal? On the whole, if we are to wonder at all, it seems to me, under the circumstances I have related, that it should rather be at Bruno's death having received even so much, instead of so little, attention.

To be just to the reviewer, however, he does not trust solely to external evidence in support of his position, but points, in addition, to what he calls "the tremendous antecedent improbability of his having held out;" his line of argument apparently being that since the author of the *Candelajo* was so base in his life, he would be equally base in his death. Here again he exhibits the same remarkable unfamiliarity with all Bruno's greater works. Had he studied them he would have found that the thought of death is seldom absent from the man he has taken such pains to denigrate, who always regarded it with calmness, and sometimes even with longing; who was quite aware of the danger he incurred by so freely expressing his devotion to philosophy; and who, like the somewhat imprudent knight-errant that he was, not infrequently glories in his very risk. In his work called *Monade, Numero et Figura*, he says, "Death does not terrify me;" and again, later in the same work, he states his belief that it is "those men who have not true philosophy who most fear death." In the *Eroici Furori*, he quotes the Latin poet,

Peior est morte timor ipse mortis, "Death is less terrible than the fear of death." And the sonnet, beginning *Poi che spiegate*, that I have already given is, I need scarcely say, expressive of his longing to be found worthy of a glorious death.* It is, unfortunately, but too true that there is always a *possibility* that even the bravest in expression and a nation may flinch, and be false to themselves when brought face to face with the terrible ordeal of death by fire; but the *probability* in Bruno's case is certainly the other way. When taken in conjunction with the almost overwhelming external evidence, I submit that no really impartial investigator can longer doubt that Giordano Bruno was, by order of the Inquisition, burnt alive on Thursday, February 17, 1600.

I trust it will be seen that throughout this article I have been animated by no feelings of antagonism towards the reviewer's religious opinions, much as I may dissent from them. On the contrary, towards those who are manfully defending that which they hold be true, and which is endeared to them by the subtle ties, both of ancestry and education, I feel nothing but the truest sympathy, and they would ever be treated by me with tenderest consideration. The reviewer had every right to criticise and expose, so far as possible, Bruno's religious and philosophical opinions. Nor, in a certain sense, would it be very difficult to do so. Though those who are somewhat of the Neapolitan's cast of thought will know that, whatever other value his philosophy may have, at least it has a rarely ennobling influence upon the individual's own soul, since at no time is he so absolutely free from earthly feelings, at no time so absolutely raised above all thought of self, or of things base and low, as when he feels himself penetrated by the consciousness of the Mystery that is about him and beyond him, "that was in existence before he was

born, and will continue to exist after he has passed away." Yet to those of another cast of mind such a feeling will always seem like a vain attempt to penetrate the impenetrable; and had the reviewer termed the Neapolitan's philosophy "vague and visionary," I conceive that he would have been within the scope of perfectly legitimate criticism. Again, it was quite open to him to maintain that Bruno almost brought his fate upon himself, since why should he have so imprudently gone to Rome, instead of remaining in England, where he was comparatively free from danger? Nay, even when attempting his most difficult task of all, viz., that of delivering the Catholic Church from what the humanity of the nineteenth century forces him, in spite of himself, to perceive to be a stain of extreme cruelty upon her, even then he might have pleaded that it was not, perhaps, so much for his religious and philosophical opinions as for his political that Bruno was burnt. For was not the Neapolitan the panegyrist of Elizabeth? and was not Elizabeth responsible for the death of Mary, Queen of Scotland, the well-beloved daughter of the Church? And was not such a retaliation so natural as to be almost excusable? And though, no doubt, this last defence would at best be imperfect, yet to those who, as the present writer, regard a man's feeling towards the faults of his Church somewhat as that of a son eager to deliver a beloved father from the imputation of guilt which, in spite of himself, he knows to be deserved, the weakness of the defence, prompted by motives so excusable and even laudable, would have evoked consideration rather than severity.

But the reviewer has not done this. Sheltering himself under the veil of anonymity in a magazine where the articles are allowed to be signed; practising upon the probability that among his readers would be found few, if any, intimately acquainted with Bruno's works; he has availed himself of a comedy written in the Neapolitan's early youth, the chief purpose of which presumably was to gain a little money, at a period and in a country where no comedy would have passed muster unless freely interspersed with irreverent and unrefined witticisms, which seemed almost as necessary to give a relish to the taste of that day, as they are offensive to our

* Italian scholars credit the poet Tansillo with the authorship of this fine sonnet. It is true that Bruno puts it into the mouth of Tansillo as one of his *dramatis personæ*. But there is no note by way of comment in Wagner's Leipzig edition of Bruno's works to show that it differed in any way from the other sonnets. Even if it be Tansillo's, it is sufficient for the present purpose that Bruno quotes it in full acquiescence with its sentiments.

own; in order to denigrate into a "creature too shameful for Philip Sidney even to mention," one who, at least after early youth, almost deserved with Spinoza the name of "God intoxicated."

Again, he has represented Bruno—honest and outspoken to a fault, since even his greatest sympathizers cannot but deplore his rashness and imprudence—as "a wily Neapolitan, liberated from the Roman gaol upon ticket-of-leave, after a long course of humbugging the chaplain, evading the surveillance of the Roman police by going into some territory where he would be free to while away his old age in pursuits congenial to the author of the *Candelajo*, and taking precautions with grim humour against the possible suspicions of the local authorities as to his identity by having accounts of his own execution during a former generation scattered in the literary world."* Lastly, he has thrown doubts upon the fact of his execution which the slightest impartial investigation would have shown him to be without basis.†

It is only the extreme rarity of Bruno's works that has made me overcome my disinclination to treat even as worthy of comment the reviewer's mode of attack. Upon real Bruno-students his labours will produce no effect, since by distortion so obvious he has over-reached himself. Yet there are a large class of thinking persons, many of whom probably are among those anxious to subscribe to the monument, who are without any knowledge at first hand of the Neapolitan's works, who might be seriously prejudiced against him by articles so unfair as those I have been examining. It is for them alone that I have troubled myself to reply,

* *Scottish Review*, pp. 263, 264, note.

† It is to be regretted that a publication in many ways so excellent as *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, in the article upon Bruno in the new edition now publishing, should have allowed such an entirely erroneous assertion to pass uncorrected as the following: *The sole evidence, however, of this [Bruno's] execution is a letter of Scioppius, the genuineness of which has been seriously called in question by Professor Desdouts.* Even if, as I suppose, it be too late to alter the article itself, I think in all future copies of the volume sold, there should be a slip inserted by way of *erratum*, relating, if not at length, at least in outline, the numerous proofs given above, which make Bruno's execution a matter of as complete certainty as any fact not absolutely within living memory can be.

since assuredly upon those possessing knowledge no effect save contempt will be produced. It is those of the reviewer's own school of thought, rather, who have the strongest ground of complaint against him. To them it must be a matter of real concern that their cause should have been entrusted to one either so poorly equipped with knowledge as to be well-nigh in ignorance of all sides but his own (and, in the words of J. S. Mill, "he who only knows his own side of the case knows little of that"), or else so entirely dishonest as unscrupulously to suppress what would tell against him.



Recent Archæological Discoveries.

BY TALFOURD ELY, M.A., F.S.A.

(Concluded.)



TO the west of the Euphrates, on Nimrud Dagħ, a spur of the range of Taurus, rises the lofty sepulchre of Antiochos, King of Commagene. Though Moltke when in the Turkish service noticed this monument, fifty years elapsed ere it was explored.* Dr. Puchstein's work on these discoveries may be expected to appear very shortly, as it has already been some five years in preparation. In the meantime, I may venture to give a slight sketch of what he has done, and with greater confidence as he has kindly shown me the numerous illustrations which will accompany his narrative.†

East and west of the sepulchral mound are platforms, on each of which were placed bas-reliefs of the ancestors of Antiochos, and colossal statues of deities. These statues, built up of separate blocks, are for the most part overthrown. The personification of Commagene, however, remains almost uninjured. The other statues are of Zeus Oromasdas, Antiochos himself, Herakles (also called Artagnes and Ares), and Apollo, to whom the names of Mithras, Helios, and

* See *Sitzungsberichte d. Kön. Pr. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*.

† I have written more fully on this subject in the *Inquirer* of Jan. 26, pp. 58, 59.

Hermes are added. At the sides are an eagle and a lion.

These figures are identified by an inscription on their thrones, which further sets forth the king's provision for festivals to be held in honour of the gods and of himself.

As to the reliefs, the first represents Darius, son of Hystaspes, grasping a staff with his left hand, and pouring a libation with his right. He wears a long robe open in front, but held together by a clasp formed of two medallions. The second relief probably represents Xerxes, but the name is destroyed. Here the outer border of the robe has a lozenge pattern, the inner a pattern of laurel-branches. On the medallions are eagles. Round the neck is a necklace with oval locket. The tiara and the boots are ornamented with stars. On another set of reliefs are the Seleucidæ, from whom Antiochos was descended on the mother's side.

It should be remembered that Philopappos, whose monument occupies so lofty a position at Athens, was a member of the same family as the founder of this mountain sepulchre.

The monuments of Nimrud Dagh form a link between Greece and her ancient antagonist, and we pass from the tomb of Antiochos to the ruined palace of his Persian ancestor. On the banks of the Choaspes* whose waters alone were deemed fit to quench a monarch's thirst,† rose the gorgeous terraces of Susa. This was the home of Darius, this the city with whose treasures Aristagoras tempted the Spartan king. Here Histiaeus, pining in gilded captivity, planned the Ionian outbreak that led to Marathon, to Salamis, and to Arbela. Hither, too, came many an embassy from rival States of Hellas, each striving to overreach the other in the audience chamber of the Great King. This audience chamber and its connected buildings have been explored by a party sent out by the French Government under the leadership of M. Dieulafoy, ingénieur en chef des ponts et chaussées, whose important work on Persian art is well known. Madame Dieulafoy accompanied her

husband, and rendered him most valuable assistance. She has published a popular account of the expedition,* and a comprehensive work will, no doubt, shortly appear from the pen of the director himself. We already have his official report of the excavations in 1885 and 1886.

The establishment of the expedition on the mound of Susa was attended with much trouble and some real danger. The natives were seized with an idea that the Frenchmen wanted to carry off the body of their holy prophet Daniel, and came out to offer resistance. They were, however, checked by the sons of the sheik, who assured them that the Mollahs would inspect the works.

There is the same story of delay, mendacity, and generally exasperating circumstances that is always attached to such Eastern expeditions.† The firmans were withdrawn. Then the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs kindly offered to allow the works to proceed on condition that France should not demand indemnity if the mission were murdered. "Cette condition," remarks M. Dieulafoy, "était inacceptable." Finally, permission was given to resume work on condition of evacuating Susa before the return of the pilgrims. Incidentally "the silver key" is mentioned, but it is clear that the French do not take such matters as philosophically as our American brethren. In a report of the American Archæological Institute,‡ reference is made to the "outlay occasioned by . . . the expensive official relations inseparable from all work carried on under Turkish jurisdiction." What an elegant translation of Backsheesch!

When work *was* resumed, it did not always go on smoothly. The arrest of a foreman for pocketing an object found in the trenches was followed by a mutiny. This was quelled by a reduction of pay to the extent of one-third, and a notice that all who did not return to work in the course of the morning would be definitely dismissed. "A dater de moment," cries the Director, "j'ai été maître

* As to the Choaspes (the modern Kherkah), see Dr. Ainsworth's *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, a rich storehouse of facts pertaining to the lands bordering on the Euphrates and the Tigris. It is reviewed in the *Antiquary* for January, pp. 36-38.

† Herodotus, i. 188.

* La Perse, la Chaldée, et la Susiane.

† At Nimrud Dagh, for instance, Dr. Puchstein had to spend the greater part of his time in struggles with his workmen. Mr. Flinders Petrie fared better at Defenneh.

‡ Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee.

de mon personnel !" These prompt measures freed him from the insubordinate and the idle, the net result being better work and less pay. As for the original delinquent, he submitted to the ordeal of a solemn declaration on oath that he was innocent. For want of a more orthodox Koran, the oath was taken on a copy of the *Huguenots* !

Policy prevailed over strict morality, and the accused was permitted to return to his post. "He has swallowed his oath !" was the remark of his fellow-labourers.

Money and time threatening to fail, it was determined to abandon all attempts to pursue extensive operations, and to concentrate all efforts on continuing the excavations on the site of the *Apadāna*, or throne-room—excavations that were left unfinished many years ago by the English mission under Williams and Loftus—and on ascertaining the position of various portions of the building.

At the *Apadāna* was brought to light (besides certain fragments previously seen by "Sir Loftus") the body of a double-headed bull, in perfect preservation, a bull's head of very fine workmanship, and other objects.

Three months' toil was further rewarded by the discovery of the magnificent "Frieze of Archers."

The results of these operations have been further set forth by M. A. Choisy, in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1887. Besides columns and other architectural features, coins, inscriptions, and statuettes, a large and valuable collection of seals and cylinders of various ages was obtained for France. Before all, however, stand two friezes in enamelled relief; one, of lions, from the Palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon, the other representing the march of "the Immortals," the swarthy bodyguard of Dareios, son of Hystaspes.

There is nothing new under the sun, and the defences of Susa are found to have anticipated the modern earthworks. Earthworks in our day have been the result of the introduction of cannon; in the case of Susa they were due to the absence of stone. In both cases the same necessity arose for flanking defences, and M. Dieulafoy has recognised in the capital of the Great King a plan of fortification worthy of a Vauban or a Tottleben.

The Palace at Susa, as at Persepolis, was
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of a style of architecture entirely distinct from the vaulted construction indigenous in Persia. It was due to the caprice of the conquering dynasty, the Achæmenidæ, and with that dynasty it fell. A vast group of hypostyle halls spread from terrace to terrace, the walls flashing with brilliant enamel—such was the kingly home of Dareios and of Xerxes.

Now, putting aside the Great King and his more or less Hellenized descendants, let us consider what recent researches have established with approximate certainty as to the development of art amongst the ancient Greeks.

We start with the pottery in its earliest forms at Hissarlik. Closely akin to this is the pottery found in Cyprus. The next stage appears in the Cyclades, inhabited by a people possibly Carian, bringing with them from Asia Minor a civilization, which in time they plant on the east coast of Peloponnesus, and perhaps in Attica and Megaris. Thus grows up the art of Mykenæ, its earlier dull-coloured vases, and its four successive stages of varnished pottery, with the last of which the Dipylon vases are coeval. This civilization is marked by the lavish use of gold,* and in its later stages by great dome-shaped tombs. In historic times gold was rare in Greece west of Thrace and Thasos. Even Athens did not coin gold till the fourth century.† Philip of Macedon first made such currency common. Philip's gold, not Philip, captured the cities of the Greeks.‡ In the reign of Croesus no gold was to be had in Greece, and Sparta had to negotiate with the Lydian monarch for the small amount required to gild Apollo's face.§ In the Peloponnesus especially was it a rarity; hence gold was the one weapon which no Spartan could withstand. The profusion of gold then at Mykenæ points to a connection with the East. The patterns of Mykenæan vases show

* See Newton, *Letter to Times*, April 20, 1877. The tradition of this "gold galore" lasted for centuries. So Sophocles, *Electra*, *Μυκῆνας τὰς πολυχρύσους*.

† Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 45.

‡ Plutarch, *Vita Aem. Paull.*, c. xii. So Horace *Odes*, iii. 13-15,

Diffipit urbium
Portas vir Macedo et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.

§ *Theopompus ap. Athenæus*, vi. 232. This differs from Her. i. 69, only in detail.

an acquaintance with marine fauna and flora. This points to the islands. The devices on the gold rings resemble those on the lentoid gems found in the islands. The race that migrated to the islands from the golden East was, it would seem, the Carian. The use of the fibula, common to the Hellenic tribes, did not prevail among the Asiatics; and no fibulæ are found at Mykenæ. The princely families, however, to whom alone such costly burial could have been given, may not improbably have already adopted from the East the made-up dress (Ionic chiton) which required no fibula. We know that this dress was generally adopted at a later time in various parts of Greece where the Doric chiton had before prevailed. The double axes, the Carian emblem,* is found amongst the weapons at Mykenæ, and appears on works of art there. The Carians or other non-Hellenic race whose chiefs were buried in the tombs at Mykenæ had to give way before conquering Greeks. With the Dorians came the geometric style, coeval with (possibly a little later than) the Homeric poems, undoubtedly coeval with the general use of iron.† Then follow the Melian vases, the Ionic (as that of Aristonophos), and the Rhodian. In the seventh century the Doric temple reproduces in stone the more ancient wooden style. It spreads even to Asia, as at Assos. In Asia, however, the Ionic style prevails. In this century come the earlier dedicated statues. In the sixth century sculpture becomes more developed, and the red-figured vases begin to compete with the black. To this period belong the bulk of the objects recently found on the Acropolis of Athens. Then come the Persian Wars, and early in the fifth century we emerge into the comparatively clear daylight of contemporary literary record and substantial monumental evidence. Much has been done of late to increase our knowledge of the past. Yet

* Perhaps most axes in antiquity were "double." See vases.

† Helbig (*Hom. Epos.*), shows that, with the exception of the iron mace of Areithoos and the iron arrow-point of Pandaros, only *bronze weapons* are mentioned in the *Iliad*. But Helbig himself, in the same work (p. 47), speaks of the frequent epic mention of iron *utensils*. And it must not be forgotten that poets usually describe a more primitive stage of civilization than the commonplace ones really existing in their own day.

much remains to be done—and a rich harvest undoubtedly awaits those who have the will, the strength, and the opportunity to reap it.

Full many a gem, by mortal eye unseen,
The dark, unfathomed caves of Ocean bear.

So Earth also still hides in her bosom other gems—gems of man's handiwork. One of the first of archæologists has well said, "The Earth is the greatest of museums."



Portraits and Miniatures at the Stuart Exhibition.

THE writer of these lines once had the privilege of knowing a lady who made it her boast that she had educated her children, of whom there were not a few, entirely upon Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*. On the other hand, he has a friend who will not go to see the collection at the New Gallery, because, as he says, "The Stuarts were such a worthless lot." Probably, most readers of the *Antiquary*, whilst they may be indisposed to confine their studies entirely to the pages of the Royalist historian, yet would be far from owning no interest whatever in the mementoes of the ill-fated House of Stuart, which are now to be seen in such variety in Regent Street.

"Ill-fated" is, I fear, a somewhat hackneyed term, but it is not easy to find a more appropriate one; for when we think of what befell the members of that family, which played so prominent a part in the history of these islands, it is abundantly clear that by education and temperament alike they were unfitted to be rulers of men in the times in which they lived; and, therefore, they were ill-fated in being placed by destiny at the helm of the ship of State in its passage through the troublous waters of the transition from the mediæval to the modern age.

But whilst the personal and often pathetic interest attaching to the objects brought together in this remarkable Exhibition constitutes, perhaps, its strongest claim to our notice, yet the collection surely possesses a

many-sided value to all students of the past. The antiquary, and the lover of art especially, will find costumes and coins, arms and armour, manuscripts and miniatures in profusion, all contributing to illustrate in a vivid manner that picturesque period of our annals, which may be said to have begun when the young widow of the Dauphin, better known as Mary Stuart, sailed up the Firth of Forth to take the crown of Scotland, and to have ended when Lords Lovat, Balmarino, and Kilmarnock laid their hapless heads on the block upon Tower Hill one August morning, nearly a century and a half ago (engravings of which grim business, by the way, will be found numbered 894 and 896 in the Exhibition).

In viewing, or in writing about, such objects, it is well-nigh impossible to keep in the background the profound human interest in which they are steeped : for example, not to speak of such personal relics as the row of pearls which once clasped the fair neck of Mary Queen of Scots, or the ring which Charles gave Bishop Juxon on the scaffold, and the like ; even the most enthusiastic collector of armour, when admiring the exquisite chasing upon the tilting suit of Prince Henry of Wales, must find it difficult to prevent his thoughts wandering to what might have been the course of events if this elder brother of Charles "of blessed memory" had not been cut off in the flower of his youth ; or, again, the lover of old oak, when he looks upon the carved chair used by "the Royal Martyr," and reads that the King sat therein at his trial in Westminster Hall, cannot, if he possess a spark of imagination, refrain from calling up the scene outside Whitehall on the fatal morning of January 30, 1649. So, too, with the portraits and miniatures. Admirable as some of them are, judged as works of art, interesting as they nearly all are, from this point of view alone, it is the lives and deaths, the fates and fortunes of the originals which keep recurring to our minds.

But the general features of the Exhibition, and the numerous relics it contains, and especially the Jacobite associations connected with it, having been already dealt with by Mr. Milliken in the March number of the *Antiquary* (*ante*, p. 105), let us, for the sake

of those who are unable to visit the Exhibition personally, see if there be anything to be gleaned for the art student, in relation to his special subject, and particularly as regards that important branch of it which may be termed historical portraiture.

As might be expected, the quantity of portraits in the collection is very large ; it also goes without saying the pictures differ very much in quality. As regards number, there are a score of oil-paintings of Mary Stuart, and half a score of her son James I. and VI. ; a dozen of Charles I., and as many of Charles II., and so on, in proportion, with every member of the House of Stuart—the oil-paintings alone numbering over 200 ; the miniatures exceed 300, and there are, besides, nearly 100 engraved portraits.

It is thus obviously impossible to treat in anything approaching an exhaustive manner such a gallery of portraits as this within the limits of a single article. A volume might easily be filled by a description and comparison of them, without entering upon the life-story of the originals. All one can do is to go through the collection, jotting down some of its most salient features, in the hope that such notes, however fragmentary, may not be without some use to those interested in the subject.

In such an attempt it will be convenient to follow the catalogue to some extent, particularly as this is arranged upon chronological lines.

To begin with the oil-paintings : these go back to very early days indeed, that is, if one has faith enough to follow the sequence of imaginary portions of the kings of the House of Stuart, which begins with Robert II., 1371, and is brought down to James V., 1542.

These daubs need not detain us long, and are only interesting as being traditionally painted by George Jamesone for Charles I. when he visited Edinburgh in 1633. Others say that the good folks of "Auld Reekie," to gratify the King's love of art, collected all the available pictures by Jamesone, and hung them on either side of the Nether Bow Port, through which Charles had to pass, and that, noticing them, he stopped his horse to admire them ; so no doubt he did, but in the old sense of the Latin word *admirare*, viz., to wonder at.

By the way, we may see what Jamesone could do, when at his best, in the sound and obviously faithful picture of that "Gude, Godlie, and learned King," James I., which the Marquis of Lothian has contributed (No. 62). In this we may "admire" the spindle-shanks in red hose, and the royal-red nose of the Scottish Solomon. It is difficult to believe that Mr. Butler's full-length of Charles I., also ascribed to Jamesone (No. 79), is by the Aberdeen painter, though it is possible that Vandyke, whose fellow-pupil Jamesone is said to have been at Antwerp, may have influenced his style; if so, the result is inferior to the more solid and manly manner of presumably the earlier picture, namely, the portrait of Charles's father.

Just as all roads lead to Rome, so, when at the Stuart Exhibition, one's thoughts revert continually to Mary Stuart, Queen of France and Scotland, and at the mention of James I. and VI., one instinctively contrasts his uncouthness with the grace and charm of his mother. But before we come to what are probably the principal attractions of the collection, viz., the portraits and memorials of the unhappy daughter of Mary of Guise, we are arrested by two small pictures of very high quality, in the shape of small half-length figures of James IV. and his wife, Margaret Tudor.

These belong to the Marquis of Lothian, and are both attributed to Holbein.

The attribution of the former may be questioned, for though it is admirably painted in the German manner, the handling does not resemble that of Holbein; on the other hand, it may be urged that it has been a good deal restored, and the earlier work obscured. About the companion picture there is far less room for doubt. This, so to say, carries conviction with it.

There is a simple unconscious force about a genuine portrait of Holbein, peculiar to that great artist's work, which stamps the character of the original upon the memory.

Whether the father of the lady we are now looking at ever said it or no, nothing could be more true than Henry VIII.'s reputed speech, that he could make six peers of six peasants, but no Holbein of six peers, and he may have added, nor of six other contem-

porary artists; for in certain qualities, and those the highest which appertain to portraiture, Holbein was unapproached in his own time, and has been unsurpassed ever since.

This picture of Margaret is in no ways lacking the precision of workmanship, the exquisite finish, the subtlety of expression, which we look for in a genuine example of Holbein. Take a crucial test, the drawing of the hands. In the portrait of James it is as defective as it is admirable in that of his wife.

The student of costume will be delighted with the perfection with which is delineated her curious head-gear, her red brocade dress, with its black "English-work" embroidery; he will note also the care bestowed upon her jewellery, and the five rings she wears on her fingers.

Tearing ourselves away from the charm of this refined but joyous presentment of a gentlewoman of four centuries ago (she was born in 1489), we must briefly notice some of the numerous portraits of her great-grandson. But for the destiny which linked this dissolute youth to Mary of Scots, probably we should never have heard very much of Henry, Earl of Darnley. As it is, his share in the assassination of Rizzio, and his own tragic end, less than a year after, in the lonely house of Kirk of Field, invest his name with never-dying memories.

The catalogue of the Stuart Collection, to the excellence and interest of which we may pay a passing tribute, prints an extract from the statement of the English ambassador, Randolph, to the Earl of Leicester, dated July 31, 1565, setting forth in clear colours the infatuation which at one time was felt by Mary for Darnley. "No man," says he, "pleaseth her that contenteth not him, and what may I say more? she has given over unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh." It thus becomes interesting to see what manner of man in outward seeming Darnley was.

We have him here at nine years old on a panel lent by Lord Bolton (No. 20), and the same nobleman contributes another portrait, dated 1567, three years after Mary married Darnley at Holyrood. Both these pictures are branded on the back with the C. and crown

of Charles I., and are presumably genuine, being supposed to have come into the possession of the Powlett family through the third wife of the second Duke of Bolton, who was a daughter of the Duke of Monmouth. No. 23 is yet another portrait, one-third life size, lent by Lord Hartington. In this the eyes are gray, the hair a light brown, the complexion pallid, and the features somewhat puffy, characteristics which give countenance to his reputed sottish habits. In each we seek in vain any manly or intellectual beauty, and can only wonder wherein lay the charm he undoubtedly at one time possessed in the eyes of Mary.

Coming now to the person whose dark fate overshadows all the memories of the past which crowd upon us in these rooms, we find in the numerous portraits of Mary Queen of Scots an embarrassment of choice, if not of riches. Perhaps the selection may not prove so difficult as it at first appears, since many of these pictures are so bad, and some so obviously wrongly attributed, as to be dismissed so soon as seen. Still, they present a perplexing difference in feature and in colouring, and demand our close scrutiny. We think that a careful comparison will establish a standard of considerable negative value, at any rate; that is to say, if we do not find revealed precisely what Mary was, if we do not come to know her face as we know the weak and melancholy visage of Charles I., or the rugged strength of Cromwell, or the saturnine and sensual face of Charles II., yet we can reject many of her alleged portraits without hesitation.

Let us examine in detail first the exquisite miniature from Windsor (No. 212), ascribed to François Clouet or Janet. This most interesting work is thus described in Van der Doort's *Catalogue of Charles the First's Cabinet*:

"No. 23 item: Done upon the right light, his second picture of Queen Mary of Scotland, upon a blue-grounded square card, dressed in her hair, in a carnation habit, laced with small gold lace, and a string of pearls about her neck, in a little plain falling band, she putting on her second finger her wedding-ring. Supposed to be done by Jennet, a French limner." The ring would be that given her by the Dauphin.

The excellent pedigree and the intrinsic

merit of this portrait constitute very strong evidence in its favour. The eyes are warm brown, the hair is almost identical in colour with the beautiful tress bequeathed to her present Majesty by Robert, eighth Lord Belhaven and Stenton. Now let us turn to another portrait, inferior in art, and by a painter otherwise, we believe, unknown—viz., No. 36, a panel painted by P. Oudry; it is contributed by the Marquis of Hartington.

It has been surmised that this furnished the material for the likeness in the best authenticated of the several large memorial pictures hanging side by side, viz., the canvas lent by the trustees of Blair's College, Aberdeen, in which we have the figure, life-size, full length. Herein we are shown not merely the costume in full detail, and many interesting accessories, but "Aula Fodringham," and the unhappy Queen kneeling blindfolded, with bare and bleeding neck, her head upon the block; the scaffold is draped in black; some guards, the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, a man writing in a note-book, and other attendants and witnesses of the terrible scene stand by. The execution is represented in small on the left background of the picture, on the right are two small figures of women, representing her attendants, Jane Kenmethie, or Kennedy, and Elizabeth Curle—the latter it was who bequeathed the picture to the Scots College at Douai, a convent wherein this devoted adherent of Mary Stuart ended her days. Other evidence is to be gleaned from the peculiarities of the cast from Mary's tomb in Westminster Abbey, a monument which must have been held in high estimation, from the fact of no less than £265 being paid for its painting and gilding to one James Mauncey, on May 24, 1616. Finally, for we must be brief, we may compare the foregoing with the well-known example known as "Le Deuil blanc," formerly at Hampton Court, and lent to this Exhibition by the Queen.

Here we have the warm brown eyes again, and the pure complexion which so often accompanies them. This white mourning habit, a wimple of semi-transparent lawn, was a custom of the time, and we hear of Elizabeth of England wearing it; Mary of Scots here wears it for her first husband, Francis II. of France.

It would be unbecoming to attempt to dogmatize upon such a difficult subject as to what is the absolutely most authentic likeness of many, and I believe a great authority, Mr. Scharf, has dealt at length with the problem.

The conclusions arrived at by this gentleman are unknown to me, but I submit that certain leading characteristics of the appearance of this fascinating woman can be safely adduced from the foregoing. There can be little doubt that her hair was originally golden, that her chestnut-coloured eyes had a decidedly sly expression, and that there was a slight cast in one or both of them; her forehead was well shaped, and by no means small, yet not what is called high; that her nose—a most important feature in every face, and one less affected by time than perhaps any other—was rather long, somewhat bold, and cut square at the base; her face a good oval, but her chin inclined to weakness; her lips thin and rosy in youth; her brilliant complexion has been already alluded to.

There is another portrait in this remarkable collection of a lady upon whom trouble came, not in the guise of "a single spy, but in battalions," and, to my mind, it is one of the most pathetic in the whole gallery. I refer to No. 70, which is styled "Henrietta Maria (aged)." It is a three-quarter length figure, life-size, clad in a black lace head-tire, with a falling white collar and cape. In her left hand is a book, on the edges of which is written, "Advantage of Death."

One is so familiar with the features of this proud, brown-faced, black-haired French-woman, as Vandyke has depicted her in the flush of her youthful beauty, that it gives one a little shock to mark the ravages of time and trouble, as evidenced by Claude Le Fevre's picture. Can this worn and faded face belong to the high-spirited Queen, who, when Charles hesitated to arrest the five members, burst out with the words, "Allez! Poltron! Go, pull these rogues out by the ears, ou ne me renvoyez jamais." Yet a comparison of the profile No. 88 (lent by Lord Denbigh), a version of her Majesty's Vandyke, leaves little or no room to doubt the authenticity of the later and most striking picture. For the many portraits of her consort we have no space to spare. The famous

three heads painted by Vandyke in the plenitude of his powers, to be sent to Bernini the sculptor, then in Rome, in order that he might carve a bust of Charles, are too well known to need comment, and, did we possess no other, would amply suffice to impress the features of the original upon the recollection of the most careless observer. Of the later, and, it must be said, less interesting members of the Stuart family, in spite of the hairbreadth escapes and romantic adventures which attended their fortunes, or, shall we say, misfortunes? so much might be written, that volumes would not exhaust the theme.

There is, however, one portrait which the writer has noted with especial interest, not merely because it is an exquisite example of the limner's art, but because it reveals to him for the first time the beauty of which there is, indeed, the tradition, but, so far as I am aware, no other adequate illustration. I mean the miniature of that "hope of the Puritans," Prince Henry.

It is numbered 900 (2), and is one of the many priceless miniatures belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, the curious history of some of which has been told in the writer's notes on miniatures and miniature-painters, in previous numbers of the *Antiquary*. It came from the collection of Charles I., and in Vertue's catalogue is thus described: "No. 18 item., upon a dark russet ground, where-upon painted, with a pike upon an oval card, the picture of Prince Henry, side-faced, with naked neck and a red scarf, after the old Roman fashion. Length, 2 inches; breadth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches." In this small space one of our greatest miniature painters, Isaac Oliver (to whom, with a few others, we owe the sole existence of portraits of some of our greatest men), has given a portrait which, for refinement, brilliancy of colouring, perfection of finish and modelling, is not surpassed by any work of art in the collection; moreover, it is stamped by an intellectual power which indicates that the high expectations formed of this young prince may have all been fulfilled, had not the fates cut short his thread of life at the early age of nineteen.

It differs "toto cœlo" from the numerous flat and disappointing renderings of him which hang around, but is strongly recalled

by the engraving of him exercising in a tilt-yard by Simon de Passe (No. 836)—(we know he was fond of martial exercise). This perfect example of Isaac Oliver's art, together with the portrait of his grandmother by Janet, already described, would by themselves repay a visit to the Exhibition of the Royal House of Stuart.

Lovers of miniatures should not miss a magnificent work by Samuel Cooper in the shape of a portrait of Charles II., lent by a descendant of "Madame Quarrell," viz., the present Duke of Richmond, which alone would justify Horace Walpole's remark, that if a glass could expand Cooper's pictures to the size of Vandyke's, they would appear to have been painted for that proportion: and, talking of the owner of Strawberry Hill, they will find two or three of his most prized Petitots, lent by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts—viz., Charles I. and his brother, the Duke of York: the latter was bought at the sale of Mrs. Dunch, who was a daughter of Arabella Churchill.

J. J. FOSTER.



Norwich Castle.



ANY English cities could be mentioned whose beauty of situation, crowned by Cathedral and Castle, command admiration—such as, for example, Durham or Lincoln—while there are others less noted in this manner, which possess a point of picturesque elevation, and one such is the subject of this paper. Norwich Castle is not alone worthy of notice from its associations: it has a position of interest, standing as it does within a stone's throw (one might truly say) of the unusually quaint old market-place (one of the largest in England), on ground which, towards the town, rises abruptly to a considerable height. The Norman Keep, though not externally a real antique, makes a striking appearance; while from the surrounding "Castle Walk" a fine view is obtainable of the crooked streets with their many churches, remarkable architecturally as well as numerically, of the fine old Norman Cathedral with its graceful spire, on to the country beyond, over

Mousehold Heath, so frequently painted by the masters of the Norwich School—"Old Crome" and his associates and followers. Need one add that a fine sunset enhances the scene, though it has also a character of its own on cattle-market mornings, for these are held on the gentle incline of the Castle hill towards the Thorpe side of the City. Norwich Castle has had many phases in its history, which this paper will endeavour briefly to follow. Its last is to be its conversion into a museum for the City, for which purpose (following the example of Nottingham and other places) the citizens, nearly two years ago, purchased it of the Government for £4,000; now funds are needed to make the building suit its new requirements. The present museum, we may add, situated in the lower part of the town, is very inadequate for the housing of the many excellent specimens of natural history, art, etc., which the City possesses, the rooms being small and ill-lighted.

The actual date of the first building of a Castle at Norwich is obscure, opinions being divided. Some find in the architectural details traces of a Saxon origin, while others doubt if any portion is previous to the Conquest. The present site of Norwich was in all probability an arm of the sea during the occupation of Britain by the Romans, as, until even a later date, a considerable part of Norfolk was mere estuaries and islands, which have been left *terra firma* by the gradual withdrawal of the sea. One of these islands, Caistor (now a village three miles south of Norwich) was a Roman town of some importance, as says the old rhyme:

Castor was a city when Norwich was none,
And Norwich was built of Castor stone.

Norwich rose in importance under the Saxon Kings, and though much injured by the Danish invasion, regained its supremacy under Edward the Confessor, when London and York were probably its only rivals in wealth and population. It is not without possibility that Alfred or his successors may have constructed a castle; and certainly in the early days of the Conqueror one must have existed, as it was bestowed by him on Ralph de Guader, a native of Brittany, for his services at the Battle of Hastings. He, in 1074, turned traitor to his benefactor by joining the "Revolt of the Nobles." Antici-

pating defeat, he took flight to his native land, leaving his courageous countess, Emma, to endure a siege of several months. On her surrender, the Castle and earldom of Norfolk were given to Roger Bigod, another of the Norman's associates. This custodian, too, proved disloyal, for he sided with the Barons who supported the claim of Robert, Duke of Normandy, when he opposed the right of his younger brother, William Rufus, to the English throne, settled on him by his father. Roger Bigod was soon forced to submit, but not before much damage had been done to the City. After his pardon he must have built the Keep attributed to him. The foundations of the Cathedral, too, were laid in his time, 1094, by Bishop Lozinga, when the see was removed from Thetford to Norwich. The prosperity of the town had suffered much by the revolts, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Flemings, who introduced the manufacture of worsted goods, settled there, greatly helping to restore its vigour. During the reign of Stephen there was a slight disturbance in the fealty of the governors; and later, when Prince Henry rebelled against his father, Henry II., Earl Hugh Bigod embraced his cause with a body of Flemings. He died attainted of treason, but his son, on payment of a large sum, was permitted to succeed to his possessions and office, and was one of those barons who extorted the Magna Charta from King John, who, however, got possession of the Castle. The forces of the Dauphin later on came over from France in the Baron's interest and took the Castle, and made its governor, Thomas de Burgh (brother of the more celebrated Hubert) prisoner. In the succeeding peace it was restored to the Bigod family, who, in 1224, surrendered it to the Crown.

In 1381 Thomas de Mowbray was created Duke of Norfolk, but died in banishment at Venice some twenty years later. This family came to an end about a century after in the person of Lady Anne Mowbray, the betrothed of the little Duke of York, smothered in the Tower. Richard III. then presented the dukedom to Sir John Howard, whose descendant is now Duke of Norfolk. Under the insurrection by Wat Tyler, the mob, led by John "the Dyer," attacked Norwich, but

were dispersed by the warlike Bishop Spencer. Henry VIII. kept his Christmas there the year of Simnel's conspiracy, in order to test the loyalty of the district. The City once again suffered under a rising of rebels, led by Ket, the Wymondham tanner, in Edward VI.'s reign. A few years later 4,000 more Flemings, who fled from Alva's cruelties, settled in the town, increasing thereby its manufacturing prosperities. No other historical events seem to have occurred in connection with Norwich, as, though during the Commonwealth it took part with the Parliament, it was not the scene of any contests.

The antiquity of Norwich Castle as a prison dates back to 1264, when it was first employed as a State prison, ceasing to be used as a county gaol in the summer of 1887, when the inmates were removed to the fine new building on Mousehold, which, together with the new barracks and the laying out as pleasure grounds of several acres of the heath, combined to destroy its hitherto wild charm.

The Castle, containing keep and old gaol buildings, can now be viewed by any, first obtaining tickets of admission in the town. Doubtless there are those who enjoy seeing the treadmill, the cells, the prisoners' chapel, and the initial-marked graves of murderers executed within the prison, but it is rather of the old keep and its curiosities that we would write. The natural rising on which the Castle stands was most likely increased in William Rufus's time, when excavations were made for the rebuilding. Originally there must have been three lines of defence, but only the (now tree planted) *inner* ditch remains, spanned by a large one-arch bridge of early date. The tower, called Bigod's, has been restored in recent years, for almost everything, except the massive inner walls of the old building, have crumbled away, so one can only trace the dwellings and apartments of the earls of bygone years. In one of the old chambers are displayed a collection of instruments of torture, together with a gibbet dug up some years since on Bradenham Heath, in which still hangs part of a human skull. Like most castles of the same date, the walls are galleried, with occasional recesses, these lighted by narrow slits; a

winding stair leads from gallery to gallery, and, finally, at the north-east angle, on to the battlements, so that any having sufficient "head," after mounting the 109 steps, may walk all round the top of the Castle, as a good wide, though on the outside unprotected, pathway goes round the square. One of the entrances into the keep is through a heavy iron-studded door, which must have existed in the days when the dungeons of the keep were used as prisons. One fine architectural specimen remains in the eastern face of the small external tower, namely, the fragments of a fine old doorway; it must formerly have had several supporting columns, traces of which, with their elaborate carving, remain to interest antiquaries, both in the reading of their symbolic devices, as well as to their period in architecture. Moreover, a curious space in the keep, strangely lighted, and with quaint carvings, is a subject of controversy, some authorities taking it for the old Oratory or King's Free Chapel.

It is to be hoped, in the alterations needed for making the Castle into a museum, the interesting features of the past will not be in any way suffered to be done away with.

EVELYN REDGRAVE.



Plans and Facts Relating to the Chester Walls.*

ALL antiquaries will feel indebted to the council of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society, and to the editorial secretary, Mr. Earwaker, for the reprint of the papers which were read before the Society on the important remains found in the north wall of Chester. Those who have not followed the subject closely will find Mr. Earwaker's introduction of great service.† The book con-

* *The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in Repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester.* A Series of Papers read before the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society, etc. Edited, with an Historical Introduction, by J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. Manchester: A. Ireland and Co., 1888, 8vo., pp. xviii., 175.

† But if the book shall reach a second edition a strange error of omission should be rectified. No reference is made to the most important papers of

tains, among others, papers by the late Mr. Thompson Watkin, and Mr. de Gray Birch, dealing with the numerous sculptures and inscriptions found in taking down and rebuilding a portion of the north wall, west of the Phoenix Tower. Fifty-seven such stones were found in the first portion of the works, and a large number in the second investigations. But I propose to select for comment rather the other section of the book, which is devoted to a consideration of the structure of the wall itself, and the probable period at which these wonderful remnants of the Roman Deva became incorporated into its masonry. The information, so far brought forward, is almost wholly inferential and deducible from the structure itself, and its analogies with other buildings. Beyond an inscription on the inner face of one of the towers relating to repairs in the time of Queen Anne, not a fragment of documentary evidence has been adduced to prove the erection of any portion of the defences as they now stand. It is known from the Saxon Chronicle that Ethelfleda rebuilt and greatly enlarged the defences of Chester, which, after the departure of the Romans, had been laid in ruins by Ethelfrith. It is also known that the Normans repaired the walls; that Edward I. built largely in Chester; that rebuildings and repairs were then made by William de la Zouche in 1264, Edward III., Henry VII., Henry VIII., as well as in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and during the Commonwealth immediately after the siege, and in succeeding reigns—to say nothing of the extensive modern "restorations" and rebuildings which are fast obliterating the traces of older work.

Among the mass of records removed from the muniment rooms of Chester Castle, and from the City Records, it is fair to suppose that some definite building accounts of these walls will in due time be recovered. Until this is done, their history can hardly be said to have been begun in any adequate sense.

Mr. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A. He it was who first directed public attention to the Chester Walls, and what has transpired since rests largely upon his work. The references are: *Journal of British Arch. Soc.*, vol. v.; *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. Recently Mr. Roach Smith has recurred to the subject in the *Antiquary*. [*Ante*, xvii. 41, 242; xviii. 182; xix. 41.] —ED.

In the book above referred to, the arguments in the papers, contributed by Mr. Loftus Brock, Mr. Shrubsole, and Mr. Matthew Jones, depend wholly on structural characteristics. If some of these can be shown to be fallacious, especially such as are relied upon as proving Roman workmanship, all arguments based on such data must fall to the ground. The plans and sections, together with the descriptions of the work, are now fully before the public, and their accuracy, which was challenged when the papers were read, is strongly asseverated in this book. Some materials still exist, which I propose to now lay before the readers of the *Antiquary*, indicating how the trustworthiness of these plans, or the reverse, may be proved.

During the last two years of the life of the late Mr. Thompson Watkin, I was occupied in collecting for him evidence on this question. I also communicated to Mr. Brock and Sir James Picton some few details, rather as indications of the direction in which search was desirable, than as any definite conclusions of my own. So far from following for themselves any of the suggested lines, much of Mr. Brock's paper, and of Sir James Picton's comments, were expended in answering points laid before them privately for consideration, many of which had received no attention of any sort from previous commentators. My name, therefore, appears in this book somewhat prominently, both directly and indirectly, without much warrant for its use, as the upholder of any connected theory that I have put forward. This is not material to me so long as the truth is elicited, and I have waited patiently till the publication of this book before committing myself to any reply.

I propose at present to deal with nothing further than Mr. Jones's and Mr. Brock's plans, and Mr. Brock's descriptions of the structure of the wall, premising that I watched the progress of the works of rebuilding from day to day during their whole course, and on such days as I could not myself see them careful reports were brought to me.

To save unnecessary writing, I propose to give in a tabular form the exact measurements of the courses given in the respective

sections published by Mr. Brock and Mr. Jones, showing their points of disagreement; also the measurements of a number of stones, now safe in the Grosvenor Museum. If it can be shown that these stones, all of which are numbered and allotted to their several courses in the plans, would construct such a massive, close-jointed, evenly-coursed wall as is alleged to have been found by these two papers, then the argument that such a wall might be Roman, though not conclusive, might have some value. If no such wall could have been made with these materials, it will be for your readers and all those who have pinned their faith to the rumour, that this was an excellent piece of construction, to judge whether such work ever existed, or could exist, beyond the imagination of the authors of these plans.

I will shortly describe how the work was carried on, and how misleading it may have been to those who had no opportunity of seeing all the stages of its progress.

Mr. Jones, in his report (p. 2), gives the following account of the work in the first rebuilding: "A shaft was sunk close to the wall in the Dean's field to the solid rock, twenty-six feet in depth from the top of the parapet wall. An opening was then made through the massive stone wall, in order to make a communication with the outer face, where a similar shaft had been sunk through the earth which had accumulated on the top of the scarped rock. In the above-named opening the most important finds were made. It being necessary to bond, or tie, the old and new work together, certain stones had to be moved; and, while jealously guarding the old face, and keeping it intact, some fifty-eight worked stones were got out. These are numbered on the drawing herewith, which also shows every course and the position of every stone when *in situ*. The centre line being drawn on the plan to scale, measurements can be taken therefrom, and all the stones being numbered, it will be easy to ascertain their exact position in the wall." On January 16, 1888, in debate upon Mr. Brock's lecture on the walls (p. 88), Mr. Jones, when challenged as to the correctness of the plan, which shows a close-jointed, evenly-coursed wall of well-squared stones, says: "The diagram showing the work was

prepared and laid down to dimensions, and was absolutely correct, so far as draughtsmen could make it, at the various points where the section was taken."

Mr. Jones states partially and, so far as it goes, correctly the manner in which the wall was dealt with. He omits all notice of the subsequent demolition and reconstruction, which is the crucial point, as regards the character of this masonry, and which, I think, the completion of the omitted part of the account will supply.

Mr. Brock, in his paper (p. 45), says: "Mr. Matthew Jones's section shows the construction of the wall at the point where some repairs were being effected at the time of my visit. These works revealed the mode of building. The wall is constructed of large ashlar stones, laid in courses solid from face to face, except where the upright joints do not touch, and these are filled with percolated earth. The beds of the stones are truly worked, and very neat, and there is no mortar, except at the rock bases. It is impossible to detect any sign of the wall being double or of the masonry having such wide joints that a man might put his arm into them. The courses are of various heights and laid fairly horizontally. The stones are neatly worked to a face in front, but there is no face behind, for the stones are irregular, some projecting beyond the others. It is backed up on the city side by a bank of earth, which accounts for the uneven nature of the work. We may conclude this bank is part of the original construction. Above the plinth of three courses the wall rises to a height of seventeen courses; there is then a rounded set-off, and above this there is a change in the mode of building" (p. 47). "The construction adopted must have required forethought and correspondence with the builders at the quarry; the builder must have set out his rod determining the height of the various courses; for, while the stones are of equal height to each course, they are not the same, one course with another. As set out, so they must have been worked at the quarry; as worked out, so they must have been delivered, sorted, and built. Many stones bore evidence of prior use, but their heights accorded with that of the courses in which they were found" (p. 48); ". . .

is an admirable piece of masonry" (p. 94). "Mr. Shrubsole had objected to Mr. Jones's section. He" (Mr. Brock) "had measured the wall. Irrespective of Mr. Jones, he had made a rough diagram, and he asserted that the drawing was correct in every respect. Mr. Jones had the good sense, in anticipation of remarks of this kind being made" (why?), "to draw his sketch so that a child might test it." Although no longer a child, I now accept the invitation to test these drawings and assertions by the table on page 164.

A mere glance at this table will prove that the number of courses is variously stated at twenty and twenty-one, twenty courses being shown on the section; that the depth of the courses, as measured by Mr. Jones and Mr. Brock disagree; that the measures of the stones are, in some cases, much too large, in others too small, for their allotted courses. For instance, in course 2 is one stone of nine inches depth, and another whose least dimension is fifteen inches, the course being given on these "accurate" plans as eighteen and twenty inches respectively; and so throughout these measurements. Furthermore, Mr. Jones gives us in his diagram of the position of the stones in the courses twenty-one regular courses, and adds a list of at least seven stones found "in no regular course," thus confessing that some part of this reputedly evenly-coursed wall with fine joints had no regular courses. And, lest it should be possible that these stray stones could have been in the later repairs, he says (p. 2), "that not a single stone showing any characteristic workmanship or period was found in the stone and mortar work from the level of the substructure of the reputed Roman wall upwards." This he states to prevent disputes!

Sir James Picton, in his opening address to the British Archaeological Association on the Walls of Chester, November 16, 1887, gives an account of this north wall substantially in agreement with my own, and, as far as his personal examination of it goes, he is fairly accurate. While giving the same height to the plinth, he gives it as four courses against three shown in the plans, and the whole wall as twenty-one, not twenty courses. After speaking of it as an ashlar wall (p. 18), he plainly shows this ashlar as only a facing

Number of Courses.	Depth of each Course on Mr. Jones's Section.	Depth of each Course on Mr. Brock's Section.	Number of Roman Stones in each Course.	Official Number of the Roman Sculptured Stones in each Course, and the Measurements of some of them.
	Inches.	Inches.		
21	0	0	1	{ This course has no existence on either section, but stone No. 5 was said to be found in it, and Course 21 is given in 2nd diagram.
20	12	13	0	{ No Roman stone in course 20.
19	12	12	1	{ No. 51.
18	7½	7½	0	{ No sculptured or inscribed stones.
17	10½	9	0	{ Ditto.
16	10	10½	2	{ No. 46, 12 in. ; No. 29, 4 ft. × 3 ft. × 10 in.
15	13½	17	5	{ No. 28, 2 ft. 10 in. × 3 ft. × 10. ; No. 30 ; No. 8, 2 ft. 9 in. × 1 ft. 10 in. × 11½ in. ; No. 14 ; 37.
14	10½	13½	5	{ No. 45, 34 in. × 28½ in. × 8 in. ; No. 22 ; No. 47, 25 in. × 22 in. × 9 in. ; No. 49 ; No. 48, 29 in. × 22 in. × 11½ in.
13	12½	15½	2	{ No. 18, 2 ft. 4 in. × 2 ft. 8 in. × 1 ft. 4 in. ; No. 38, 1 ft. × 2 ft. 3½ in. 1 ft. 7 in.
12	12½	12½	3	{ No. 35, 3 ft. 1 in. × 3 ft. × 8 in. ; No. 17 ; No. 11, 2 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. 2 in. × 1 ft. 7 in.
11	12	11½	5	{ No. 54 ; No. 55 ; No. 15, 1 ft. 5 in. × 1 ft. 8 in. × 2 ft. ; No. 7 ; No. 42, 3 ft. 2 in. × 1 ft. 6 in. × 11 in.
10	13	10½	8	{ No. 39, 2 ft. 9 in. × 2 ft. 7 in. × 7 in. ; No. 36, 2 ft. 3 in. × 1 ft. 11 in. × 1 ft. ; No. 16, 2 ft. 8 in. × 1 ft. 11 in. × 1 ft. 4 in. ; No. 23 ; No. 33 ; No. 20, 1 ft. 10 in. × 1 ft. 10 in. × 11 in. ; No. 53, 2 ft. 1 in. × 1 ft. 6 in. × 10 in. ; No. 43, 25 in. × 21 in. × 15 in.
9	12	12	7	{ No. 24, 6 ft. × 3 ft. 9 in. ; No. 41 ; No. 4 ; No. 44 ; No. 50, 26 in. × 23 in. × 11 in. ; No. 13, 1 ft. 10 in. × 2 ft. × 13½ in. ; No. 40, 26 in. × 24 in. × 12 in.
8	12½	9½	3	{ No. 26 ; No. 25 ; No. 31.
7	19	15	3	{ No. 3, 2 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 5 in. × 7 in. ; No. 9 ; No. 10, 2 ft. 3 in. × 1 ft. 10 in. × 1 ft. 7 in.
6	11½	9	0	{ No Roman sculptured stones.
5	13	11	2	{ No. 58, 18 in. × 12 in. ; No. 12.
4	11½	8	2	{ No. 1, 1 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 8 in. × 10 in. ; No. 32.
3	11	11	0	{ No Roman sculptured stones. This is the set-off of plinth.
2	13½	11½	2	{ No. 2, 1 ft. 10 in. × 2 ft. 9 in. × 9 in., 3 ft. × 1 ft. 10. × 1 ft. 3 in. A very irregularly-shaped stone.
1	20	18	0	

saying, "On breaking through the ashlar wall, it is found in the lower part principally composed of fragments, as above stated, *faced* with solid squared stones set without mortar; but from the ground-level to the summit the squared stones only extend partly through the wall, and are left zigzag, the backing being made out with rough rubble set in mortar," etc.

Were an impartial jury of masons and contractors asked to guarantee that a wall of such material and so built should at the end of 400 years present as fresh and unworn a face as does this north wall, I think they would solve the question of analogies very quickly. How, then, can so poor a work, of such poor material, have come down to us from a date nearly 1,500 years back?

The manner in which Mr. Loftus Brock, Mr. de Gray Birch, Sir James Picton, and

many others have been misled by these inaccurate plans into giving currency to the supposition that this was a regularly-coursed and finely-jointed massive Roman wall is explained by detailing the method in which the rebuilding was treated.

After the shafts were sunk inside and outside, and the narrow breach effected from base to summit, the stones were moved from the eastern to the western side of the breach, and during their removal were examined for sculptures and inscriptions. Those which showed any were taken out. As the plainer stones were successively taken from the eastern, and rebuilt at the western side, the breach shifted during this process to the eastwards. Such stones as were irregular in shape, were to a great extent recut, especially on the beds before resetting, so as to make a fairly well-coursed wall; *but one of abso-*

lutely modern structure, built of old material partly reworked. So far from the exterior having been "jealously preserved," almost every stone above the plinth was moved; the edges of the beds and exterior joints were roughly chopped, so as to boss out each stone in the centre, the old facing being nearly destroyed, and the new building was reduced to the condition it now presents. Thus, when the wall was exhibited to the Archæological Association in the summer of 1887, the wall on the right of the opening was wholly or partly reconstructed, and that on the left more or less disturbed from its original condition. It is true that the exterior of this portion of the wall had an outer face, coursed with some regularity; but the interior, although chiefly of heavy stones, was of the roughest description, worked with stones of every kind, partly undoubtedly Roman, but many mere rough untooled masses, broken out of the quarry. Joints and beds, properly so called, there were almost none; the stones were bedded, and put together with earth to fill the interstices. Of the same character is the fragment in the kale yards. The rough backing was dug out from the back of the facing, and of like structure is the piece in Mr. Hughes' yard, which shows not a disturbed wall, as alleged by Mr. Brock, but the inner wall deprived of its facing. I found the man who himself removed the face. In the three or four pits afterwards sunk to the east of it, the wall is still feebler in construction. An investigation as to the *bonâ fides* of these plans was made in Chester, and though the result of it is known there, yet the plans are again given out in this book without any note of the result of the inquiry. So long as the facts vouched for by the late Mr. Watkin, Mr. Shrubsole, Mr. Kenny Hughes, who examined the work during its progress, are borne out by still existing material evidence, the report of the investigation may well stand aside. What I have written may possibly induce some of those antiquaries, who have taken the representations as to the structure on trust, to verify facts for themselves in future.

I do not venture at present to pronounce any opinion on the age of this structure, although a great deal of material exists for

doing so, especially among those numerous relics, measurements, and particulars obtained for the late Mr. Watkin during the progress of the works. The only remarks to make in addition to those on the plans is to recommend that, when further investigations are made or further work done, it would be well if these valuable walls were put under Government protection. Their defacement in the last few years has been lamentable; not only are they being extensively refaced and rebuilt, but for the convenience of modern buildings, buttresses are pulled down and passages and doorways cut through them for access to private property, and almost more damage is done by ignorant repairs.

In addition to the further research in the walls, it is necessary to examine the earthwork to which they form retaining walls. It is evident that this, which is nearly all made ground, must be to some extent coeval with the wall which holds it up, as the latter could not stand without such backing. The various strata should therefore be shown, and their contents, whether mediæval or earlier, classified systematically, as the date of the latest of such relics in the earthwork will be that of the wall built to sustain the backing of earth.

During the works at these walls, photographs of the daily progress should have been taken. Not only was no such record made, but opportunity for examination was in many cases refused; had it been afforded, many mistakes as to the structure and condition of this reputed Roman structure would have been avoided.

EDWARD W. COX.

* * Mr. Cox has forwarded a framed photograph of the stone with the two figures which have been the centre of the dispute. He writes: "This was taken while it was quite fresh from the walls: it [the stone] has since suffered a little by removal and abrasions." The picture can be seen at 62, Paternoster Row.



Hanmer Church.



ON Sunday, February 10, an irreparable loss was occasioned to ecclesiastical architecture generally, and to the diocese of St. Asaph in particular, by the total destruction of Hanmer Church by fire. This church was an excellent specimen of the architecture of the fifteenth century. It contained a number of valuable historical monuments, and was beautifully decorated. It is supposed that the fire originated through the overheating of the warming apparatus, and it is much to be regretted that the church was not insured. It is worthy of notice that the parish church of Hanmer was burnt in 1463, so that this is the second time this sad calamity has befallen it. In 1490 it was rebuilt by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Powis. The church is dedicated to St. Chad, and consisted of a nave with north and south aisles, of four bays, the easternmost bay on the north forming the Fen's Chantry or St. Michael's Chapel, and that on the south the Bettisfield Chantry, or the Trinity Chapel. In 1720 a chancel was built by Sir T. Hanmer, the Speaker, which replaced a Saxon building of oak frame, similar to the porch of the old parish church of Whitchurch. In 1881 the late Sir Edward Hanmer spent over £1,500 in decorating the chancel, which up to that time was bare; he also caused some substantial repairs to be executed. An iron screen separated the chancel from the nave; the Bettisfield Chantry was also divided from the nave and aisle by a screen and portion of the beautiful old rood-loft. The south wall of the church was surmounted externally by battlements which extended around the chancel, and their absence from the north wall is explained by the theory that they were removed from thence, and placed in their present position at the time the chancel was built. The general architecture of the chancel was perpendicular, with the exception of the clustered pillars of the nave arcading, which form relics of the church which was so sadly injured during the Wars of the Roses. The roof of the nave was open

and perfectly plain; the roof of the south aisle was constructed of wood, arranged in quatrefoil panels, supported by carved corbels. But the rich and handsome ceiling of the north aisle was the greatest loss; it was similar to that placed by Mr. Mainwaring in the Kynaston Chapel of Ellesmere Church. This ceiling was of oak, which was over 400 years old, and it is probable that in consequence of its great age the wood had become like tinder, and would thus accelerate the speed with which the flames devoured the building. Both chapels were surrounded by an oak railing, which enclosed a parvise. Great praise is due to the Rev. Canon Lee, who, at great risk, saved the Communion plate and all the registers with the exception of the register of burials from 1784 to 1813. The following are the most important memorials and monuments which have been saved from utter destruction: Some ancient tiles which were removed from Haughmond Abbey to the old Hanmer Rectory, and finally used in the flooring of the Bettisfield Chapel, though much disfigured by the fire, are still whole. There are, however, two recumbent effigies near them not so seriously injured. One of these figures is inscribed, "Hic jacet Waldos uxor Jerworth Voyl; orate pro ejus anima;" and the other, "Hic jacet David ap Madog ab Ririd." Both are of the time of Edward I.; the signature of the latter is attached to several deeds of that period; he was the ancestor of the Dymocks of Penley. The monument in the chancel, to the memory of the great Lord Kenyon, is discoloured by the smoke, and much damaged by the molten lead. This represents the Lord Chief Justice in his robes, with Faith and Justice in attendance. He died in 1802. Fragments of another mural monument, which stood in the chancel, have been recovered; it was in remembrance of Emma, wife of George, Lord Kenyon. The whole surface of a plain slab of Aberdeen granite in memory of Arabella, wife of Colonel Hanmer, who died in 1812, has been chipped away. Of the mural monuments in the Bettisfield Chantry only two now exist, and these are considerably damaged by the fire. The one is in memory of Sir Thomas Hanmer, commonly called the

Cavalier, whose two country residences, Hanmer Hall and Bettisfield, were burnt during the Civil War; the other, of Sir T. Hanmer, who was Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Queen Anne. He also edited an edition of Shakespeare. In the Fen's Chapel there was a recumbent slab to the memory of William Hanmer, of Fen's and Iscoyd, on which the arms of the Jennings family may still be traced. In the same chapel there was also a tablet in memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Hanmer, the widow of William Hanmer, who died in 1777.

The following memorials have been completely destroyed: that of Mary, wife of Chief Justice Kenyon; William Williams, of Bronington; Roger Kenyon, of Cefn, and his wife; also that to the Rev. John Hanmer, who was appointed Vicar of Hanmer in 1808, and his wife Catherine.

The destruction of the pulpit, which stood at the corner of the North Chapel, is an incalculable loss. It was presented to the church by Luke Loyd, of the Bryn, in 1627, and is Jacobean in style. A full description of it is contained in the *Beaufort Progress through Wales*. It consisted of old carved oak, and had a covering. It was surrounded by inscriptions, the one at the back being simply "Jesus," with the date 1627. The sentence "Thus saith the Lord" was inscribed in Hebrew above the preacher's head. Five of the large windows in the church were filled with stained glass, and there were panels of stained glass in two of the others. Two pieces, which were considered by connoisseurs to be equal to the glass in Fairford Church in Gloucestershire, are mentioned in the *Beaufort Progress*. The one which had been in the Fen's Chapel until 1861 represented St. Michael and the Dragon. There were also representations in stained glass of two knights of the Hanmer family, who lived in the reigns of Henry VII. and James I. respectively. In 1861 two stained-glass windows were placed in the Bettisfield Chapel, and in 1881 three other windows were added to the chancel by Sir W. E. Hanmer. The figures in the latter were of life size. There was a small gallery, the date 1696, which projected into the church over the south doorway, and which,

according to the record of a parish book, was built by Mr. Thomas Pemberton for his own private use. The room above the porch, which has wonderfully escaped destruction, is a curiosity in its way. It was constructed by the Rev. Richard Hilton an ancestor of the present Lord Kenyon who was appointed vicar in 1662. It was used by him as a place of meeting for transacting business with his parishioners, his residence at Gredington, which he had lately bought from the Hanmer family, being too far distant for that purpose. The bells were cast by Rudhall, of Gloucester, in 1778, and were rehung in 1878 by the late Lord Hanmer at a cost of about £100. The largest of these was broken in two by the force of the fall from the belfry. It is a fortunate circumstance that two banners, the one a pensil of Sir Walden Hanmer, of the date 1778, the other a military banner of Sir John Hanmer, Knight and Baronet, which he carried at the battle of the Boyne, and which bore the three pigs of Jonas of Penby, were removed from the church by Sir Edward Hanmer in 1881. There were four valuable chained books, which were in the two chapels—three black-letter copies of *Fox's Book of Martyrs*, illustrated, and the other Bishop Jewel's *Apology*. An appeal for funds has been issued by Lord Kenyon, the resident squire of the parish, in which he states that immediate action is necessary if the walls are to be saved.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Old Town Book of Belfast.—The following excerpt from an article in the *Pictorial World* has been forwarded to us by Mr. Robert M. Young, who has undertaken to edit the valuable record referred to: "The Old Town Book of Belfast' has been practically unknown to any of the inhabitants for many years, with, we may say, the exception of the late Mr. George Benn, who, unfortunately, was not able to have more than a few extracts made from it for his *History*, owing to his failing eyesight. It is asserted by those

well qualified to judge, that no more important contribution will be made to Irish history for many years than this volume. When the old Corporation of Belfast, with its sovereign, burgesses, and free commonalty, became extinct after the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill, the MS. volume, containing the records of its proceedings from 1613 to 1820, could not be found, although some years previously it had been inspected and a few extracts taken by the Royal Commissioners appointed to examine all such records. After lying hidden for many years the book was discovered by Lord Donegal in an old chest, and by him presented to Mr. James Torrens, his agent, in whose widow's possession it remains. It has now been arranged to publish the entire volume, with illustrative notes, and a number of views, maps, and facsimiles. Mr. Robert M. Young, B.A., secretary of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, has undertaken to act as editor, with the assistance of several literary friends, including the accomplished compiler of *The Montgomery Manuscripts*. It is intended to print only a limited edition for subscribers, of whom already there are a large number, although the prospectus has not yet been issued. Belfast has very few historical documents connected exclusively with itself, as it will be seen that till well on in the eighteenth century Carrickfergus was considered the seat of government for the district. Much light will therefore be thrown not only on local history, but on some of the more vexed points of the historical times of 1640 to 1660, and again from 1687 to 1692, by these hitherto inaccessible MSS. The town clerk of those early times gave particularly minute entries of events, and even condescended occasionally to lighten his necessarily prose works with fragments of poetry. An example of this occurs in 1660, where immediately after the minutes of a meeting of the sovereign and burgesses are the following (we give the old spelling) :

VERSES PRESENTED TO GENERALL MONCK.

Advance George Monck & Monk Sr George shall be
Englands Restorer to its Liberty
Scotlands Protector Irelands president
Reducing all to a free Parliamte
And if Thou dost intend the other thinge
Go on and all shall crye God save ye kinge.

R R doth Rebellion Represent
V by V nought els but Villainye is meant
M M Murther signifes all men do knowe
P P. Perjures in ffashion growe
Thus, R and V with M & P
conjoynd, make up our Miserie.

Many of the minutes contain valuable sidelights on historical matters, such as the meeting held to protest against the action of King James II. in depriving the town of its original charter; another convened to lay the desolate state of the inhabitants before the Commissioners of Revenue in Cromwell's time, signed amongst others by Colonel R. Venables, the Ironside commander, and friend of Izaak Walton. In addition to these official entries by the town clerk, a vast amount of miscellaneous documents relating to altogether extraneous matters find a resting-place in the book. The entry of King William III. and his reception in Belfast is given at great length and with much graphic power, evidently by an eye-witness."

Mr. Young writes: "I am very anxious to get information about the first goldsmith given in the list of freemen of the borough of Belfast in 1660—Andrew McCullough by name. He made in 1665 a silver *mustard-pot* for Lord Donegal; and if I could get an example of his work photographed, it would make a valuable illustration. The local mark on such plate would be probably either a bell or a ship, as these appear on the tokens locally struck at that date—1660-80."

Casting Dice in Church.—The following is the will of Dr. Wilde, whose bequest to the town of St. Ives gave rise to the annual casting of dice for Bibles in the parish church. The will is dated 10th August, 1675:

"As for my estate and temporal goods which hath pleased God bountifully to bestow upon me, I do first of all and heartily give, bestow and bequeath to the Glory of God, the sum of £50 to my native town of St. Ives, in the county of Huntingdon, for and to such uses and purposes, and in a way and manner and no other, as is written and appointed in a writing under my own hand bearing even date with this present Deed and Testament.

"I make Joyce Wilde, my wife, executrix, and Robert Gay, of Isham, gent., and Math. Orlebar, of Colebrook, gent., overseers of the said will. In the name of God, Amen.

"Whereas I, Robert Wilde, of Oundle, D.D., have in my last Will and Testament, bearing date this 10th day of August, 1675, given and bequeathed the sum of £50 unto the town of St. Ives, in the county of Huntingdon, limited into such directions and appointments as I shall leave in writing bearing the same date with that my Will and Testament.

"Note.—I do make and declare this my present writing under my own hand and seal to be my mind and will concerning the same as follows :

"Ist.—I require my dear wife and executrix, and desire my nominated overseers in that my will to assist her therein that written three months after my decease, and the same put forth with all possible security and care into interest, so that it may yield the legal use of three pounds yearly, which I have given and do hereby appoint accordingly to be paid unto my two sisters, Elizabeth Acton and Esther Wilde, both of St. Ives, yearly, and each year upon the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, in equal portions to be divided during the life of each of them, viz., thirty shillings apiece.

"And I desire that the Minister, Churchwardens, and four more of the chief inhabitants of St. Ives may by letter have notice of this gift and a true copy thereof, and that they should consult and devise a way how the said £50 may be by my executrix laid out in land in some rent-charge in or near St. Ives, or the raising the yearly rent or income of £3 for ever, to be disposed of as follows :

"I.—Let the townsmen take care that the yearly rent arising out the £50 be paid at the Church on Easter Monday or Tuesday, when the meeting is for the town accounts, into the hands of the Vicar and two Churchwardens then chosen in the sight of those then present and upon the Communion Table.

"II.—As soon as the money is paid and received then and there, and at the same time let the Minister and Churchwardens set down in writing twelve persons, six males and six females. (1) Such as are good and of good report. (2) All born in the parish. (3) Each above the age of twelve years. (4) Everyone able to read the Bible.

"III.—The twelve persons being chosen

in the Church and by the Minister openly read and declared to be selected for that year. They are to be acquainted that on Tuesday, which shall be Whitsun week following, they shall resort at nine o'clock in the morning to the Church, and then and there take their lot at the Communion Table for six Bibles, and no two to cast twice for that year.

"IV.—Let the Minister and Churchwardens betwixt Easter and Whit Sunday buy with the money paid in as aforesaid six plain and well-bound Bibles in English, never exceeding seven shillings for each, and have them in readiness against the time.

"V.—Upon Whit Sunday let the Minister give notice to the people that upon Tuesday following, in the morning, there will be a sermon and lots cast for the six Bibles by twelve poor people.

"VI.—The books being paid for, let the Overseers of the yearly rent pay to the Minister ten shillings for a sermon, twelvenpence to the clerk, and the over surplus to be spent by the Minister and Churchwardens and such as they think good to invite.

"VII.—Upon the Whitsun Tuesday before morning prayer, after the sermon bell is rung, the Minister, and officers, and other grave townsmen being set about the table, the twelve elected persons being also present, the Minister in a few words praying to God to direct the *lots* to his Glory, let a saucer with the three dice be prepared upon the table, and beginning with the males let one Bible be cast for by each pair, and the party who casts the greatest number at one cast have that Bible, and so two and two until all be cast for.

"VIII.—Then let the names of the six whose lot who proves to have the books, be entered in the Church book or paper kept on purpose for it, and also the names of them that missed it, that so many of them as live until the next year may have the liberty before any other to be of the number of the twelve to cast lots again.

"IX.—When the work is done then let the six persons with their Bibles go and sit together in some convenient place before the Minister, and my request is that the preacher would suit his sermon as much as he can to the occasion by commencing with the excellence, perfection of Divine Authority, etc., of the Holy Scriptures, with the necessity of

them to all, then pressing those persons to whom God at that day had given his Word to be thankful, and never to sell, pawn, or give them away while they live, but daily read and obey them, and let care be taken that no person shall ever have any more than one Bible.

"August 10, 1675.

"R. WILDE.

"Witnesses, Robert Fawnes, Ralph Har-
tipp, Mary Martin."

The townsmen bought a close of land with the doctor's £50, now known as "Bible Orchard," of Mr. Thos. Foreman. The surrender is dated July 19, 1692. In 1772 it let for £6 per annum.

This raffling for the Bibles occurs annually in St. Ives Church, and has of recent years occasioned much interest. It does not now take place on the altar, but on a table set down at the entrance to the chancel.

Saints: the Qualities, Patronage, and Virtues ascribed to them.—The following list is compiled from various sources, and is interesting as well as curious. The connection of the Saint with the peculiar quality, patronage, or virtue, must, I think, be ascribed to the ingenuity of the priesthood of the Roman branch of the Church Catholic in days of yore.

R. C. HOPE.

DISEASES.

Quartan ague ...	... St. Peruel.
Bleared eyes ...	... St. Ottilia.
Falling sickness ...	... St. Valentine.
Toothache ...	... St. Appolin, or Appolonia. (Her teeth were beaten out at her martyrdom.)
Poison ...	... St. John. (Poisoned cup given to drink.)
Madness ...	... St. Vitus.
Quinsy ...	... St. Blase.
Gout ...	... St. Wolfgang.
Falling evil ...	... St. Cornelis.
Pox ...	... St. Roche.
Colic and griping pains ...	... St. Erasmus.
Scabs ...	... St. Rooke.
Sudden death ...	... St. Mark.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS.

Painters ...	... St. Luke.
Shoemakers ...	... St. Crispin (a shoemaker).
Physicians ...	... St. Cosme, St. Luke (a physician).
Schoolmasters ...	... St. Martin.

Mariners ...	... St. Nicholas.
Parish clerks ...	... St. Nicholas.
Swineherd ...	... St. Anthony.
Blacksmiths ...	... St. Loy.
Horsemen ...	... St. George.
Vintners ...	... St. Urban.
Musicians ...	... St. Cecilia.
Shepherds ...	... St. Wendlin.

ANIMALS.

Cattle ...	... St. Wendlin.
Hogs ...	... St. Anthony.
Horses ...	... St. Stephen, St. Loy.
Sheep ...	... St. Wendlin.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Scholars ...	... St. Nicholas, St. George.
Old maids ...	... St. Catharine.
Virgins ...	... St. Nicholas.
Learned men ...	... St. Catharine.
Boys ...	... St. Nicholas (because he freed some Christian chil- dren from a cruel death).
Cripples ...	... St. Giles.

VARIOUS QUALITIES AND POWERS.

Teaches little boys ...	... St. Gregory.
Releases pain from back and shoulders ...	... St. Lawrence (martyred on a gridiron, possibly lain on his back).
Virtue against pox ...	... St. Roche.
Sees none die without the Eucharist ...	... St. Barbara.
Releases prisoners ...	... St. Leonard.
Gives wealth ...	... St. Ann.
Reproach and infamy ...	... St. Susan.
Drives spirits and devils away ...	... St. Romanus.
Rids rats and mice ...	... St. Gertrude.
Defends house from fire ...	... St. Agatha.
Quenches fire ...	... St. Florian.
Drives away the grass- hopper from the corn ...	... St. Magnus.
Preserves the corn ...	... St. Judocus.
Makes wine pleasant ...	... St. Urban.
Frees the land of rats and mice with two cats ...	... St. Huldreich.
Gives peaceful rest at night ...	... St. Christopher.
From prison ...	... St. John.

OFFERINGS TO SAINTS.

St. Vitus ...	... Hens.
St. Huldreich ...	... Carp, pike, and mullet.
St. Martin ...	... Roast goose and wine.
St. Nicholas ...	... Apples and nuts.

**Unpublished Letter from Dr. Lance-
lott Blackburne to Mr. J. Ellis.**—The
following letter from Dr. Lancelott Black-
burne, afterwards Archbishop of York, is
preserved among the Ellis Papers in the
British Museum (*Additional Manuscripts*,

28,886, fol. 279). It may be of interest to mention that the honour which Dr. Blackburne received at the hands of the Chapter of Exeter was the presentation to the living of Alton in Cornwall.

"S^r,—The Honour which the Chapter here have lately done me I can ascribe to nothing but the Regard They had to my Good Lord Bishop, & the Favour & Countenance He has, a long Time, given me. I think That Honour doubl'd upon Me by the part You are pleas'd to take in it; & it will be Yet much more considerable to Me, if it ever furnish me with any opportunity of exercising the Zeal I have for your service, & acquitting myself of any part of the Obligations I have to You.

"We have here, S^r, in this City One who calls himself Estienne Jean d'Albret de Pontel whom my Lord is uneasy to be rid of as suspecting him to be a Missionary. He is certainly an ill Man, we find he has been at Bristol & preach'd there in a French Church (3 Times) using Our Liturgy & Discipline; Here he has join'd himself to a French Congregation following their own ways. At Bristol He pretended sometimes to have been receiv'd to the Ministry at Bale in Switzerland, sometimes to have been ordain'd at London by My Lord of Canterbury, & by this Means got into their Pulpits & Purses: These Things we have upon Oath sufficiently attested from Thence. Here He preaches Occasionally in the Congregation I have mention'd pretending for his doing so that He is a Protestant only; & I cannot learn that he has otherwise misbehav'd himself here. We have had him before the Mayor & tender'd him the Oaths which he has taken, with an eagerness y^t makes me suspect him the more. What Occasions my giving You the trouble of this Account of him is his alledging that he was taken up in London, had before Mr. Secretary Vernon, & Examin'd by You; to whom He gave so good an Account of his Person, the Family he pretends to, his Conversion, Condition and Bus'ness here in England as procur'd his acquittal and Liberty. You will do us a Favour, S^r, if you please to order one of y^r Clerks to give us so much of Your Opinion of the Man, & such an Account of Him as may either set us a little more at Ease concerning his abiding here, or put us on a

farther prosecution as there shall appear to You good reason for Our doing so. I beg leave to trouble you with my very humble service to Doctor Ellys & to be in hopes You will pardon my giving You this trouble, & beleive me most faithfully, S^r,

"Your most oblig'd &

"Most obedient humble servant

"L. BLACKBURNE.

"Exon,

"Febr. ye 3^d, 1700."



Antiquarian News.

DURING the excavations which are in progress at Saragossa for the foundations of the Military Academy two mummies were discovered in good preservation—one of a man, supposed to have been a friar, and the other of a woman.

L'Illustration calls attention to the large number of stone erections, of exactly the same kind as those which we have been accustomed to call Druidic, still in existence in Algeria. The "Commission of Megalithic Monuments" is taking steps to preserve them from destruction.

The Rev. Dr. Cox, who expects to have both of his volumes of the *Derbyshire County Records* ready this summer, has found various evidences of women nominated to the offices of parish constable, churchwarden, and overseer of the poor during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A very handsome fresco of twelfth century style has been discovered in St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral. The chapel was originally dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and the fresco, which is of large size, and beautifully coloured, represents the last-named apostle in the act of shaking the snake by which he was attacked after the shipwreck at Malta from off his hand into the fire.

We learn from the *Peterborough Advertiser* that in digging the holes in Broad Street for the purpose of planting the trees a curious old key was unearthed about 3 feet below the surface, also the iron head of a boat-hook was thrown up. The former has been sent to the Peterborough Museum. The blackness of the soil excavated is said to be accounted for by the fact that an old fen dyke once existed there. An examination of the soil revealed the fact that it was apparently composed of decayed "turf."

An interesting discovery has been made on Mr. Crocker's premises, South Petherton, consisting of thirty-two silver coins, in a good state of preservation, and bearing the dates and inscriptions of King James I. and Charles and Queen Elizabeth.

The workmen engaged in tunnelling the Red Mountain, near Birmingham, Alabama, a few weeks ago discovered a cave, and afterwards a rock-walled room, both of which an engineering expert who examined them thinks are part of the crater of a long extinct volcano.

A most valuable and interesting document of antiquity has been obtained for the Louvre Museum. It is the speech against Athenogenes delivered by Hyperides, the friend of Demosthenes, and the defender of the notorious courtesan Phryne, who was accused of impiety, but was saved by the orator, who pulled off her *peplum* and displayed her charms to the eyes of the astonished judges. The incident has been depicted on canvas by Gérôme. It is said that the pleading of Hyperides has a wonderfully modern tone about it, and—but for the names, dates, and places—might have been delivered in the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand or at the Paris Tribunal of Commerce. The speech is mentioned by Longinus, who also refers to that in defence of Phryne, but it has only recently been found on a papyrus by M. Revillout, an assistant keeper of the Louvre Museum.

The *Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester* and the *Rental of all the Houses in Gloucester* in A.D. 1455, are to be printed under the editorship of Mr. W. H. Stevenson and the Rev. William Bazeley, M.A.

The Museum of Boulak has recently been enriched by five handsome royal statutes, the age of which has been estimated at 5,000 to 7,000 years. Two of them are believed to represent Chephren and Mycerinus, the builders of the second and third of the three great pyramids. These interesting relics of the old dynasty were found in the neighbourhood of the great Temple of Memphis.

The desk upon which Karl Wilhelm wrote down the notes of *Die Wacht am Rhein* was lately auctioned at Crefeld, and brought 379 marks, which, in accordance with a clause in the composer's will, were turned over to the poor of the town.

Mr. Hardy, of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, has been engaged in examining and transcribing Lord Kenyon's manuscripts at Gredington. The collection includes manuscripts referring to Lancashire and the Isle of Man, and the report will probably be of a very interesting character.

At the February meeting of the York and District Field Naturalists' Society Mr. Postill exhibited a collection of coins, among which was a York halfpenny token of the seventeenth century.

At a recent meeting of the Geological Society of Stockholm, Dr. N. O. Holst exhibited the forehead and part of the leg of the skeleton of a bison found in a bog near Vadstena. The discovery was made by a farmer as far back as 1865, but it has only recently been proved that the parts are those of a bison. Only two similar discoveries have been made in Sweden, viz., in the province of Scania. Baron de Geer maintained that recent careful researches disproved the theory held by some that a sound had in prehistoric times separated Scania from the rest of Sweden, and thus prevented the immigration of the bison thither.

One of the vestiges of old Paris, the Pont Neuf, has recently sustained injury. Barely two years ago the old bridge had to be propped to fit it for battling with the currents of the Seine. The present damage was a blow from an immense mass of scaffolding which was hurled against it. This wreckage had been knocked away from the Pont d'Arcole, which has lately been undergoing repairs, by a heavily-laden barge.

The ancient church at Porchester, Hants, which has undergone extensive restoration, has been re-opened by the Bishop of Winchester. The Vicar, the Rev. A. A. Headley, in alluding to the history of the church, said he had been reminded that morning of the occasion when it was re-opened after restoration in the year 1707, for he had in his possession a Bible and a Prayer-book which were used then, and which, despite their age, he had brought into requisition during the service.

At the recent sale of the Earl of Hopetoun's library, removed from Hopetoun House, near Edinburgh a copy of the famous Mazarin or Guttenberg Bible was offered for competition. It is in two volumes folio, and the first edition of the Bible and the earliest book printed with moveable metal types, with richly-illuminated initial letters. It was printed by Guttenberg about 1450, and perhaps should more justly be called "The Guttenberg Bible." It derived the name of "The Mazarin Bible" in consequence of the discovery of a copy by Debruc in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. Sir John Thorold's copy sold for £3,900; and the Earl of Crawford's for £2,650. It is printed in double columns, without title, pagination or signature, with letters large and similar to those used by scribes for MS. church missals and choral books. For firmness of paper, brightness of ink, and exact uniformity

of impression it has never been surpassed. When this book was put in, Mr. Quaritch started the bidding at £1,000. Mr. Ellis offered another £50, and ran Mr. Quaritch up to £2,000, for which price it was knocked down amid applause.

The following is from the *Peterborough Advertiser* of February 9, 1889: The underpinning of the foundations on the south side of the tower of Crowland Abbey has been successfully completed and the reconstruction of the south-west corner of the tower is progressing. During the past week the work of shoring up the north side has been proceeded with. This will be an expensive work because of its magnitude. Already one of the central buttresses has been underpinned. In making the necessary excavation a most remarkable discovery has been made on the west side of the central buttress; just below the plinth there has been found a beam of oak or fir, about twelve inches square, let into the wall of the foundation and bounded into the wall of the tower. Wood of some kind, but apparently a coffin, was found on the east side of the fellow buttress when it was laid bare in the summer. The question is, were these places intended for places of sepulture, or was the timber inserted in the buttress to prevent the pressure from above breaking bond by unequal weight? As the cavity left by the removal of the last found beam would reach one-third through the wall it seems impossible to believe that it was ever intended by removing it to form a place of interment. The naked fact is the wood is decayed and the immense mass of the buttress stands on only a portion of sound foundation. It is to be hoped that sufficient funds will be forthcoming to complete the needful work of securing the stability of the entire building.

The discovery recently made at Milton-next-Sittingbourne, as reported by the Press, requires rectification. A labourer unearthed a skeleton, with which was a glass vessel and a massive Roman gold ring. At some little distance was a spear-head. The interment, therefore, was Saxon. The ring bears evidence of having been much worn. It is set with a cornelian intaglio, engraved with the figure of a winged Cupid driving a *biga*. It has fortunately been secured by Mr. Humphrey Wood of Chatham, and will probably be engraved for the *Archæologia Cantiana*.

We have received a prospectus of "The Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society," a society which has been formed for the study of the music of the Middle Ages. The assistance of well-known students has been secured, and so soon as sufficient support is assured the work of the society will commence.

After a catalogue of English MSS. has been compiled it is intended to reproduce those of importance in *fac-simile*, to publish music which has not before been printed, to arrange for lectures by competent musicians, to correspond with similar societies on the Continent, and in other ways to carry out the objects of the society. The conditions of membership being in no way ecclesiastical, the support of all persons interested in the subject, and of musicians generally, is invited. The society will, it is hoped, be the means of bringing to light a mass of fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth century music now hidden in the public, private, and cathedral libraries, and thereby promoting the scientific study of a period in the history of music of great interest both in itself and in its relation to the modern school. Among the members of the Council we notice the names of some well-known Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. The honorary secretary is Mr. H. B. Briggs, 40, Finsbury Circus, E.C.

Mr. H. C. Ivatts has sent us the following communication: The church of St. Nicholas Condicote, Gloucestershire, was re-opened on January 12, after restoration. This interesting little Norman church has, for some years past, been allowed to get into a terribly dilapidated condition—walls cracking and crumbling, porch falling, pews rotting on the uneven floor, stove useless, churchyard overgrown—the whole wearing a forlorn and most disgraceful aspect. About a year back the living was presented to the Rev. G. Augustus Todd, rector of the adjoining parish, Over Swell, who at once set to work, formed a committee of neighbouring clergy and others, and with the able assistance of F. E. Godman, Esq., of Banksfee, Longborough, who headed the list with a substantial sum—the whole amount has been collected, and the work has been carried out in a properly conservative manner. The church consists of nave and chancel, with a porch on the south side and a bell-cote at the west end. The chancel arch, a fine specimen of dog-tooth supported by pillars, with some beautiful chiselled work on the east side of the piers, and the arch of similar construction but smaller span which, supported by two pairs of pillars with cushion capitals, forms the south doorway, have been cleaned and the defective stonework well restored; the sixteenth-century three-light Perpendicular window has been removed from the east end of the chancel, and placed on the north side of the nave facing the door—sufficient traces of sills, etc., having been discovered in the course of the work for the reconstruction on their original lines of a pair of lancet windows above the communion table—these, with a lancet of later date in the south wall, give sufficient light to the chancel, and it has not been thought necessary to re-open two

other windows, traces of which may be seen on both north and south walls of the chancel, internally as well as externally. The leper's window in the south wall, and the interesting little Early English piscina have, of course, been retained. The fine square-headed window, with its saint's bracket in the south wall of the nave, gives ample light to the pulpit and adjacent pews. The porch has been entirely rebuilt, its roof considerably raised, several interesting fragments of carved stone which have turned up being built into its west wall. A trench has been formed on the outside of the walls, the foundations of which have been strengthened by new masonry, the level of the floor has been lowered some feet so that it is now entered by a descent of three steps, and the interior of the walls denuded of their plaster have been thoroughly renovated. A fragment of what was apparently the original font has been found, but this is not a sufficient guide for its reconstruction; and the more modern one, a massive stone basin on a polyangular stem and steps, and lead-lined, though of little interest, has been removed from the north wall to a position just within the south door. The roof has been retiled and the timbers left bare internally. The stone cross which surmounted the east wall of the nave has been removed and placed upon the already existing base and column over the well in the village; a new cross of larger size and more suitable design being substituted, the modern bell-cote has been similarly replaced by one constructed more in accordance with the style of the building, and also surmounted by a cross. The registers of this parish are of no interest, the earlier ones having disappeared within the last six or seven years; a handsome pair of bier stools, which formed part of the church furniture until quite a recent date, are also now nowhere to be found.

The following news has been communicated by a lady who has been making a sketch of Shelley's villa near Spezia: "You never saw such a mess as they are making of the beautiful ilex wood above Shelley's house—cutting down all the trees and making tidy, prim walks with urns stuck at the corners, and all sorts of garden shrubs, quite out of character with the place, planted over it. Shelley's house is itself to be tidied up and plastered before long, I believe, so I was just in time, and have copied every old weather stain on it with great care."

A valuable donation has been made to the National Library of Naples. The Count Edward Lucchesi Palli, of the family of the Princes of Campofranco, has given to the State, and specially to the National Library, the whole of his rich and select collection of books, splendidly bound, and his musical "archivio." The Count has also left a legacy of 2,600 lire annually

for the payment of a special librarian, and for the purchase of other books. The Government has granted him two rooms in the National Library, which are to be decorated by the best artists at the expense of the Count.

It is proposed to restore the parish church of Nymet Rowland, Devon, and nearly the whole of the money required for the work has been subscribed.

We have received a copy of a circular entitled *An Appeal to the Descendants of Lord Darcy of the North, and Sir Nicholas Carew*, issued by the vicar of the City Church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, who is anxious to restore two monuments in that church (1) of Thomas Darcy—Lord Darcy—who was beheaded on Tower Hill, June 20, 1538, and (2) of Sir Nicholas Carew, Knight, who met with a similar fate on January 9, in the same year. Both were buried at St. Botolph. We extract the following: "In the City Church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, there has been for nearly three centuries and a half a monument, which for exquisite workmanship it would be difficult to excel. Time and still ruder hands have left their mark upon it, and it has been allowed to get into a sorry state of decay. Aldgate Church is now being beautified and restored, and it became necessary, lest further harm should come to it, to remove the monument from the unworthy position to which it had been consigned in one of the porches of the church. It is now safely stowed away with Messrs. Daymond and Son, sculptors, Edward Street, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W., at whose works it may be seen." In another of the church porches was a slab, which, until it was examined lately, was regarded as painted stone. It turns out to be very beautiful alabaster, with an inscription to another member of the Darcy family.

We are glad to be able to announce the publication of that monumental work, Stevenson's *Dictionary of Roman Coins*. The process of incubation has lasted forty years. The work was commenced by the late William Stevenson, revised by Mr. Roach Smith, and completed by Mr. Frederic W. Madden, and it is illustrated by upwards of 700 wood engravings, chiefly executed by the late F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. The publishers are Messrs. George Bell and Sons, of York Street, Covent Garden.

We have received a copy of the report of the Regality Club, from which we learn that the first volume of the publications has been issued, and that the roll of membership, which was fixed at 200, remains full, while there are candidates awaiting admission. The club was founded in 1885, mainly for the purpose of preserving a record of such old buildings as are still

remaining in Glasgow. This is a worthy object, which, until more fully recognised by local archaeological societies, may be commended for imitation elsewhere. Among other papers and illustrations in the first volume of the Regality Club, we notice the following vestiges of old Glasgow: Dowhill's Land, Saltmarket, and old wooden houses, in close, 28, Saltmarket; Blochairn House, the Dreghorn Mansion, the Crawford Mansion; the old bridge, and Old Clairmont House, Woodlands, Enochbank.

Mr. John E. Pritchard has sent us the following: The Bristol High Cross, erected 1851, which was removed from the east corner of College Green to make room for the Jubilee statue of her Majesty, has just been completed. The new statues have been executed by Mr. Harry Hems, of Exeter. In the lower tier of standing figures, are Kings John, Henry III., Edward III., and Edward IV.; and in the upper tier of sitting figures are Kings Henry VI., James I., Charles I., and Queen Elizabeth. The Cross now occupies the centre of College Green, standing on the same site as the old one, the foundations of which were discovered in excavating. The original Cross—1373—which, in the first place, stood in the centre of the city, where the four streets meet, and was afterwards removed to College Green, was pulled down in 1763, and deposited in a corner of the Cathedral, because considered an obstruction to the promenade. It is, however, still to be seen at Stourhead, having been given, in 1766, to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, by Dean Barton.

Mr. Edward J. Payne recently communicated to the *South Bucks Free Press* the following in reference to an interesting discovery at Wycombe Church: The restoration of the outside of the parish church has brought to light a relic which, if I interpret it rightly, should henceforth be an object of peculiar interest. It is a piece of rough walling, built of the native boulder stone from the beds which overlies the chalk at Denner Hill and Walter's Ash, and forming the lower part of the west wall of the north aisle of the nave, below the great west window in that aisle, and close to the tower. The masons' sheds at present hide it from view; but after these are gone it will be conspicuous from one of the most frequented of the town thoroughfares, and my object in writing is to express a hope that those who have the control of the restoration works will leave it just as it is, because there can, I think, be little doubt that it is a remnant of the original church, built at his own expense by Swartling the thane, and consecrated by St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, soon after the Norman Conquest. It will be noticed that it does not occupy the entire breadth of the west aisle wall, but stops short near the buttress. This shows

that the building of which it originally formed part was somewhat narrower than the present one: while its materials, situation, and general appearance indicate it as a genuine fragment of the earlier church. If this is so, it is the oldest bit of building in the town; a hundred years older than the ruined walls of St. John's Hospital, which stand in front of the Grammar School, two hundred years older than the main body of the noble edifice of which it forms part, and four hundred years older than the tall gray tower. I hear that some fragments of very rude carving have been found in the course of the present works. Probably these also belong to Swartling's church, and I hope they will be preserved by being built again into the wall. The monkish compiler, William of Malmesbury, who has preserved in his *Life of St. Wulstan* the story of the building and consecration of the church and of the miraculous cure of Swartling's maid-servant, spells the thane's name incorrectly. So does the transcriber of Domesday Book; but there is nothing wonderful in this, for probably the thane himself could not spell his name at all. From Domesday Book we gather that the thane "Swarting" and his son Herding or Harding had become by purchase landowners not only at Wycombe, but at Bradenham (where they owned the whole parish), Horsendon, Cheddington, and Caldecot. "Swartling" means "the little dark man:" "Herding" means "the little herdsman;" and the fact that both the wealthy founder of the church and his son were only known by a species of nickname indicates that they were what we should call self-made men—in the terms of the well-known Wessex law, churls who had thriven and become worthy of thane-right in virtue of their land purchases. The compilers of Domesday favour this view, for they bring them in close to the end of the list of Buckinghamshire landowners, after all the king's thanes and tenants in alms, and last of all except "Goodwin Beadle." "Harding, son of Swartling of Wycombe," appears in the list of the original money benefactors of St. Alban's Abbey, as a subscriber of twenty shillings—equivalent to £30 of our money. Possibly the Hardings who still live in the district are his descendants. . . . Wycombe lies on the road which Wulstan had to traverse in his journeys between Worcester and London, and the figure of the great Saxon bishop, surrounded by his chaplains and armed vassals, must have been already familiar to the Saxon population of our valley long before he was invited to consecrate the church which Swartling had built. Whereabouts was the thane's house, where the bishop, with Coleman his chaplain, went to dine after consecrating the church, and where he cured the maid with the swollen face? Probably in Castle Street, where the footpath leads over Castle Hill, on the site of the old Parsonage

Farmhouse, the homestead of the hide of good land which stretched from the Amersham Hill to Totteridge, extending south as far as the London Road, and which, with the tithes of the parish, formed the original endowment of the church. I take it that Swartling, as the founder of the church, was the donor of this hide of land; and while the original endowment lasted, the rectors of Wycombe must have been wealthy men. It was soon afterwards appropriated, or, in other words, stolen, together with the endowments of the churches of Bloxham and St. Giles's, Oxford, to endow a nunnery, and all that is left to remind us of the little dark thane and his generosity to what was probably his native town is the fragment of sandstone wall which has just been uncovered.

Apropos Mr. Malet's paper on "The Highlands" (*ante*, p. 49), mention may be made of a paper read before the Geological Society of Glasgow at its meeting in February, by Mr. Henry M. Cadell, of Grange, B.Sc., F.R.S.E., entitled "Recent Advances in the Study of Mountain Building, with special reference to the structure of the North-West Highlands." The author explained that amongst most of the geologists who had of late years been engaged in investigating the structure of the North-West Highlands, and especially amongst those who did not concur in Sir Roderick Murchison's explanation of the phenomena exhibited there, it was a growing belief that great overthrusts had been largely instrumental in producing the remarkable stratigraphical relations of the rock masses of that region. It had, therefore, occurred to him, and to some of his colleagues in the survey, after studying these great problems on the spot, that experiments might be made to throw light on the work by seeking to imitate in the laboratory the processes they believed to have been in operation in the North-West Highlands at an ancient geological period. He had accordingly instituted a series of experiments on these lines, and they were attended with great success, the structures obtained having a marked similarity to those observed in the field. With the aid of numerous diagrams, sections of strata, and geological maps, Mr. Cadell, on this occasion, brought before the meeting the results of a number of the experiments previously made, and to make more clear the *modus operandi* he showed, by using layers of coloured sand and other materials, the very curious results of pressure applied to strata originally horizontal.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Thirsk Naturalists' Society.—February 3.—Mr. Foggitt exhibited rare coins and medallions. One coin was tendered in payment about a month ago, and he was so struck with it that he sent it to the curator of coins at the British Museum for examination, whose reply was that it seemed to be a sixteenth-century imitation of a fine medal of Antinous, struck by a certain Hostilius Marcellus, who was priest of the worship of Antinous at Corinth, in the reign of Hadrian. They had no original in the British Museum, but possessed a sixteenth-century copy very like it, only in silver. The two, however, were not from the same dies. There was an ancient original of the medal, he believed, in the Bibliothèque National at Paris. A Charles II. farthing, which had been found in an old wall in an excellent state of preservation, was also shown, likewise a George II. sixpence, dated 1745, which was interesting on account of the very lengthy inscription which it bore.

Edinburgh Field Naturalists' and Microscopical Society.—January 23.—Dr. William Watson, president, in the chair.—A paper on Kintail and Glenelg, with notices of the "Brochs," was read by Mr. Archibald Craig, jun. The author pointed out as the result of personal investigation, that there were three "brochs" in Glenelg and one in Kintail. He gave a description of these as they stood at the present day, together with an account of their early history. As a definition of "brochs," Mr. Craig said they were the earliest known unhewn stone buildings in Scotland. Their age might be from 1,500 to 1,800 years, and they were Celtic in origin, and not Scandinavian, as was generally supposed.—Mr. J. C. Oliphant also read a paper on Bermuda.

The Essex Field Club.—Meeting at Chelmsford, February 16.—The President having announced that they were convened together substantially for the purpose of examining the Museum and other objects of interest in Chelmsford, Mr. Edmund Durrant offered the members, on behalf of himself and friends, a hearty welcome to Chelmsford, their brand-new borough, and proceeded to give a succinct account of its history, describing also the route they were about to take. After leaving the Museum the party crossed the river Cann by a temporary foot-bridge, and were able to see some of the ravages of last August's flood. They then came to the site of the Friars, a priory for Black or Dominican monks, the last portion of which disappeared in 1663, an old tree which still flourishes in front of the Baptist Chapel being pointed out as the sole surviving relic of the Priory grounds. Passing down Friars' Walk, the spot where had stood the original entrance to the Friars was indicated, and which was not wholly taken down until 1856. One or two ancient timberhouses, with carved work (*temp.* William III.) were inspected in Moulsham Street. Proceeding along Mildmay Road, Mr. F. Chancellor, the Mayor, led the way to the site of the Roman

Villa, which was discovered in September, 1849, and fully described by him in the Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society for 1885. Mr. Herbert Marriage then ciceroned the party, and piloted them to the high ground where Moulsham Hall had once stood, and from the springy nature of the soil, it is quite possible to imagine there had formerly been a sheet of water seven acres in extent. Of the two mansions constructed near here, nothing is in evidence but the kitchen-garden, and a venerable-looking apricot-tree was said to be the last of those originally planted. The return was made *viâ* the stone-bridge, Springfield Road, through the fields to the Shire Hall, and down the High Street. Arriving again at the Museum, attention was directed to the valuable collection of Essex prints lent by Mr. E. Durrant (the hon. secretary), and to the numerous articles stored in the rooms and on the staircase.

Bath Field Club.—March 2.—The Rev. R. A. Cayley on his theory of the original design of Bath Abbey.—In the course of his remarks the rev. gentleman said: The points to be noticed are especially the turrets at the east end, which, by displacing the Norman arches over the windows of the aisles from their proper position, show that they are contemporary erections. These turrets are in a customary position if they flank the chord of the apse, but not if at the angle between nave and transepts—*e.g.*, Gloucester, Peterborough, Durham. The basis of the piers at the east end of the exterior are of two dates, the inner and earlier being the respond carrying the arcade of the apse; the outer and later being that of the arcade of the transitional extension eastwards. There is a palpable bend southwards of the church, east of the transept, which in the earlier building was more marked. This shows that the present choir corresponds with the old one. The transepts I believe to have taken the place of towers in the Norman church, as at Exeter Cathedral, and there could have been no central tower in its present position, or the foundations would not have settled when rebuilt. The old piers beneath the floor of the nave show the aisles to have been very narrow, and the nave probably about two feet wider. The old wall, with its plinth visible underneath the south doorway on the exterior, shows that the old lines were followed in the present structure. The cloister was connected with the church by two short passages. The vestry stands on the lines of the east one, and measured about one hundred and ten feet in the square. The south and the vestry doors communicated with the church. On the west side stood the Palace of the Bishop (afterwards the Priory House); to the south the Refectory, with cellars beneath. On the east would be the Chapter House, and in the south-east corner the Frater House and Dorty above, the latter probably extending over the vestibule to the Chapter House, and possibly communicating direct by a staircase with the church, for convenience for the night offices. There was probably a smaller cloister with the Infirmary church (for the sick and aged monks) near the Friends' Meeting House; but all trace of it has gone, the church having been probably destroyed and replaced by St. James's Church in the late fifteenth century.

Edinburgh Architectural Association.—March

Meeting: Excursion.—The members were conducted by Mr. Thomas Ross, architect, Edinburgh. Lauriston Castle, which was first visited, has been greatly altered in modern times, but copies of pencil-drawings by Claud Nattes were exhibited by Mr. Ross, showing the castle as it existed in 1799, and these show it to have been a quaint old Scottish house with angle turrets and fine dormers, all of which still survive, but hemmed in with modern additions. On one of the dormer windows can be seen the initials of Archibald Napier, of Merchiston, and his wife, Dame Elizabeth Mowbray. They built the castle between the years 1587 and 1608. There is still preserved at the castle a small memorial of the Napiers on a square stone engraved with various diagrams, and containing the inscription, "S. Alex. Napier, sone to S. Arc. of Merchistovne. His celestial theme." Towards the end of the century the estate passed into the hands of William Law, father of the famous John Law, of Lauriston. Judging from the view by Nattes, the Laws evidently made no alteration on the castle. After an inspection of the castle and grounds, the party next proceeded to Cramond to the remarkable tower there—all that now remains of what was once the palace of the Bishops of Dunkeld, who possessed the lands known as "Bishops" Karamond, as early as the twelfth century. It was only at the beginning of the fifteenth century that the then Bishop exchanged the lands of Cammo for the lands of Cramond, and the tower is situated within the church town of Cramond. It is a small structure about twenty-four feet square, and as it at present exists about forty feet high. It bears a considerable resemblance to the towers at Mugdock Castle, and, like them, was probably a defence on the walls of enceint. Vegetation, however, has got such a hold on the stone roof, and roots of trees and saplings are penetrating the arch and walls so as to imperil the safety of this interesting structure. The Association examined the spheri-angular dial in front of Cramond House, which was made for Sir Robert Dickson of Inveresk, in 1732, by Archibald Handasyde, of Musselburgh, or of "Conchi Polensis," as it is classically named on his tombstone in Inveresk. After an inspection of the house and parish church adjoining, the members returned, proceeding through Barnton grounds. The two fine dials adjoining the mansion-house were objects of special attention. They are unlike each other, and quite dissimilar to the one just seen at Cramond. One is an "obelisk" dial about twelve feet high, and dated 1692; the other is of a monumental design, and is of considerable historic interest, as it was undoubtedly erected by the fourth Lord Balmerino, father of the ill-fated lord who was beheaded on Tower Hill; but it is not now in its original position. It stood at the old house of Barnton, which has long since vanished, and which was situated near the village of Davidson's Mains.

Berkshire Archæological and Architectural Society.—February 16.—Paper by Mr. Herbert J. Reid, F.S.A., on "Cumnor Place and its traditions." The lecturer first gave a short history of the Benedictine Abbey of Abingdon, to which, he said, there was every reason to believe that Cumnor from the very earliest times belonged. Cumnor Church was known to have been one out of but three spared by the Danes when they ravaged the district around and

destroyed Abingdon in the reign of Alfred the Great. Many objects of interest to the archaeologist were yet preserved in and about the church, despite recent restorations, among them being two stone coffins, enclosing the remains of former abbots of Abingdon, and the tomb of Anthony Forster. Some of the stone carvings within the church were of great delicacy, being remarkably fine examples of the fourteenth century work, in the shape of two corbels, the capitals of three columns, a window, and the portion of an arch. In the chancel were some poppy heads, carved upon both sides; on one was the sacred monogram I.H.S. upon a shield; upon another the five stigmata, *i.e.*, the pierced feet, the hands, the heart of the Saviour, also a cross. Upon the reverses were also carved the crucifical emblems, viz., the ladder, spear, and reed or staff, to which was affixed a sponge; there were also the hammer, pincers, and three nails. Upon the upper shield were the vestments, the crown of thorns, and bag of money. Mr. Reid then proceeded to speak of a curious epitaph now in Cumnor Church, and described Anthony Forster's monument, he having been buried at Cumnor in November, 1572. Cumnor Place, Forster's residence, was an early fourteenth-century house, used as a residence by the Abbots of Abingdon, and also as a place of removal or sanitarium by the monks, particularly during the plague, or black death, which decimated England in the time of Edward III. In 1538, Cumnor Place was granted for life by the Crown to Thomas Pentecost or Rowland, last Abbot of Abingdon, in commemoration of his having willingly surrendered the Abbey and its possessions to the King. Rowland either died the following year or ceded Cumnor Place to the King, who seemed to have retained possession of it for seven years. The house was subsequently leased to Anthony Forster, and it was when in his occupation that the tragic incident occurred which formed the concluding scene in Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*—the death of Amy Robsart, wife of Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. From the year 1575 Cumnor seemed to have fallen into decay. Possibly the sad end of Lady Dudley might have contributed to this; at all events, rumours were spread among the villagers that her ghost haunted the locality, and a tradition was even yet received by them that her spirit was so unquiet that it required nine persons from Oxford to lay the ghost, which they at last effectually did, in a pond hard by, the water in which (so says the legend) does not freeze, even in the most severe winter. Neglected for nearly a hundred years, a portion of the ruined mansion was then converted into a malthouse, afterwards into labourers' dwellings, and finally demolished in 1810 for the purpose of rebuilding Wytham Church. It was said, and he believed truly, that so great interest was excited in Cumnor Place by Sir Walter Scott's novel, that the Earl of Abingdon was induced to drive some visitors from Wytham to see the ruins, forgetting that some years previously he had given orders for their demolition. The disappointment was felt by everybody, for it was said that all the world hastened to the site of the tragedy so graphically described by Scott, only to find they were too late. The public was not then aware that its sympathies had been aroused by the

vivid imagination and marvellous genius of the novelist, and that while there was just a substratum of fact, the greater portion of this historical novel had no foundation other than the great constructive power of the author. Mr. Reid proceeded to notice what he termed "some of Scott's most glaring historical inaccuracies and anachronisms," speaking at length on *Kenilworth*, and pointing out chronological and other errors of Sir Walter Scott.—Lord Coleridge, who was present at the meeting, joined in the discussion. He said the lecturer would be conferring a great favour upon him and others if he would extend his researches into a more obscure corner of the novel of *Kenilworth*. There was an interesting passage in that novel, in which Tressilian, the ill-fated hero, puts up at a blacksmith's forge. His horse is shod, and in the course of a great deal of conversation he quoted this proverb, "*Quid hoc ad Iphicli boves?*" "What has this all to do with the shoeing of my poor nag?" Being interested in such matters he looked into Erasmus, Wolf, Hoffman, and other authorities to try and discover the origin of that expression. There was an account of Iphiclus and his oxen, but how it became a proverb he had never been able to find out. When he was in the House of Commons he asked learned persons there if they could elucidate the matter for him, and he ventured to ask Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Goschen, but neither of them could give him the information, and he had never been able to find out.—Mr. J. A. Brain said he thought he could throw a little light on one part of Mr. Reid's paper. It was in connection with a lady who formerly lived in Reading—Mrs. Hughes, the grandmother of Mr. Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. Mrs. Hughes was the widow of the Rev. Dr. Hughes, a canon of St. Paul's and Rector of Uffington, where Weyland Smith's cave, and the blowing-stone, and other Berkshire antiquities mentioned in *Kenilworth* were situated. Mrs. Hughes was an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott, and had visited at Abbotsford, and he (the speaker) had been informed on good authority that that lady had supplied Sir Walter with much of the information which was incorporated in the novel of *Kenilworth*. He added that it was generally admitted that Sir Walter Scott never visited Berkshire.

Essex Archaeological Society.—March 2.—Meeting in the Castle, Colchester.—Mr. Henry Laver read a paper on "Red Earth Hills in Essex." He considered it a matter of considerable interest. All round the coast, just about the level of high water—the ordinary high water—up all the creeks in both the Thames and the Colne, and most of the rivers on the East Coast, were an enormous number of red hills, as they were locally called. They were formed of burnt earth, and when they came to dig down into them they found no whole vessel at all, but a quantity of fragments, of the kind which were on the table, formed evidently with some sort of a mould. Some of these vessels were three feet high, and some more, from the proportions of the pieces, and they were scraped into shape with the fingers, as indicated by the plainly-marked traces of fingers on them; and the inside of these pieces was always marked with grass seeds. Some of these heaps of red earth covered

some thirty acres of ground, some four feet deep, although three feet was a common thickness. There was some mystery in connection with them of which they knew nothing. Some had attributed them to the presence of salt works of a former period, but why should they always be at that point just on a level with the tide, and if they were remains of salt works, why should all the alluvium be cleared away before this burnt stuff was put down, as the red hills were always found upon London clay? Some of his friends with whom he had conversed on this subject said they were mediæval salt works, but if that were so, how was it that they had the two or three feet of alluvium on the top of the burnt earth? Besides, there was another proof that they were not mediæval, in the fact that there were Roman burials in this very burnt earth. In the island of Foulness there were a large number of these urn-burials, and, therefore, that showed that they were pre-Roman, and he believed that everyone of them were. If they found any Roman coins, as they sometimes did, they were in almost every case quite on the surface, never very deep. He thought that this Society might try and make an effort to unriddle this mystery. These red hills were peculiar to the south-east coast of England, and they seemed to be limited to the presence of London clay. Wherever the geological formation of London clay, there they found these red hills. He considered that this Society ought to look into the matter, and unriddle what was to him one of the greatest mysteries of the county.—The Chairman said he once explored one of these mounds with his friend, the Rev. Baring Gould, and they found just such pieces of earthenware as Mr. Laver had spoken of, and which lay on the table. With regard to the other piece of pottery which Mr. Laver had mentioned, and which the workmen called shovel-handles, he did not know how far a case which he met with in Shetland met it. He was staying there one summer-time—a workman gave him a longish piece of earthenware, very similar to them, and he was unable to determine what it was, and he showed it to a friend, who explained it in this way: He said it was used as one of the feet or stands for some sort of a vessel of the larger type, which had been used in the Orkney Islands and Shetland, because he found similar pieces of earthenware with some of the rounded material which had evidently belonged to the round part of the vessel, still adhering to this stem. He did not know how far that would meet this case, but it occurred to him that these pieces of earthenware might have formed the feet or stand for the vessels of which the other pieces of earthenware which were on the table formed a part.—Major Bale, referring to what Mr. Laver had said with regard to the pieces of earthenware being marked with grass-seeds, said the natives of the West Coast of Africa, in Ashantee and elsewhere, formed their large pots or pans by means of a core of native grass, over which the clay was moulded by the hands, and up to the present day in some foundries the cores of the castings were made primarily with hay or straw. From that singular evidence he should say that these red hills were the site of some large earthenware manufactories.—The Chairman said whether the explanation of the marks of grass-seeds by Major Bale met the case he could not say, but it seemed to him perfectly possible. He knew that in some instances

roughly-made pottery was moulded over a bundle of grass, and kept so until it was sufficiently dry to burn.—Rev. J. W. Kenworthy suggested whether there might not be similar mounds to these on the other side of the German Ocean, round the Zuyder Zee, or somewhere round the coast of Holland. If there were it would tend to show that there might have been a reciprocal population there, and that the people living around this coast were of Teutonic origin.—Mr. Laver said the subject had been so neglected that practically nothing was known about it. People said that these hills were only heaps of burnt earth, and thought no more about it.—Mr. Laver subsequently read a letter which had been received that morning from a gentleman at Alresford, referring to the “so-called Roman Villa at Alresford.” The letter stated that to the writer’s mind, it was not a Roman villa at all. The Romans were a very civilized and luxurious people, and always planned their houses with the greatest possible care, with a view to warmth and convenience. In this so-called Roman Villa at Alresford the arrangements were such as to preclude the idea of convenience or warmth. He considered rather that the field in which this building stood was once the pleasure-ground of some wealthy noble, and that this building was for the purpose of keeping a collection of animals, and, in fact, a menagerie. He contended the whole plan of this house tended to this view, the roomy dens wisely separated from each other, and provided with separate sleeping-places, being admirably adapted for the purpose. The writer further stated that one of these dens was evidently intended for the polar bear, or some such water-loving animal, a large tank or swimming place being in close proximity. The differences of level which the rooms were placed on in this building were unlike the Roman houses which the writer had had the opportunity of seeing. Mr. Laver added that he did not know before that the Romans were at all acquainted with the polar bear. He was afraid the writer of that letter had missed some grand opportunities when over in Rome, for every Roman villa which they had disinterred in this kingdom, and he might say on the Continent as well, had long corridors and rooms on varying levels.—After a few remarks on Colchester antiquities by the Chairman, the meeting dispersed. The majority of those present proceeded to St. Giles’s Church, accompanied by Mr. Laver and the Rev. C. Pierrepont Edwards.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—March 4.—Professor A. Macalister (president) exhibited and described a collection of skulls and heads of Egyptians of the twenty-sixth dynasty (about 750 B.C.), some of them in a remarkable state of preservation; the features show a strong likeness to some of the wooden faces found in mummy-cases of the period. The objects exhibited are all deposited in the University Museum of Anatomy. Mr. Jenkinson, after a few prefatory remarks upon the origin of the early printers—they seem to have been sometimes goldsmiths, sometimes professional scribes—exhibited and described a manuscript copy of the *Scala* of Johannes Climacus, Abbot of Mount Sinai: the book, as we learn from the colophon, was written in January, 1473, by John de Paderborn de Westfalia at and for the Augustinian House at Marpach (near Lucerne).

It was in this very year that the scribe began his long career as a printer, first at Alost (in Flanders) and afterwards at Louvain.—Professor G. F. Browne exhibited and described (1) a cross-head of stone, found at Fulbourn and sent to the museum by the kindness of the Rev. J. V. Durell, resembling so closely that found in 1810 under the Norman works of Cambridge Castle and now in the Museum of Archaeology, that they must be of the same early date, and probably from the same stone-yard; where they differ, the Fulbourn cross is rather more ornamented: (2) a portion of the head of a cross, and the arm of another cross, found at Catterick in Yorkshire, and presented to the museum by the Vice-Chancellor, the Rev. Dr. Searle, Master of Pembroke; the cross-head is unusual in having birds in the arms, and has also panels of ornamentation on the ends of the arms: (3) a small headstone from Aycliffe near Darlington, deposited by the Rev. C. J. A. Eade, of Trinity College; this stone is of very unusual character, probably the only known example, and has on each side two persons arm-in-arm: (4) a cast of a shaft at Croft, near Richmond in Yorkshire, covered with unusually rich work, presented to the museum by Mr. Browne.—Mr. Wace exhibited a holograph will dated November, 1781, of General Benedict Arnold, whose name is well known in the history of the revolutionary war in America in connection with the execution of Major André on December 2, 1780.—Mr. Magnússon made the following remarks on a model of the stone of *Jellinge* in Denmark. It was a characteristic of Scandinavian runic monuments that, generally speaking, they contributed practically nothing to our knowledge of the history of the North. The *Jellinge* group, especially the so-called smaller and larger *Jellinge* stones formed a signal exception in this respect. These monuments not only commemorated the death of a famous king and queen of Denmark, whose historical existence was perfectly well ascertained, though a halo of legend had settled round certain events of their lives, but referred also to the important events in the reign of their son, his conquest of Norway and the conversion of his people to Christianity. The larger *Jellinge* stone stood in a relation to the smaller one, to which it might be of interest to allude. The inscription on the smaller stone ran to this effect, that “King Gorm made this how (*sepulchral mound*) after Thyra his wife, the Daneboon.” This stone, before its removal to its present site, had stood on one of the so-called kings’ hows at *Jellinge*, the southernmost one. This how had been thoroughly explored in 1861 under experienced archaeologists, and the exploration left no doubt that it had never served as a repository of any human remains. Queen Thyra’s body, therefore, had never rested in the place to which the inscription on the stone had always been supposed to refer. There was another difficulty attaching to the inscription. According to the historical tradition, King Gorm died before his wife. That tradition, however, as much else concerning his life, might be a legend, seeing that apparently he was only once married, that he wedded Thyra as a young man, and was reputed to have ruled over Denmark for the incredibly long period of some ninety-five years. If Thyra’s memorial stone had stood on Thyra’s mound from the beginning, the supposition of some Danish antiquarians

that the stone might have been raised in her lifetime, seeing that the mound itself was a cenotaph, seemed probable. But, whatever the true story of Thyra’s memorial stone might be, the fact remained indisputable that King Harald Bluetooth had built the northern mound of *Jellinge*, and caused the stone monument now under consideration to be placed on it, in memory of his parents. The mound had been explored in 1821, and a spacious grave chamber had been found there; but, as was almost always the case with conspicuous grave-mounds, it had been broken into before, no one knew when or how, and only few things of interest (a small cup and cross of silver) were found in it. The stone was about eight feet high, and in form as the model represented it. On one side was a human figure, probably meant for an image of Christ, on the other a crested leonine griffin entwined in the coils of a serpent. Speaking without consulting his notes, Mr. Magnússon omitted to mention that he regards as probable, that this side of the stone may represent the arms of the commemorated monarch. The inscription was perfectly plain. The only difficulty about it was a lacuna before the last word “kristna.” The three letters before the lacuna were “dan.” Professor Wimmer had filled it up with “dan[*a* móg let]”; “dan[*a* her let]” was another possible conjecture, giving the same sense. But if the model was correct there seemed hardly space enough with dividing stops for seven letters, four at the utmost: dan[*:* lit:] or dan[*i*: fik:]? The lacuna thus filled up, the inscription ran: “King Harald bade be done this mound after Gorm his father and after Thyra his mother, that Harald who for himself won Denmark all and Norway and had the Dane-host christianized.” Gorm, in youth called the Foolish, in manhood the Mighty, in old age and to this day, the “Ancient,” says the story, wooed for himself Thyra, daughter of a Holstein Earl, Klak-Harald (Saxo, of Ethelread, an English king). She would consent “to walk with him” if, sleeping the first three nights of winter in a house built where no house had ever stood, he should have dreams to record to her; had he no dreams, he need not come again on wooing errands. Gorm did as he was bid, and he had his three dreams, which are Pharaoh’s dreams repeated in folklore fashion. Thyra, at the bride, unravelled the dreams Joseph-fashion, and took precautions against the threatened famine in her husband’s dominions. In return she received, even in her lifetime, the surname of “Daneboon” from her grateful people. They had two sons, Knut, the “Dane-Darling,” and Harald Bluetooth, whose ambition and cruelty eventually led him to the murder of his brother. King Gorm had vowed that anyone whoever should tell him of Knut’s death, should lose nothing less than his life for the news. Harald, not daring to tell the father the story, got his mother to undertake the task. So one night, when the hall was empty of the daily revellers, she had it all covered with black hangings. Taking his seat the next day, the King said to his Queen: “Dead thou tellest me Knut now.” “So you say,” was the guarded answer, and Gorm fell back in his seat and was dead. During his long reign Gorm seems, like his great contemporary Harald Fairhair of Norway, to have been chiefly engaged in breaking down the system of small

sovereignties and consolidating the sole sovereignty system in Denmark. Where the father left off, the son continued and accomplished the consolidation of the realm under one head. His conquest of Norway was accomplished by the aid of the wily fugitive Earl of Hlaðir, Hakon Sigurdsson, by whose instrumentality King Harald Greyfell of Norway was betrayed and slain, and his mother the Queen Regent Gunnhild afterwards, whereupon, aided by Harald Gormsson, Earl Hakon obtained possession of Norway, and ruled it pretty much like an independent sovereign to his death, 895, even without paying tribute to his suzerain. The conversion of Denmark to Christianity was the glory of Harald Gormsson's reign, though it was accomplished at the cost of much bloodshed under the compulsion of the victorious arms of the Emperor Otto II., and not till within the last ten years of Harald's life. These were, in the briefest possible outline, the traditional and historical events that stood in immediate connection with the splendid royal monument of *Jellinge*, the earliest Christian monument of Scandinavia.—Professor G. F. Browne said he had long used this stone as an argument against the Danish origin of the sculpture on Anglian crosses. One monument known to be Danish had been found near St. Paul's in London, and it closely resembled the work on this stone, so that Danes in England put up a Danish monument; but no other stone in England was of this character. Mr. Browne remarked on the fact that one-side of the stone has a Crucifixion without a cross, the figure with arms extended standing among interlacing bands, and mentioned an example in England at Chester-le-Street. He called attention to the modification of the first *u* in the Queen's name, *Tiuri*, and mentioned that the modern representative of the name, *Thyra*, is still pronounced as if *y* were *ii*.

British Archaeological Association.—February 6.—Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., in the chair. It was announced that the Congress would be held in the autumn of the present year in Lincolnshire. It was proposed to make visits to Grantham, Barton-on-Humber, Newark, Lincoln Cathedral, and to many other places of interest in the county.—Dr. A. Douglas exhibited two original drawings of part of the choir of Dunfermline Abbey, pulled down at the beginning of the present century. The drawings appear to be the only evidences extant.—Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited and described various plans of the portion of the ancient Roman walls of Antoninus, near Falkirk, in danger of demolition for railway works. The banks and ditch are in almost perfect preservation, and it is greatly to be hoped that the threatened removal may be averted.—Miss Shortreed exhibited a fine terra cotta lamp, dug up at Rome, having Christian emblems.—Mr. Wood produced a fine collection of English gold coins of Charles II., and later kings.—Mr. Langdon described some Roman tiles found below an ancient canoe, the discovery of which, at Botley, Hants, was reported at a recent meeting.—Mr. J. T. Irvine contributed a drawing of another Saxon slab, with scroll-work patterns, found at Peterborough Cathedral. He also described a curious decorative pattern, in colours, found on the wall of an old house recently demolished in Cumbergate.—A paper was then read by Major Joseph on the "Church and Parish

of St. Antholin, Watling Street." The paper was illustrated by many old views of the church and its fine steeple, by Sir C. Wren, demolished in 1873, together with the parish books, and the original subscription list for the erection of the building.

February 20.—Mr. C. H. Compton in the chair.—The progress of the arrangements were detailed for holding this year's Congress at Lincoln.—Mr. Earle Way exhibited some articles of pottery, of Roman date, found at Kent Street, Southwark.—Mr. Winston reported the discovery of a large series of articles of pottery in making excavations recently on the premises of Messrs. Harrison, St. Martin's Lane. Several specimens were exhibited, the articles being mostly of delft ware, and dating from the time of Queen Elizabeth. A discussion ensued as to whether some of the articles produced were not of English manufacture.—Mr. Prigg described some of his recent discoveries at Elveden, near Thetford. Excavations on the site of an ancient burial-place revealed three large urns of brown ware, which had been deposited with their necks downwards, and covered over by a circular *situla*, some of the metal mountings of which remained. The urns have the appearance of having been intended for burial purposes, but although burnt bones were met with outside the circle of the *situla*, none were found with them. Mr. Prigg referred to the local controversy that has arisen relative to the age of the deposit, it being contended that, because some ornamentation of Celtic style occurs on the mountings, the date must be pre-Roman. The meeting was unanimous, however, that the urns—two of which were exhibited—were of undoubted Roman date. A large hand-bell, found at Meddenhall, probably from the site of Clorestal, of early Christian form, was also exhibited by Mr. Prigg.—A paper was then read by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., on the "Ancient Churches of Cheshire." The dedications were passed in review, and it was shown that, in a country where many traces of the ancient Welsh saints might have been expected, they hardly occur at all. There are, however, many dedications to early Saxon saints, and few or none to those of Danish origin, although the Danes settled largely in the district. The architectural peculiarities, particularly the existence of many timber-built churches, were dwelt upon at length.

Bath Literary and Philosophical Association.—December 14.—Paper by Mr. H. D. Skrine on the Belgic Camp on Hampton Down. There were few residents in Bath, he said, who could walk any distance from the city, who had not at some time or other climbed the breezy down of Hampton, which overlooks on two sides the valley of the Avon, and enjoyed the prospect from that airy summit. But few of these, perhaps, had realized that it was once the site of an important fortified settlement of the ancient inhabitants of Britain some two thousand years ago. They may have walked over the broad table-land without noticing a number of longitudinal mounds or ridges which have parcelled out its surface into parallelograms of various sizes, and certainly without knowing that these mounds mark the foundations of walls and fences that once divided the habitations and fields of the former inhabitants. Antiquaries had told us that these mounds, and the agger and ditch which surround the camp, were the work of

the Belgæ, the conquerors of South Britain some two hundred years before the invasion of the Romans, and that it was a frontier fortress on the line of their famous boundary called the Wansdyke. With regard to the position and character of the camp: It is very strong by nature, for it crowns a steep and wooded hill rising up abruptly some 600 feet from the valley of the Avon, and over 700 feet above the sea. It overlooks a considerable expanse of country on the south, including Salisbury Plain and the Wiltshire and Dorsetshire downs; on the west the Severn sea and the Welsh mountains; and on the north the Cotswold range of Gloucestershire. It was, then, of great strategic importance to its possessors, was strongly fortified by a bank and ditch on three sides, surmounted no doubt by a high wall, and on the east probably scarped where not guarded by a precipice of rock. On this side, however, the hand of the quarryman has destroyed the line; but from the opposite side of the river it still retains what we suppose to have been its pristine character of a wall of rock. The old British fosse road leading from Seaton to Lincoln can still be traced through the enclosure. The interior area of the camp is about 74 acres at present, but was possibly at least 80 before the quarries were made on the east front. This space is divided into a number of parcels of land, varying in size from one to seven or eight acres, by longitudinal ridges or banks, which it is believed are the remains of the walls which once served to separate the hut-dwellings of the inhabitants, the gardens, yards, and homesteads of the cattle, and possibly fields of arable land. The number and size of these enclosures show that it must have been a permanent settlement and town, and not a mere military post or place of refuge for the neighbouring villages in time of war. The cattle would be stabled or yarded at night by their owners to protect them from wild beasts or robbers, and would be led or driven out to pasture by day in the woods or on the adjacent downs, under the charge of the herdsmen. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his *Ancient Wiltshire*, said with regard to the settlements of the ancient Britons that high ground and especially chalky hills were selected, as being less encumbered with wood and better adapted to the pastures of herds and flocks. Like the nomads of old and the modern Tartars, the Britons resided on the hills, sheltered in huts from the inclemency of the weather, and subsisting on the produce of their cattle and the venison which the woods supplied in abundance. In later times, and when civilized by the Romans, they began to clear the valleys of wood, to seek more sheltered situations there and in the vicinity of rivers. Some of their enclosures had the divisions very marked, and were so perfect in their plan that one might trace the outhouses, the streets, the places of refuge, and also the great cavities in the earth originally due to the reception of water. With regard to their fortresses, said Sir Richard, so many had been enlarged and altered by succeeding nations that it would be a difficult task to fix upon any that might be termed truly British; and, added Mr. Skrine, of the truth that the successive conquerors of Britain did utilize the strong places they found on the hills Hampton camp is a proof. Strabo said that "inside these

fortified places they would build their huts and collect their cattle, but not to remain there long." Hampton camp, however, was on the frontier, and connected with the Wansdyke, which was guarded by a chain of forts at short distances from each other. It must therefore have been permanently occupied by a garrison, and it was natural to suppose that around it would be found traces of habitations and villages. Such a settlement they had, thought Mr. Shrine, discovered in a field of his on the south side of, and therefore protected by, the camp. This field is called Bushy Norwood, and is still covered with trees and brushwood, part of the primeval forest that once encircled the down. Riding one day over this field, he had observed some banks similar to those he had seen on the down, and in one place he saw what looked like a foundation of a wall cropping up above the green sward. He set some men digging, and very soon found his conjecture was right. Following this up, they had exposed the foundations of an irregular building of an oval shape, the wall being 3 feet high and 6 to 8 feet in thickness, and enclosing an area of 89 feet by 60. They were now trenching it over, and had found numerous fragments of pottery, some stone implements, fragments of querns, flakes of flint, teeth and bones of domestic animals, and a quantity of burnt stones. Closely adjoining this building are considerable banks, also inclosing areas of various sizes, some of these probably being arable fields, but one close to the building on the east appears to have been fortified. The whole of these enclosures are connected with the camp by a ridge running up to what was the original ditch of the camp on the south side. The enclosure now under examination resembles both in shape and dimensions an undoubted ancient British tribal dwelling Mr. Skrine saw in Cornwall last winter at a place called Chy-oster, near Penzance. This building, explained Mr. Skrine, consisted of an uncemented wall five to ten feet high, within which, on two sides, was a concentric wall, and the space between the two walls was divided with partitions forming four distinct habitations. The central space seemed common, and was probably used for herding cattle in time of need. The connection of Hampton camp with the Wansdyke was important, and it almost seemed as if this defensive line of earthwork and forts may have suggested to the Romans the idea of fortifying their territories between the Rhine and the Danube against the Germans and the walls in the North of England to curb the Scots. Dr. Guest, indeed, thought that the Wansdyke was a mere boundary fence, and that it could not be defended in time of war; but it must be borne in mind that the hedge which most probably surmounted the bank would be a very valid obstruction, and one which was certainly so used by the Romans in the famous dyke to which he had referred from the Rhine to the Danube, a distance of 300 miles, to repress the incursions of the German tribes. This, still clearly traceable from Coblenz to Rathsbien, was like the Wansdyke, guarded at intervals of a few miles by forts garrisoned by Roman soldiers. When first discovered, little more was to be seen than raised mounds, such as we see on Hampton Down. The hedges had grown into trees and thickets, forming a thick barrier in many places; and the idea

seemed to be that if an enemy came through in one place he would have a difficulty in finding it again, and would be cut off by the garrisons of the forts before he could do so. Mr. Skrine devoted the remainder of his paper to ancient British hut-dwellings found in Wales, and to discussing the question of the identity of the Belgæ; concluding by expressing the opinion that the Hampton Down camp deserves to be included in the list of ancient historic monuments protected by Act of Parliament.



Reviews.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Part II. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886.

A copy of this interesting and important volume has only recently reached us. The prevailing characteristic of the Smithsonian reports is comprehensiveness: past and present, the distant and the near, are brought together, and the combined light is thrown upon the object—humanity. There is something strange in the contemplation if we remove the point of view another step, and behold Man thus studying and classifying himself in the universe. Those who realize the immense strides that have been made in anthropology—for that is the word that best describes and covers what may be termed the new philosophy—may look with apprehension for the effects of so much self-knowledge upon human character. Will not spontaneity decrease? will not originality and the power of initiation be checked? It is from this cause, perhaps, that will spring the further development of man which is anticipated from his enlarged command over nature. But those elements of history which have yielded an impassioned interest appear to go down before the calm cold gaze of science. For instance, in the "Report on the Department of Ethnology in the U. S. National Museum," in the volume under notice, the curator states the basis of his arrangement of the objects in the collection in the following pregnant words: "Considering the whole human race in space and time as a single group, and all of the arts and industries of man in the light of genera and species, the arrangement of the material will be such as to show the natural history of the objects. All the lines of investigation pursued by naturalists in their respective fields may here be followed."

The classified list of accessions illustrates a considerable enrichment of the collection. But it is not clear on what principle the ethnological collection is differentiated from the department of antiquities. We

may assume that the objects assigned to the various races and tribes are held to illustrate ethnology; but in the report on antiquities the accessions are arranged geographically, and seeing that the relics are of the indigenous races, it would appear to amount to the same thing. Surely these remains might well be in one collection, called either archaeological or ethnological; and let the department of antiquities relate to the race now ruling in America, both before and after the settlement. Americans should not forget that the perspective of their history is constantly increasing; a museum of national antiquities would be of great interest.

We must reserve our notice of the most important part of the volume—"Part V.: The George Catlin Indian Gallery"—till next month.



Correspondence.

A DEVOTIONAL MS. ON VELLUM.

Mrs. Aldham, the Vicarage, Stoke Prior, Bromsgrove, writes: There has been in the possession of our family for many years an old vellum roll, measuring twenty-four feet in length, nineteen inches in breadth, and consisting of eleven skins joined together, neatly written on in parallel columns, divided by red lines, in handwriting much resembling that of our earliest parish registers of 1539. It is entitled, *A Harmonie of y^e Bible, with a Diligent Register of the Times*. The version of the Bible to which the texts refer is not that of 1611, nor of Barker's, 1608. "Miriam" is written "Marie," with the remark "as the Virgin Marie saved Jesus y^e Redeemer, so Marie saved Moses y^e deliverer." Curiously, the first and last columns contain an allusion to our Lord as the "Carpenter": "God made the world by His Sonne, who carveth all things by His mighty Power" (Heb. i. 3); "Therefore Jesus in the daies of His flesh chose the trade of a Carpenter;" "Jesus is a Carpenter with Joseph, yet everie house was made by Him" (Heb. iv.). The Book of Revelation is always referred to as "A; oc." The drawings of Daniel's Visions and of the Roman Monarchy show much talent and imagination.

NOTE TO READERS, CONTRIBUTORS, ETC.

ERRATUM.—Page 133, line 12, for "boy," read "hag."

ADDRESSES WANTED FOR RETURN OF MSS.—E. S. Dodgson, O. S. T. Drake, A. Leigh Hunt.



The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON. E.C.

FOR SALE.

Walton (Izaak), The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14B, care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment; price £5 5s.—1B, care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzarah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. The Isiac Tablet Mensa, Isiac Tabula Bombard of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), £1 1s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

Berjeau's Bookworm, a number of old parts for sale or exchange.—W. E. M., care of Manager.

Dumas' Monte Cristo; édition de luxe; 5 vols.; £2 8s.—2C, care of Manager.

Blades' Enemies of Books; large-paper edition; £2 2s.—3C, care of Manager.

Sexagyma, Esoteric Physiology; a digest of the works of John Davenport, privately printed for subscribers; £3 3s.—5C, care of Manager.

Sooner or Later; in original parts; £1 10s.—6C, care of Manager.

Antiquary, complete to date, vols. i.—xiii. in office binding, xiv.—xviii. in parts, perfectly clean; Chronicles of Old London, half calf (Riley); Liber Albus (Riley); Old and New London, complete, half calf; Greater London, half calf; Magazine of Art (Cassell's), 1881 to date, perfectly clean, first 5 vols. in office cases.—Offers by letter to L, 32c, Eden Grove, Holloway, N.

Caldecott, Toy Books, £5; Graphic Pictures, £2 15s., éditions de luxe, new; Early Writings Thackeray, large paper, £2 5s.; Blades' Enemies of Books, large paper, £1 15s.; Bankside Shakespeare, 3 vols. ready, rest as published. Offers.—33B, care of Manager.

Novum Testamentum Græce, Sedanii, 1628, perfect, very rare, modern binding, £4 10s. Sir J. Thorold's copy was sold by auction for £9.—32B, care of Manager.

The Dead Lemon, by Lang and Sylvester, large paper (only 50 copies), £1 10s.; Obiter Dicta, 1st series, 1st edition, 15s.—M., care of Manager.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Hardy's New Testament; The White Cat, illustrated by E. V. B.; Visitation of Pembrokeshire; Hamilton's The Lamp and the Lantern; Gardiner's England, 8vo., vols. 1 and 2; Pleasures of a Book-worm, Roxburgh edition; Ball's State of Man; Lupot on Violin, English edition; Manual of Siege and Garrison Artillery, vol. 7; Notes on Ammunition, 5th edition; Finney's Gospel Themes; Finney's Systematic Theology; Fergusson's Antiquities; Early History of the County of Bedford; Kirk's Light out of Darkness; Bell Scott's The Poet's Harvest-Home; The Laird O'Coul's Ghost; Shakespeare, vol. 7 (1818); Whittingham, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. 50; Thomas à Kempis' Works, 2 vols., 32mo., Jones; Thomas à Kempis' Works, Vandergucht.—Retail Department, Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Berjeau's Bookworm, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; new series, 1869, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; new series, 1870, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12; Printers' Marks, Nos. 5, 6.—Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

Casts from Ancient Seals, buy or exchange.—Tunley, Power's Court Road, Landport.





The Antiquary.



MAY, 1889.

The Monumental Chapel (Westminster Abbey) Bill : 1889.

BY W. E. MILLIKEN.

There the warlike and the peaceful, the fortunate and the miserable, the beloved and the despised princes mingle their dust, and pay down their symbol of mortality, and tell all the world that, when we die, our ashes shall be equal to kings', and our accounts easier, and our pains or our crowns shall be less.

JEREMY TAYLOR : *Rules of Holy Dying.*



FROM an article lately contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* by the Right Honourable G. J. Shaw-Lefevre, M.P., we gather that he may be more or less identified with a project which, excepting in the architectural press, has received by no means as much of public attention as it deserves. A Bill has been drafted, for introduction into the Lower House, to make an addition to West Minster in shape of a National Monumental Chapel, or Campo Santo, for the interment and suitable commemoration of those worthies whom the country shall thus delight to honour. Briefly stated, the scope of the Bill is as follows : To take a scheduled site lying within the parishes of St. Margaret and the close of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster ; to set up a board of unpaid commissioners with perpetual succession and a common seal ; the vesting by such board in the Dean and Chapter of the chapel, upon its completion, as part and parcel of the Abbey ; and to provide supplies for the erection thereof, together with its maintenance and repair, from out of certain public moneys—including the Treasury funds, on a vote by Parliament ; an appropriation out of the surplus (if, indeed, there be any) from the Coal and Wine Dues, under the Continuance Act, 31 Vict., c. 17, to an extent not exceeding one-half of

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the total cost of both chapel and site ; together with subscriptions by the Corporation and County Council of London, and by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from proceeds of any property in them vested and formerly belonging to the Dean and Chapter. The proposed board of commissioners are the Dean of Westminster (Dr. Bradley), Archdeacon Farrar (Rector of St. Margaret), the Duke of Westminster (High Steward), Lord Wantage, Right Hon. G. Cubitt, Messrs. Shaw-Lefevre, Bertram Woodhouse Currie, Henry Hucks Gibbs, with "such other persons as the Government may appoint."*

The accompanying sketch-plan, drawn to scale, shows the limit of ground, as indicated by a broken and dotted line, which it is contemplated to acquire for purposes of this Bill. In order that the plan may be perfectly clear the several houses which occupy the greater part of the ground are not separately set out. These houses are : Nos. 1-3, Poets' Corner, and Nos. 1-5, Old Palace Yard, being property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ; and four houses around St. Katharine's Chapel, belonging to the Dean and Chapter, and at present occupied by Mr. J. C. Thynne (deputy High Steward) and the reverend Messrs. J. H. Cheadle, H. A. Cotton and George Prothero (sub-Dean). Southwards of the site stand the King's Jewel House, or Tower, and a wall of College, *olim* Infirmary, Garden, that Garden being separated from Abbot Benson's garden (Black Dog Alley) by Great College Street, formerly Dead Wall, demolished in 1776 (Abbot Littleington's work). Westwards lie the Chapter House and Little Cloister, which by some mistake are set forth in the deposited schedule as "Dean Street." The four named houses are in themselves by no means devoid of certain features of antiquarian value. Yet it is in connection with the Chapel and Jewel House that the old-world interest of the site under review is mainly concerned.

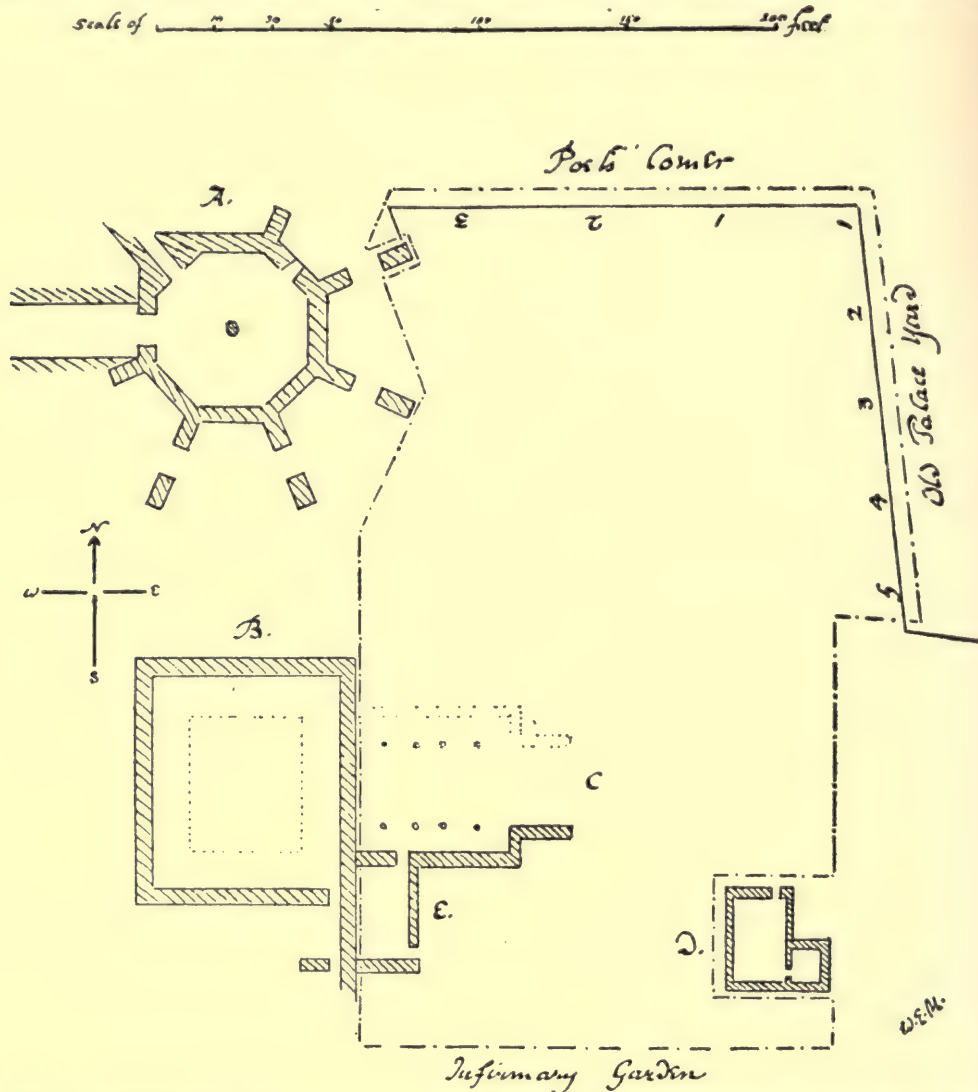
What the Cardinal and Lord Chancellor Morton was to Lambeth House in a later age, so to our great Western Minster was Nicholas Littleington. Holding office from 1362 to 1386, when, with the munificent devise of his predecessor Simon Langham,

* Since the above was in type, the Bill has been modified. *Vide* "Antiquarian News" in present issue.

O

Lord Chancellor, Archbishop, and Cardinal also, the reconstruction of the Norman nave, westwards of Edward I.'s work, was in progress, he built the Abbot's Place, the now

Cloisters, this last being used by the Master of the Novices, from whom Westminster School claims origin. Nor is this all that we owe to Abbot Littlington. He erected the



A, Chapter House ; B, Little Cloister ; C, St. Katharine's Chapel ; D, Jewel House ; E, Infirmary Hall.
The numerals are the postal numbers of the houses.

Deanery, over against Cheyney Gate Manor by the Sanctuary; the big Dining, since College, Hall; the Jerusalem Chamber, together with the southern and western

Blackstole Tower, by the Elms, near to the ancient Misericorde and Calbege; St. Katharine's Chapel bell-tower; the infirmary's, sacrist's, and cellarer's houses. To

him also has been ascribed the Jewel House, or Tower, just outside the south-eastern corner of the Infirmary Garden. Its walls and their parapets are well preserved, as also the groined roof of its basement story. The doorways within retain the shouldered arch which is so common a feature in domestic architecture during the thirteenth and two succeeding centuries. It is said that in 1337—the last year of his life—King Edward III. acquired this tower, or, perhaps, rather its site, from the Benedictine monks, in exchange for a license to purchase in mortmain. Thus in the *Niger Quaternus*, folio 79: “Licentia regia data abbati Westm. perquirende terras et tenementa ad valorem £40 pro parte Turris Vocatæ le Jewel House. . . .” In Edward VI.’s reign the tower served as a royal wardrobe. This isolated structure, which, *teste* Dean Stanley, may once have been used as a monastic prison, came to be converted into a depository of Acts of Parliament, as passed in the neighbouring Chapter House or in St. Stephen’s Chapel. These in 1864 were carried across to the new Victoria Tower. “But the gray fortress still remains,” writes the late Dean in his *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, edit. 1882, “and with the Treasury and the Chapter House forms the triple link of the English State and Church with the venerable past.” It has of recent years been attached to the Board of Trade for the purposes of the Standards of Weights and Measures Department. A pathway leading hence to the former branch of the Tyburn that ran down, and still runs beneath, Great College Street, passed by the Hermitage, or anchorite’s cell, that former scene of the sacrilege for which William Ushbourne, Keeper of the King’s Palace, rendered all due penalty whilst eating of a pike he reared in a fish-pond he had made by the stream in that quarter. The garden has lately been encroached upon by the building therein of two caputular houses, after a most incongruous design.

St. Katharine’s constituted the chapel for the sick monks’ infirmary, occupying a position somewhat like to the infirmaries at Ely, Canterbury, and Peterborough. In the course of investigations on this site, the late Sir George Gilbert Scott identified its hall—

which is yet complete, though incorporated into one of the canon’s residences—with that of the infirmarer’s house. The ancient passage is that of the slype which now opens out of the Infirmary, or Little, Cloister, into the garden. Around this cloister ranged the houses—their doorways and some later interior work still extant—of the seven sympectæ (*συμπαίσται*), or playfellows, the aged monks who enjoyed certain relaxations from discipline and toil. Of good late or transition Norman work, the chapel dates from *circa* 1172. The plan included nave and aisles, five bays in length, and chancel. It was mostly destroyed in 1571, but its ruins can still be traced. I may here observe that Smith, in his *Old Topography of London*, in an interesting passage upon the orientation of the earlier London churches, avers that this chapel, St. Margaret’s Church, and the Minster vary several points of the compass *inter se*. The name of Infirmary tells its own tale. The establishment was coeval with the original foundation of Eadward, Confessor and King. The chapel itself played no small part in the convent’s monastic history. Herein were held such ecclesiastical solemnities as customarily took place within the precincts. It was often used for consecrations, amongst the earliest being those of St. Hugh of Lincoln, and William of Worcester in 1186, and Godfrey of Winchester in 1194; with, possibly, those of Bernard of St. David’s and David of Bangor, in 1115 and 1120. Within its walls, too, have assembled numerous provincial councils—including that which met in 1076 under Lanfranc for the deposition (frustrated by a miracle at Eadward’s shrine) of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, because, forsooth, he knew not the Northmen’s Frankish tongue; Anselm’s mixed council of lords, both spiritual and temporal (1102), for fulmination of canons against simony, marriage of priests, laymen’s long-locks, and certain more serious offences; together with various subsequent denunciatory gatherings held in the early years of the twelfth century. It has been the scene, moreover, of the unseemly struggle *coram* Abbot Walter Humez and the Pope’s legate between Roger and Richard, Archbishops of York and Canterbury (1175), when the Bishop of Ely was sorely entreated (1175), as is related by Gervas and by Fuller.

To these polemical episodes may be added—as having occurred most probably within St. Katharine's—the passing of sentence of excommunication, in all symbolical form, against breakers or perverters of Magna Charta in 1252, by Henry III., Archbishop St. Edmund, and the Bishops of Winchester and London; and the promulgation, thirty-eight years later, of the decree against the abiding of Jews within the realm.

Inasmuch as this Bill enters into no structural particulars beyond what are cited above, and since these will be keenly debated hereafter, I abstain from touching upon the architectural merits or demerits of the scheme. This, though, may be said: the uprearing of a vast “chapel,” or “annexe,” or “new southern transept”—call it by whatsoever illusory term they will—must effectually destroy one of the finest views yet left in London—that of the Victoria Tower as seen from Little Cloister. Nor is the idea a new one to erect such a building—like to the Campo Santo at Pisa—in the vicinity of, or in immediate connection with, our own Abbey. Gilbert Scott, Fergusson, Somers Clarke, J. W. Walton-Wilson, Oldrid Scott, Ralph Neville, and other architects, have treated experimentally upon the subject. So similarly with the vexed question, one so purely of association and sentiment, as to the degree of celebrity or honour attaching to interment or record within its walls. Solicitous as we may be to have our illustrious dead laid and commemorated together, we can clearly see that here the remaining vacant area and mural space are limited indeed. Whilst many memorials by way of bust, tablet, or window, have been added of late, the burials within that period are but few. To the exalted gifts and the picturesque sensibility of the late Dean our own age owes a large debt. Yet, in truth, he did not altogether escape from animadversion as being too impressionable in this direction. In one instance, at any rate, the emotional ecstasy of the day is not endorsed by the calmer judgment of a near posterity. At the same time, pristine prejudices are being smoothed away. We have lived to read the names of Darwin, Burns, and the two Wesleys inscribed beneath the same roof with those of Keble, Lawrence, Livingstone, Shaftesbury, and Lady Augusta Stanley.

The Uses and Abuses of Enfield Chase.

BY WILLIAM BRAILSFORD.



MORE than a hundred years since, Enfield Chase, in the county of Middlesex, was divided by Act of Parliament, and allotments assigned to certain individuals, whilst the entire space was disafforested from the beginning of the year 1779. The deer, which were abundant in all directions, were removed to Luton Hoo, the seat of the then Earl of Bute. For some years after, some solitary monarch of the antique forest glades might be seen wandering hither and thither, in and about the quiet little market town. Sometimes one or more would wend their way into the centre of the market-place, and pause to slake their thirst at a pond shadowed over by elm-trees. The last of these trees was blown to the earth in the year 1836, and the pond filled up. The last deer remembered to have been seen traversing the town was one whose capture was attempted by a poacher in 1816. An avenue of trees, which, up to a much later day, bordered the entrance of Enfield from Bush Hill, has also become non-existent.

Inquisitions relating to lands in the parish are first found in the reign of Henry III., about the middle of the thirteenth century; but it is not till the early part of the fourteenth, when Edward II. was on the throne, that very distinct mention is made of Enfield Chase. There is every probability that large tracts of common or forest land outside the boundaries of the parish formed a part of the Chase. The family of the Magnavilles or Mandevilles, Earls of Essex, were the earliest known possessors of this extensive forest-land. Then it came into the hands of the Bohuns, and from them passed to the Crown, owing to the marriage of King Henry IV. with the daughter and sole child of the last of the Bohuns. In January, 1560, a decree was issued for the guidance of “the Comoners of Enfelde Chace, in the Countie of Middlesex,” and this was followed up by an “Ordinance devised for the encrease of the Wood and Game in the Chace.” The first of these two State documents was published in the

thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry VIII. A survey taken in 1572 prohibits goats from going into the Chase, whilst tenants, copyholders, and others, are particularly enjoined what to do, and what to leave undone. Then we have an Indenture, dated June 20, 1573, between John Astley, Treasurer of the Queen's Jewels, and Robert Basteney, of Northaw, Herts, granting to the latter the Mastership of the Game in Enfield Chase and Park, and also the office of Steward and Ranger of the Manor of Enfield. It was at this time that Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury, became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. This Survey of 1572 was probably one of the earliest, if not the very first Survey of the Chase, and was taken by the Queen's General Surveyor. Among the Burleigh papers in the Lansdown Collection are very many letters and papers relating to the Town, Manor, and Chase of Enfield. Norden mentions several particulars of lodges, etc., on Enfield Chase, with reference to his map, which were omitted in the printed edition. He speaks of Austen's Lodge, Bulle's Lodge, as being on "Enfeylde Chace," and of "Enfeylde Myll" as a "mylle of great gayne, for that the most of the meale men of Enfeylde doe ther grind ther corne, which is infinite; and it is marvelous to consider that one myll shoulde despatch so many quarters as the same is reported. It belongeth unto Robert Wroth, Esquire." Further on he speaks of "Ludgraves as a fayre house, seyuate in bottom by the Chace syde." On September 26, 1580, dated from Westminster, is a Patent granting to John Pratt, on surrender of Augustine Sparks, the office of keeper of the pheasants and partridges in the lordships of Barnet, Hadley,* South Mims, and Totteridge, counties Herts and Middlesex, fee 4d. a day, and £1 6s. 8d. for a yearly livery coat. It was at this time that Nicholas Allen addressed some complimentary verses in twenty-eight Latin hexameters and pentameters to my Lord Burleigh, whose house at Theobalds was praised for its splendour and beauty. Also, in 1585, one Taylor, late of Enfield, gent., petitions the Queen "for a licence to export 400 tons of

beer annually for 12 years free of custom. Has served her before and since she came to the Crown, and likewise her father, Henry the 8th, beyond the seas and in the wars, and received no recompense beyond 30 loads of wood from Enfield Chase, value 20s. Had the receivership of certain shires belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster, and becoming indebted in £1,200 by reason of ill creditors, many children, and great sickness, sold the greater part of the living left him to satisfy the debt."* That 30 loads of wood should be valued at only £1, shows how apparently cheap the article was in the latter part of the sixteenth century. This unfortunate John Taylor goes on to state that, "notwithstanding all the trouble related, he has lost his office, and without any consideration, and not having charged Her Majesty for fees, wages or pension this four years, has fallen into such extreme poverty that, without her clemency, his wife and children will be utterly ruined." In January, 1600, John Stileman writes to Secretary Cecil from Theobalds: "The bearer, Archer, has moved me to write you of the great abuses that are daily committed in your woods for destroying your red deer, which cannot be preserved without the greater offenders may be punished. For the baser sort you should write to Mr. Purvey to call them before him, and bind them to their good behaviour; the others should be sent for to answer to their misdemeanours. At Enfield, one of your male deer broke out of your park at Theobalds, and your keeper hunting him home again was intercepted by three Enfield men, who, with a greyhound, killed, and carried him away. If this be suffered, they will not come into your park. This last wind has done much harm here, and has taken a taste of your house at Theobalds, for in one night, besides beating down the glass in windows and untiling it, has blown down one end of the store-house in the timber-yard."†

On April 15, 1603, Vincent Skinner transmits an account "of a riotous assembling of women at White Webbs, near Enfield Chase," who met to maintain a right to the wood of the Chase. They declared that it should not be carried out of Enfield town. If the King

* Hadley Wood follows on to Enfield Chase, and was no doubt a part of it; now it is the only common forest remaining thereabout.

* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1585.*

† *Calendar of State Papers, vol. 1598-1601.*

was at the King's house in the parish, they would not dispute his right to wood, but if absent it should be given to the poor or sold for their benefit.* The rioters were dispersed, and, notwithstanding their protest, we find Viscount Cranborne addressing Sir Edward Denny and others, and enclosing a warrant to the Earls of Dorset and Nottingham to give order for felling wood at Hatfield, Hainault Walk, and Enfield, for the purpose of erecting bridges over the river Lea between Hackney and Ware. A grant of the office of bailiff and woodward of the Manor and Chase of Enfield was made on December 26, 1604; but the name of the new officer was not publicly known at that date. At a somewhat earlier date a note was made of all the deer served by warrant or otherwise out of Enfield Chase, and in the west, east, and south bailiwicks, under Dr. Paddy, William Norris, and John Rose, from the late audit held at All Hallows, 1599 to 1600. The report that followed showed the total amount to be eighteen does and forty-five bucks.

The King, writing to the Lord Treasurer (Dorset), says, "that having spent some time at Theobalds, and found it a fitting place for sports, we wish some alterations to be made to render it more convenient, and have appointed the Earls of Suffolk, Worcester, and Salisbury, with the Officers of the Works, to overlook and remedy the same; all requisite payments are, therefore, to be issued on their order, as also for purchase of the remainders of leases of lands for enclosing Cheshunt Park, and for repair and enlarging the pales in Theobalds Park."† This letter bears date July 16, 1607, and, in accordance with his Majesty's desires, a warrant was issued on March 30, 1608, for taking down the King's house at Enfield, and conveying the materials to be used in the intended buildings at Theobalds.† Enfield does not appear to have possessed any attraction for James I., whilst Theobalds was evidently more to his heart. There he lived, and there he died. The wilder part of the Chase and those portions frequented by the deer abutted on the Cheshunt domain. It was at Theobalds that Ben Jonson produced an "Entertainment of the Two Kings of Great Britain and Denmark,"

on July 24, 1606; and subsequently an "Entertainment of King James and Queen Ann," when the house was delivered up with the possession to the Queen by the Earl of Salisbury, on May 22, 1607. On this occasion the Prince Janvile, brother to the Duke of Guise, was present. This latter was quite in the nature of a masque, the characters appearing in it being Genius, Mercury, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. The entertainment is written in rhyme, and its quality may be surmised from the following extract:

The person for whose royal sake,
Thou must a Change so happy make,
Is he, that governs with his smile,
This lesser world, this greatest isle.
His Lady's-Servant thou must be;
Whose second would great Nature see,
Or Fortune, after all their pain,
They might despair to make again.

Celebrated for its deer, for its noble forest trees, and for the beauty of its scenery, Enfield Chase became conspicuous in a very different sense. It became the hiding-place of a wretched set of conspirators, who assembled together at a place called White Webbs, in Enfield, but on the borders of Cheshunt parish, in the county of Hertfordshire. The history of this plot is too well known to enter now into its details, Guy Fawkes' arrest and committal to the Tower elicited from him many particulars. At one time they met at the back of Clement's Inn; then, later on, at Garnet's lodgings, near Enfield. The declaration of Fawkes is signed "Guido," in a tremulous hand, accounted for, it has been averred, by the man having been either put to the rack or having that instrument of torture exhibited to him. On November 11, 1605, Israel Amice and Thomas Wilson write to the Council, dating from White Webbs, Enfield Chase. They say, "They have searched Dr. Hewick's house, called White Webbs, found Popish books and relics. but no papers or munition. The house has many trap-doors and passages." On November 24, there is a bill of Mr. Wilson's charges for the apprehension and bringing to Court of Jas. Johnson, and for the guarding of White Webbs, Enfield. Garnet is proved to have gone to and fro into this solitary house in the precincts of the Chase, the house being kept by Anne Vaux at her own expense. In December, 1611, a grant

* *Calendar of State Papers*, 1603. † *Ibid.*, 1608.

† *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 31, Art. 87.

was issued to Thomas Norris of a pension of sixpence per diem, in compensation for injuries received in apprehending depredators in the woods at Enfield. We have, in this year, particulars of agreement between the King's Commissioners and the tenants in Enfield Chase for the enclosure of 120 acres thereof. On the same subject, at about the same time, the King addresses the knights and gentlemen of Hertfordshire concerning the proposed enclosure. Then cropped up the question of the enlargement of Theobalds at the expense of Enfield Chase, and a warrant is ordered to be made out for the payment of £200 to Sir Robert Wroth and Sir John Brett, who are to distribute the money to such tenants as pretend a right in the waste lands which have been added to Theobalds. Dated August 9, 1616, there is amongst the *State Papers* an obligation of William Graves, of East Barnet, under penalty of £20, to be true and faithful in the keeping of the King's game and venery, in his Majesty's Chase of Enfield, co. Middlesex.* On May 31, Sir John Dackombe writes to Sir Nicholas Salter, Woodward of Enfield Chase; Sir Nicholas is requested to deliver three trees, with tops and bushes, for repairs in Enfield Chase. In 1612, an order is directed for warrants "to search Sir Art. Ashin's house, called White Webbs, much frequented by recusants, where the Gunpowder treason was hatched; also another house, a mile distant, at Holly Bush Hill, equally dangerous." The Earl of Montgomery is appointed, on June 22, 1622, to the mastership of the game at Enfield. Dudley Carleton, in a communication to Sir D. Carleton, informs him that Mr. Boton is sent from France to compliment the Prince on recovery from his fall at Enfield Chase. Neither the particulars of the accident, or the time of its occurrence, are mentioned; but as the letter is dated September 30, 1624, it may be conjectured to have taken place in the preceding summer. So we come to the reign of Charles I., in 1625, and are told of a warrant to pay £30 yearly to John West, for the purchase of hay for the deer in West Baylis Walk, in Enfield Chase. One of the

most interesting of the entries in the *State Papers* is that dated June 26, 1630, written by Hugh Perry to Endymion Porter. He "returns money paid, finding that his servants had formerly given him an account with the charges of the picture from Antonio Vandyke for His Majesty. Begs a warrant for a brace of bucks out of Enfield Chase, in regard of the long forbearance."

Charles Harbord, the King's Surveyor, writing to Francis, Lord Cottington, informs him that "Mr. Sydenham had made stay of falling any more trees in Theobalds Park, as the Lord Chamberlain had done in Enfield, where the writer had marked forty pollards, many of them decaying trees to be fallen with some others, taken in Theobalds, would have finished the work, saved so much money, and done no hurt. Justified the directions given him on account of the excessive price of timber, having offered twenty-eight shillings the load, and could not have it under thirty shillings and five shillings carriage which he is ashamed to give, and spare the King's own. Thought he had been subject to no controlment in these things, other than the King's and Lord Cottington's, and that he might have been trusted to do the duties of his place, which he thinks he understands. Beseeches Lord Cottington to know the King's pleasure. Shall shortly represent to Lord Cottington the exorbitant proportions of firewood fallen there and in other places under colour of browse, which must, in a few years, decay the King's woods and game."

In the year 1635 the King writes to William, Earl of Salisbury, and Patrick, Earl of Tullibardin, complaining of a lack of provender. He says: "The parish of Cheshunt, county Herts, was wont to furnish hay and oats for winter provision for His Majesty's deer in the park at Theobalds; but this year, by reason of great drought, not sufficient hay and oats can be taken up at reasonable prices out of parishes near Theobalds. It had been the practice to issue yearly warrants for providing the deer with food, beyond that which was to be had for the asking under their feet. John West, keeper of the West Baily Walk in Enfield Chase, was one of those whose duty it was to see to the wants of these sylvan creatures. On

* A mistake has been made in this document, for after the word Barnet, Kent is placed. There is no such village in that county.

July 4, 1608, he received a warrant for the sum of £30 per annum for the provision of hay for them."

Still later on, in 1665, there is much ado about the keepership of the ancient Chase. A statement is made to the effect that this office was promised by Charles II., before his restoration, to Charles, Lord Gerard, and granted to him since; but one named Butts has also obtained a grant of the lodge there, the only fit residence for the keeper, which lodge and other inferior offices were usually granted to the keeper; that Butts is ignorant of the business of the Chase, and hinders the bringing in of deer. Moreover, his grant is under the great seal, whereas the statute requires that it should be under that of the Duchy of Lancaster; therefore, Lord Gerard requests permission to retain the lodge. In the following year complaint is made by Eyton to Manley that the fanatics are at work again, and that some of them are known to lurk in very retired parts of Enfield Chase, also a part at Theobalds. A petition is received at Whitehall in reference to the dispute between Captain Thomas, and Henry Butt, and Lord Gerard, as to the keepership of Potters Walk, and the place of woodward and bailiff of Enfield Chase, made to them long before Lord Gerard was Chief Ranger, but which he will not suffer them to enjoy. With reference thereon to the Lord Chancellor and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, their appointment, July 4, of a day for hearing the cause, and their report, July 27, that they cannot mediate the difference, the petitioners pleading their grant, and Lord Gerard insisting that he has a right to the disposal of the places. On the 11th of the following November, a reference is made to the Lord Treasurer of the petition of Samuel Norris, that he may receive the rents and profits due at Michaelmas last from a walk in Enfield Chase, given him by the late King. This Mr. Norris, in the same year, makes his petition to the King for a confirmation of his grant from the late King of the keepership of Enfield Chase, of which he was dispossessed during the usurpation, but was restored at the restoration. He is now disturbed by Mr. Hall, who pretends to hold a patent from his Majesty; his former place of Yeoman of the Bows is also given to the

Sergeant-trumpeter. We have at the close of the year a petition from Charles, Lord Gerard, of Brandon. This is addressed to the King for a reference of a difference between himself and the Earl of Salisbury, late Ranger of Enfield Chase, who by destruction of the wood and deer, and by suffering the buildings to go into decay, and not performing the duties of the place since the restoration, forfeited the said office which was granted to the petitioner. But now his title is called in question by the said Earl. Reference thereon was made to the Lord Chancellor, and a reference on the petition of the Earl of Salisbury. If we may judge by subsequent petitions and State proceedings, it would seem that Lord Gerard had the best of all these contentions; for on January 11, 1662, a warrant is despatched to the Masters of the Buckhounds, and the Toils to take such deer from the parks of the Earl of Essex, Mr. Sadler, Mr. Butler, and Sir Henry Blunt, as they shall direct, and convey them to Enfield Chase or elsewhere, as ordered by Lord Gerard.

It matters little now who gained the victory in these very divergent interests; but the growlings and grumbings of the keepers *in esse*, and the keepers *in posse* of the pastoral district known as Enfield Chase, seem to have been never ending. Hence we may take it for granted that one of the chief uses of the Chase was to afford a pleasant position to some Court favourite, who now and again used his authority in a manner not too agreeable to his opponents. Then the deer, who were considered to be a famous breed, had to be regarded, and their sustenance provided for. The trees required attention, and the wants of the inhabitants in the shape of fuel, which they considered due to them justly by some unwritten law, had to be regarded. The great misuse of the Chase arose from its secluded nature, and its numerous odd corners where every kind of outlaw and marauder could easily conceal himself and defy the law. There were places, as at White Webbs, where those who delighted in conspiring against constituted authority could weave their plots, and yet keep their iniquities concealed under a very innocent exterior. Such doings would now be impossible; the progress of events

has, so to speak, brought Enfield and its Chase nearer to London. Hardly a trace is left of the forest land, and what there is belongs to private individuals, or held under leases from the Duchy of Lancaster. The result of the Survey taken by virtue of a Commission from the Lord Protector in 1656, was to effect many changes in the future. The Chase ceased to be a happy hunting-ground for king and courtier, while many of its sequestered nooks were opened out to the light of day, and roads and paths in all directions became too numerous to admit of hidden recesses for malignants.



London Sculptured House-Signs.

BY PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A.

(Continued.)

GUY, EARL OF WARWICK, WARWICK LANE.



HIS stone bas-relief is let into the wall of a house at the corner of Warwick Lane and Newgate Street.

The figure appears standing on a pedestal, in chain armour, with conical helmet, sword and shield. Above is the date 1668; on the left the initials G. C.; on the right a coat of arms; below, the inscription "Restored 1817. J. Deakes, archt." Pennant, in a passage referred to on the stone, describes it as "a small neat statue of Guy, Earl of Warwick, renowned in the days of King Athelstan for killing the Danish giant Collbrand, and performing numbers of other exploits." He adds that "the statue is in miniature the same with that in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, in Guy's Cliff, near Warwick," where Guy is supposed to have ended his days. From Stow, we learn that "Eldernesse lane, which stretcheth north to the high street of Newgate market, is now called Warwicke lane, of an ancient house there built by an Earl of Warwicke.—In the 36th of Henry VI., the greater estates of the realm being called up to London, Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, came with six hundred men, all in red jackets embroidered

with ragged staves before and behind, and was lodged in Warwicke Lane; in whose house there were oftentimes six oxen eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for he that had any acquaintance in that house, might have there so much of sodden and roast meat as he could prick and carry upon a long dagger." At the beginning of this century, the house on which the statuette is placed was occupied by a Mr. Parry; an inscription over the door stated that it had been a tobacconist's shop since 1660.

HALF-MOON, HIGH STREET, SOUTHWARK.

This sign appears to the left of a doorway on the north side of the yard of the Half-Moon Inn, Borough High Street, and has the initials I. T. E., with date 1690; the size is only 13 by 10½ inches. It is, as far as I know, the only tavern sign of this description



in London, which still remains in its original position, and retains its use. The Half-Moon, though not illustrious like some of its neighbours, has been in its day a house of no mean repute. In a rough map of about the year 1542, now at the Record Office, an inn is marked on this site, but the name cannot clearly be made out. The Great Fire of 1676 did not extend so far east. The first undoubted note I have of it is contained in a broadsheet printed at Fleet Bridge, and now in the Guildhall Library—"A full and true account of the sad and dreadful fire that happened in Southwark, 22 September, 1689"—from which we learn that houses were blown up, and the Falcon and Half-Moon, on

opposite sides of the High Street, were burning at once. Our sign gives the date of rebuilding in the following year, and the initials of the owner or landlord. In 1720, Strype speaks of the Half-Moon as "a pretty large inn, and of a good trade." It was then in the thick of Southwark Fair, and several advertisements exist in which it is alluded to, for instance: "September 12, 1729—At Reynolds' Great Theatrical Booth, in the Half-Moon Inn, near the Bowling-Green, during the Fair, will be presented the 'Beggars' Wedding'—'Southwark Fair,' or 'The Sheep-Shearing'—an opera called 'Flora'—and the 'Humours of Harlequin.'" Hogarth introduced a hanging sign of this inn into his celebrated picture of Southwark Fair, in which he represents the High Street looking towards old St. George's Church. In a little book of 1815, called the *Epicure's Almanack*, the Half-Moon is described as "a large establishment, having an excellent larder; its convenient accommodations for entertaining and lodging guests extend on either side the inn-yard, and are connected by a well-contrived covered bridge from gallery to gallery." This bridge still exists; the sign forms one of our illustrations.

HALF-MOON, HOLYWELL STREET.

Perhaps it will be well here to call attention to the Half-Moon sign which projects over a shop numbered 36, about half-way up Holywell Street, on the south side. It is the last, still *in situ*, of another class of London house-signs, and will, doubtless, soon be swept away together with the picturesque old street to which it belongs. It is boldly carved and gilt, with the conventional face in the centre, the material being wood. One of the horns was damaged, but has lately been repaired. From Chambers I gather that some forty years ago the shop was occupied by a mercer, and the bills made out for the customers were adorned with this sign; in the year 1864 it had become a bookseller's. The corner-post of a court beside it, leading into the Strand, was decorated with a lion's head and paws, acting as a corbel to support the still older house beside it. The court remains, but the lion's head has, alas! disappeared.

THE HARE, SHOREDITCH.

On the east side of Shoreditch High Street, between Nos. 79 and 80, and over a doorway leading into Hare Alley, is the sign of a hare running, with initials ^BWM, and date 1725. This is interesting, as being, I believe, the last sculptured stone sign in London which marks the name of a court or alley. It escaped the notice of the late Mr. Peter Cunningham, who, in his handbook, mentions the Heathcock over Heathcock Court, Strand, which disappeared in 1844, as the last of these signs. Hare Alley appears in *The New View of London*, 1708. I have observed a similar sign in Flushing. Among seventeenth-century trade-tokens is one with the following inscription:

Ob. NICHOLAS. WARRIN = A hare running.

Rev. IN. ALDERSGATE. STREET = N. I. W.

So it is given in Boyne. A pun on the name is probably intended, but unless the issuer was a veritable cockney, the animal represented was meant for a rabbit.

HARE AND SUN, HIGH STREET, SOUTHWARK.

This sculptured sign, with date 1676 and initials ^HNA, is still to be seen above the first-floor windows of a house, No. 71, on the east side of Borough High Street, close to the site of the three most famous Southwark Inns, the Tabard, the George, and the White Hart, of which the two last still exist—in part at least, though doomed, I fear, to speedy destruction. The house was gutted by fire not long since, but the sign luckily escaped unharmed. It is now painted in various colours which was the old method, and, I think, improves the effect. The administrators of the property have kindly let me examine the old deeds, and I have gathered from them the following particulars.

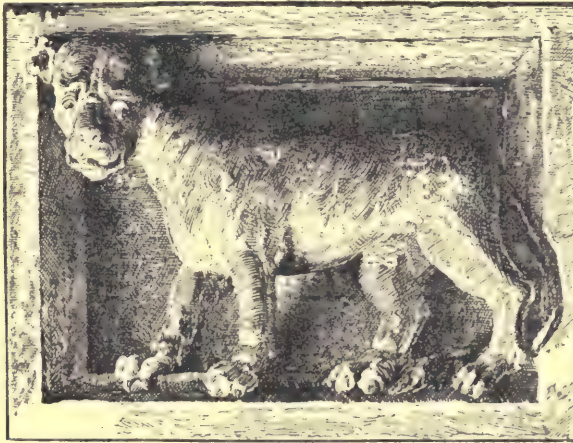
In March, 1653, John Tarlton, citizen and brewer, left to his children two tenements in Southwark. In a mortgage of 1663 they are called "the Hare and the Three Pidgeons." In May, 1676, all or nearly all this part of Southwark was burnt down, the number of houses destroyed being, as stated in the *London Gazette*, about six hundred. In

August, 1676, Nicholas Hare, grocer, surrendered to be cancelled a lease dated 1669, "of the messuage or tenement called the Hare and Sunne," the said messuage having been burnt in the fire, and the Tarltons let him the ground on building lease for eighty-one years from June, 1677. The rent had before been £24 a year, with a fine for renewal of £70; it was now reduced to £16 a year. The sign in question was therefore put up by Nicholas Hare, grocer, after the great Southwark Fire, as many signs of the same description had been put up in London a few years previously, after the great London Fire. How the Sun had got into combination with the Hare one does not know. In

Christian names of himself and his wife. Sometimes, however, they are all in a line, in which case the initial of the surname is most likely the middle one.

THE KING'S ARMS, NEWCOMEN STREET,
SOUTHWARK.

A public-house in Newcomen Street, late King Street, Southwark, has for its sign a well-executed piece of sculpture, representing the royal arms, which was taken from the Southwark gate of old London Bridge when it was pulled down in the year 1760. King Street was then being made from High Street to Snow Fields, through the former Axe and Bottle yard, and these arms, having



subsequent documents down to 1748, when the house came into the possession of John Paris, it is described simply as the Hare. In his will, dated 1753, he speaks of "my dwelling-house near the George Inn, known by the sign of the Hare and Stirrup," and finally, in 1757, in a schedule of the fixtures are mentioned, "in the dining-room two large sign irons and a large copper sign of the Hare and Stirrup;" so the unpretentious stone bas-relief, though not taken down, appears to have been supplemented by a sign more likely to catch the eye. It may be noted that on these sculptured signs, as on the seventeenth-century trade-tokens, where letters occur, the initial of the surname of the owner, builder, or first occupant, is usually placed over the initials of the

been bought by Mr. Williams, a stonemason who was employed in the construction of King Street, were placed by him in their present position. In a view of the Bridge Gate, engraved for Noorthouck's *History of London* (p. 543), the arms appear with the inscription, "G. II. R." This relic has been photographed by the Society for Photographing Old London, and an account and illustration of it appear in the *The Old Inns of Southwark, and their Associations*. This latter, which I use for the present series of papers, became misplaced, and appeared in the previous article (*ante*, p. 145).

THE LEOPARD, BUDGE ROW.

The above sign, measuring 30 by 22 inches, was formerly on a brick house, No. 28, Budge

Row, which no doubt dated from immediately after the Great Fire, and was rebuilt about ten years ago, when the sign was placed in the passage of the new structure; the owner has kindly allowed a sketch to be taken, which is here reproduced. I believe that this property at one time belonged to the Skinners' Company, being part of a bequest of John Draper in 1496. The Leopard, though not supported by a wreath, therefore represents their crest. The word "budge," whence Budge Row takes its name, meant the dressed skin or fur of lamb, and would indicate that furriers carried on their business in this quarter, near to the hall of the Skinners' Company, devoted to the protection of their craft. In 1338, and again in 1358, the City authorities ordered that women of inferior rank should not be arrayed in cloth furred with *budge*, or wool.

THE MAIDENHEAD, 10, BOW CHURCHYARD.

At the back of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow stands a square brick house, which has the appearance of dating from immediately after the Great Fire. The office windows on the ground-floor are of an old-fashioned type, the doorway is somewhat ornamented, and over it is a sculptured representation of the arms of England, the quarterings indicating that it was put up in the time of the early Georges. Let into the front of the house is a sign of spherical form, projecting from a square stone, at the corners of which can be deciphered the figures "1669"; it is much dilapidated. In the kitchen is a leaden tank, with date 1670, supplied by water from the New River. This house is occupied by Messrs. Wm. Sutton and Co., who sell patent medicines—among others, that which has been known for more than two hundred years under the name of Daffy's Elixir. On their billheads they have printed the royal arms and a boar's head, which they affirm to have been the signs of the house before the present system of numbering came into vogue. However this may be, early in the eighteenth century it was certainly called the Maidenhead, as is shown by the following advertisement from the *London Journal* of 1728:

"DAFFEY'S ELIXIR WAREHOUSE.

"At the Maiden-head behind Bow Church in Cheapside is sold for two shillings the

Bottle, that admirable Cordial DAFHEY'S ELIXIR SALUTIS, which is well known to exceed all the Medicines yet discovered in chronical Diseases, viz., Dropsy, Pysic, Stone and Gravel, Rheumatism, Gout, Scurvy, Green Sickness, Cholick, King's-Evil, Consumption, Agues, and many other diseases incident to Men, Women, and children, which you may see at large in the printed Directions. I need not speak in the Praise of this safe and pleasant Cordial, it being well known throughout England, where it has been in great use these 50 years."

It seems that Daffy's Elixir was a valuable property, and rivals quarrelled over it, as is proved by two advertisements given in Mr. Ashton's *Social Life of the Reign of Queen Anne*.

[N.B.—In the previous article, page 145, Sir Roger Archiley is inadvertently described as of Bridge Ward *without*. I should have said Bridge Ward.]

(To be continued.)



Mediolanum.

IN all discussions of roadways in Roman Britain, a question as to the site of Mediolanum readily turns up; it was strenuously fought out by the late lamented antiquary, Mr. Thompson Watkin, but, as I infer, left still *sub judice*.

Our details are supplied by the second and tenth iters ascribed to one of the Antonines; thus, starting from Mancunium:

SECOND ITER.	TENTH ITER.
18 miles to Condate.	18 miles to Condate.
20 " " Deva.	18 " " Mediolanum.
10 " " Bovium.	
20 " " Mediolanum.	
23 " " Uriconium for London, <i>vid</i> Watling Street.	

The puzzle is to justify the 50 miles through Chester to Mediolanum, by the side of the 18 miles direct from Condate.

Mancunium, or Manchester, is a fixed point, because the distance to Condate is alike in both iters; thus, 18 miles from Manchester bring us to Wilderspool, a

Roman camp near Warrington, but south of the Mersey, allowing for the by-road through Stretton; and 20 miles further, allowing for the same deviation, is fairly correct for Chester. The coach-road gives 39 modern for the 38 Roman miles, including, however, the *détour* across the Mersey into Lancashire.

We have no reliable evidence as to Condate; some authorities, led by a fanciful similarity of names, incline to Kinderton near Middlewich, but the distances are not conformable; thus, Manchester to Middlewich is 22 miles. I do not see that it is possible to equate the itinerary 18 miles to Condate with 22 to Middlewich; the proportions should be about 10 Roman to 9 English miles, so the surplusage tells the wrong way.

Before plunging into the unknown darkness of such an intricate question as the unidentified Mediolanum, it may seem desirable to present an analysis of the whole itineraries, and compare our present difficulty with some other similar obscurities of the Antonine distances.

The following summary will be found to deal with the entire subject:

1. From the borders, that is to say from the Wall to Pretorium; a place near York.

2. From the Wall to Richborough, near Sandwich; it takes Carlisle, York, Manchester, Chester, Wroxeter, St. Albans, London, Canterbury—being, generally speaking, the Watling Street of to-day.

3 and 4. From London to Dover, also to Lymne, near Hythe.

5. Return journey from London to Carlisle, by a different route; it takes Colchester, Cambridge, Lincoln, and York. Partly by Ermine Street, partly by the Via Devana.

6. London to Lincoln, through Leicester; it taps the Fosseway.

7. Chichester to London; the Portway.

8. York to London; return journey through Lincoln, as No. 6, but slightly varied.

9. From Caister, near Norwich, to London; part of the Via Iceniani.

10. From Glanoventa to Mediolanum; it comes from the north, and passes through Manchester towards Chester, being the one now under discussion.

11. From Carnarvon to Chester.

12. Through Muridunum to Wroxeter, commencing apparently at Silchester; it takes Winchester, Salisbury, Dorchester, Exeter, and then jumps suddenly into South Wales at Neath.

13. From Caer Leon, Monmouthshire, to Silchester, through Gloucester; it touches Akeman Street.

14. Do., through Bath and Marlborough.

15. From Silchester to Exeter; it repeats part of No. 12.

These tables were, I take it, constructed for military use, being designed to show the various authorities how to keep up their communications, and so to relieve the numerous garrisons scattered about the island. It will readily be seen how continuous has been the occupation of the leading sites; any Mr. Carnegie, or set of cyclists, might work with it now. The boundary wall referred to in Nos. 1, 2 was really a garrisoned fortress, extending from the east coast beyond Newcastle-on-Tyne, to the Solway Firth beyond Carlisle. It took the form of an enclosed roadway running between two walls, with turrets, towers, fortresses, and populous cities within the *enceinture*. It is called variously the Roman Wall, the Picts' Wall, Hadrian's Wall, and the Wall of Severus. The chief stations were, counting from east to west:

1. Segedunum.	10. Æsica.
2. Pons Ælii.	11. Magna.
3. Condercum.	12. Amboglana.
4. Vindobala.	13. Petriana.
5. Hunnum.	14. Aballaba.
6. Cilurnum.	15. Congavata.
7. Procolitia.	16. Axelodunum.
8. Borcovicus.	17. Gabrosentum.
9. Vindolana.	18. Tunnocellum.

None of these places appear in the Antonine iters, but the details are furnished in the "Notitia," a Roman army list or book of military statistics. We thus learn that one official supplied garrisons to the above-named, and also to the following places, viz., Præsidium (supposed Pretorium), of the first iter; Danum, *i.e.*, Doncaster, of the fifth and eighth iters; Morbium, Arbeia, Dictis, Concangium, Lavatris (supposed Lavatriæ), Verteris (supposed Verteræ), Braboniacum (supposed Bravonacæ), all of the second and fifth iters; Maglovum, Magis, Longovico; Derventio, of the first iter; . . . here is a

digression to describe the Wall, as above ; then we proceed, Glannibanta, Alione, Bremetenracum, all of which appear in the tenth iter ; Olenacum, Virosidum.

We have also details of nine ports, thus : Othona ; Dubris and Lemanis, of the third and fourth iters ; Branodunum, Goriannonum, Regulbium ; Rutupia of the second iter ; Anderida, Portus Adurni.

Some of these place-names are confirmed by Ptolemy ; a very few are repeated in the Pentinger tablets ; nearly all of them have been identified in the Ravenna lists.

The following is a summary of provinces and jurisdictions :

Britannia Prima, *i.e.*, South Britain, from Cornwall to Kent, under a president.

Britannia Secunda, *i.e.*, Wales, North and South, under a president.

Flavia Cæsariensis, *i.e.*, the Midland and Eastern Counties, with Lincolnshire and Cheshire, thus including the later Mercia, under a president.

Maxima Cæsariensis, *i.e.*, Yorkshire and the Northern Counties to the Wall, under a consul.

Valentia, *i.e.*, Northumberland and the Scottish lowlands, never fully settled, under a consul.

These officials were civil governors under their chief, viz. :

The Vicar of Britain, a sub-prefect, or viceroy, himself under the Prætorian Prefect of Gaul ; he had a numerous staff, but no military command. There were besides several revenue officers, who accounted direct to the Governor of Gaul.

The military arrangements are thus explained :

1. The Count of the Saxon Shore was admiral of the fleet, in military command at the south-east ports, of which nine are defined, all apparently officered from the second legion, stationed at Caer Leon. He had a numerous staff ; head-quarters, it is supposed, at Richborough, in Kent ; and is now represented by the Warden of the Cinque Ports.

2. The Count of Britain was military governor of the whole British province, apparently by means of the twentieth legion, stationed at Chester. He had his staff, etc.

3. The Duke of the Britannias was general-in-chief of the sixth legion, stationed at York ; he garrisoned the Wall and all the northern

counties, including South Scotland, as before stated, and appears to have become merged in the later Bretwalda.

We know from inscriptions that detachments from the second and twentieth legions, with their numerous auxiliaries, were freely engaged in military enterprises throughout the whole of Britain, north and south, no less than the sixth legion. In marching to remote districts they would require a *route*, and these iters, prepared for each separate district, were combined into a general list ; in such combinations they must have fallen into the hands of strangers, so to speak, unfamiliar with this or that district, and so have become readily liable to—shall we say mutilation ?

The accompanying sheet condenses the whole road-book into one convenient scheme (*see next page*) :

The place-name Mediolanum is found in Gaul and in ancient Italy ; the former, a stronghold of the Santones, stood isolated in the *middle* of the river Charente, like the isle of Paris in the Seine : it is the modern Saintes. The Italian Mediolanum is also said to have been of Gallic origin, founded by a tribe called Insubres, of trans-Padana ; this city, now called Milan, lies between two parallel lines of the Æmilian way—constructed, it is to be supposed, long after its foundation—and also between the rivers Addua and Ticino. It fell to Rome in B.C. 222.

We see, therefore, a strong probability that “Mediō” equates the Latin *medium*, our *midst* or *middle* ; “lanum” is compared with the Latin *limes*, a boundary—our word *limit* ; but it might be the Celtic *linn* or *llan*, and has even been compared with the French *landes*, from the sandy dunes, links, or warrens of West France, about the Garonne ; there we find a river Adour, which pairs off with the Milanese Addua.

The British Mediolanum has been traditionally placed on the Welsh border of Shropshire ; it is clear that iter two makes a *détour* between Deva and Uriconium. The real distance is 40 English miles, where the itinerary gives 53 Roman miles, and this *détour* is explained as necessary to bring both towns, Chester and Wroxeter, into communication with the Welsh garrisons. There is, between Wrexham and Welshpool, a peculiar locality formerly called the neutral ground,

and still marked off by two prominent boundary walls known respectively as Watts's and Offa's dykes. Here is a plot of ground, or territory, fitly named "in Medio-*limites*," so to put it. It was probably a prehistoric borderland between the Ordovices and the Carnavii, and it remained an integral part of Wales till A.D. 1535. The precise spot is called Clawdd Goch, or red-bank. There are earthworks *between* the rivers Tanat and Vernwy just below Llanymynech Hill, in a parish of that name, which enjoys the unenviable distinction of being split up between three counties. Many Roman sites are thus divided, because the well-marked roadways became convenient boundary-lines, and as the thoroughfares existed for the benefit equally of each county, the boundary was thus continued to the utmost limit consistent with a division between the claimants.

It is clear that the ancient Britons worshipped springheads and river-sources; if they also inherited the Indo-Aryan superstition regarding river confluences or sacred junctions—the *prague* or *prayaga* of Hindoos—then it would have a devotional aspect.

There have been found coins from Vespasian, A.D. 19, to Antoninus, A.D. 217, bracelets, horse-bits, and other antiquities. The earthworks seem rather intended for the protection of a mining population, as evinced by the scoriæ of old workings, than for a settled Roman town; still, the claim is valid for a station, being defined as a square camp with connecting embankments, enclosing two minor camps—after the style of Ardoch, Perthshire, but on a smaller scale. We find the local term, "Meudwy-lan," so easily converted into Mediolan, applied to the *enceinture*, which significant fact should not be lost sight of.

The term *goch*, for "red," may be due to the copper, which metal, as also lead, has been largely worked here, the oldest mine being an "ogo," or cave, with ancient remains and fairy legends attached. The roadway went north towards Chester; east towards Shrewsbury—that is to say, to Wroxeter; west towards Caer Sws; and south towards Magna or Kenchester.

We are thus to understand that while iter two pursued its natural course of an extended connecting-link between far-parted garrisons,

iter ten brings its quota from Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire to Manchester, to Condate, and to Mediolanum (*viâ* Chester). That is how I read it. Such difficulties frequently meet the investigator. Here, certainly, the premises are not clear; indeed, the facts may be wrongly stated; but there must be a solution somewhere. My suggestion is that the main facts are correctly stated, but in a summarized form, being imperfectly defined from official reticence.

The earlier lists, we may notice, take the most northerly limit—No. 1 starting from Bremenium, on the eastern border, supposed Riechester or High Rochester, also called Rochester Ward, Northumberland, which has produced an interesting inscription to Lollius Urbicus, *proprætor* and legate, *circa* A.D. 140. It may be called the Prætorian Way.

No. 2 takes the western limit: Blatum Bulgium, variously read, is plausibly fixed at Middleby, Dumfriesshire, a short distance from the enormous native earthworks at Birrenswark Hill, with Roman occupation, and near Ecclefechan, birthplace of Thomas Carlyle. It was garrisoned by Tungri, classed as Germanic, and has produced, with numerous other relics, an inscription to the *Deæ Matres Britannicæ*.

No. 5 starts from Carlisle, and passes eastward; No. 8 starts from York; No. 6 starts from Lincoln; all trending southward by a graduated scale.

To return to No. 10: Glannibanta, or Glanoventa, its starting-point, must be placed somewhere near Carlisle, most probably at Ellenborough or Alneburgh, now represented by Maryport; it has inscription to M. M. Agrippa, who was in command of Hadrian's fleet; and it was garrisoned by Spaniards. We have here one of those apparent contradictions which should teach us caution: Axelodunum, on the Wall, was garrisoned by Spaniards; first cohort, according to the "Notitia;" Glanoventa by Morini, who rank as Belgæ; the inscriptions found at Maryport are of the "*alter* cohort," not the first cohort of Spaniards. There may have been Spaniards in both places, while the Morini of Cæsar's day I should consider extinct at the date of the "Notitia." Now, Maryport cannot be on the Wall, nor was Glanoventa on the Wall; as to Ellenborough,

compare Alne, a river of Northumberland, with the place-name Eglingham, where the "Eg" appears as a mere aspirate, softened to "G" in Glanoventa, the terminal being "vent," or outlet; so Alnemouth. Similarly Venta Icenī, Venta Belgari, Venta Siluri: there are many others, all equivalent to gate or way, and which becomes "went" in colloquial English.

Taking Maryport as the initial, which suits strategically, we shall find the distances fairly conformable, viz., 108 English to 113 itinerary miles. The detachment would receive their *rota* somehow thus: "Here is your list: you see you are all right as far as Manchester; you must then turn towards Condate, but you need not go in; inquire at the cross-road, and they will tell you it is just 18 miles to Chester; when you get there, you must ask your way to Mediolanum. I know nothing more about it."

We are in this difficulty: Mediolanum must be within the compass of a triangle formed by Chester, Manchester, and Wroxeter, internal limit. Some authorites, who admit the Welsh Mediolanum, plead also for an English town of the same name. This seems to me impossible, the area being too restricted for the anomaly of such reduplication; while to turn eastward from Condate seems objectless: for, once at Chester, the second iter lays down the road most unmistakably.

It is much the same with the equally puzzling twelfth iter, headed, "Through Muridunum to Wroxeter." No initial station is named, but we know that it starts from Silchester. It is correctly laid down to Exeter, where we lose our way completely. It looks like a land's end, and it would appear that the detachment would need fresh instructions; most probably they took water, and, if spared, would turn up at Loughor or Cas Llŵchwr, on the river Burry, near Swansea, South Wales. The iter distance for this excursion is 15 miles to Leucarum; this may represent the correct distance to the port of embarkation, or, if by land, it is intended to cover the ground to the next station, *unnamed*; but Leucarum is correctly defined as above, beyond possibility of dispute.

There is another discrepancy freely dwelt
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upon, in disparagement of these valuable lists: the second iter takes the route from Bennonæ (High Cross) to Bennaventa, *i.e.* Daventry, 17 miles without a break. But the fifth iter gives this alternative:

High Cross to Tripontium	...	...	9 miles.
Tripontium to Isanavaria	...	...	12 "
			<hr/> 21 "

—a discrepancy of 4 miles.

Tripontium seems exactly to mark the spot where the Roman road crosses the Avon, near Rugby, at Dow, or Dove Bridge; there are earthworks at Lilbourne, south of the river, but the Roman remains are at Caves Inn, north of the river. It is no difficulty that this minor station, called Tripontium, is omitted in one iter; the real difficulty is that Daventry lies off the direct line of Watling Street, and has two different names. This discrepancy, however, is an element in the evidence forthcoming to make out the mileage, and the two names are explained by the two conjunct sites, viz., of the important British camp on Borough Hill, with Roman remains, and the modern town of Daventry.

We are to understand the two names as contrasted sites, where *Ben* or *Ban* means "high," and *Is* means "low"; thus Bennaventa may be compared with Benaven in the Grampians, also with Aven-Banna in Ireland. With the prefix *Is*, the comparative "lower," we come to marsh or bog land, Daventry being explained as *dwyr-afn-tre*, or "two rivers' town," the Leam and the Nen, both called avons or waters; possibly we have here *annagh*, a marsh or bog, which loses its guttural, and becomes *anna* in composition. The terminal may compare with Varis, or Varæ, a place in North Wales, now Bodfari; Ptolemy also quotes a river Vara or Varar, now the Moray Firth: possibly the same word as Ure and Urry, which become Bure and Burry from emphasis. Thus the ancient Boderia, now the Firth of Forth, seems identical with Bodfari, Latin *foras*, English "door"; compare also Ultima Thule with Fula, in Shetland.

We have wandered far from the subject of Mediolanum, but it seemed desirable to show that it is susceptible of explanation by comparison with other difficulties arising from

the same source, viz., the Antonine itineraries, which is not a finished document prepared expressly for publication, but a mere collection of "returns," made up by different officials, and not properly edited.

A. HALL.



Some Records relating to Hadleigh Castle, Essex.

By J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY, F.S.A.



LOSE to the Benfleet station of the Tilbury and Southend Railway, the line crosses the creek upon which stands the picturesque little village of South Benfleet, famous in the annals of our ancient history as the scene of a great and important defeat of the Danes. In the ninth century Beamflete or Benfleet was distinguished as the usual landing-place of the Danish freebooters, it being a most suitable spot for the mustering of their forces, and affording a safe anchorage for their ships. And here, in the year 893, their chieftain, Høestan, built a castle or fortifications, in which to store his plunder, guarded by a strong garrison composed of the great army from Appledore, and also from his warriors quartered at Middleton in Kent, collecting and mooring in the creek a large portion of his numerous fleet. To capture and destroy these fortifications—traces of which still exist about the whole area of the village—the men of London, with the aid of a portion of King Alfred's army, despite the absence of the King in the west, determined upon an assault. This took place in 894, and proved eminently successful. Høestan himself had gone out to plunder, though the greater portion of his army was there; but unable to resist the furious onslaught of the Londoners, it was put to flight, the stronghold captured, and with it Høestan's wife and two sons, together with all the large amount of accumulated plunder. The ships were either broken to pieces, burnt, or carried away to London and Rochester. During the construction of the railway-bridge about thirty-six years ago, the labourers found the charred remains of

many of these vessels embedded in the mud of the fleet, and all around them were numerous human skeletons and fragments thereof. The old church, with its massive square tower, standing within the confines of the Danish lines, will well repay a visit. Continuing our walk along the line of railway towards Leigh, we come upon the ruins of Hadleigh Castle, formerly termed the Tower of Essex. Known to have been erected by Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, in the reign of Henry III., the Edwardian character of its remains was long a puzzle to antiquaries, nothing, despite the most extensive excavations, being found to lead to the conclusion that the original plan had not been preserved. However, the discovery of several rolls and warrants in the Public Record Office dispelled the mystery by showing that during the reign of Edward III. the Castle underwent very extensive reparation, though it may not be quite clear that the expression "new making of the towers, chambers, chapel and walls," denotes the substantial rebuilding of the whole of them from the foundations; still, the projection of circular towers flanking the lines of the walls is in accord with the system of fortification said to have been adopted by Edward I. from the military architecture of France. From the rich store of documents in the Record Office, we append abstract translations of some of the most important.

From Patent Roll, 11th Henry III., A.D. 1227: "Henry, by the Grace of God, etc., to the Archbishops, etc., greeting. Know ye that we have given and granted, and by our present charter have confirmed, to our well beloved and faithful H. de Burgh, Earl of Kent, and Margaret his wife, for their homage and service, all the lands and tenements underwritten, to wit: The Manor of Raylee with the honor, Knight's fees and with all appurtenances, and the Manors of Hadlee, etc., which belonged to Henry de Essex, Earl of Essex, with all their appurtenances, to have and hold of us and our heirs to the said Hubert and Margaret for all the life of them, and after their decease to the heirs who shall descend from the aforesaid Hubert and Margaret, in fee and hereditarily, freely, quietly, wholly, and honourably, doing therefore to us and our

heirs the service of four Knights, for all services. And if it shall perchance happen that the said Hubert and Margaret die without heir descending from the said Hubert and Margaret, then all the said Manors and Tenements aforesaid, and the aforesaid Hundred of Rochford with the Honor and Constabulary (?) and Knight's fees and the homages and services of Knights and free tenants, and all other their appurtenances, shall revert to the heirs of the same Hubert for ever, with sak and sock, tol and theam, infangtheof, scremtol and water tol, hamsocue and forstal, sandbreck and miskeninge, with fredwitte and frithwithe, blodwite and wudwitte, with the advowson of the Priory of Prittlewell, and with all advowsons of the Churches of the lands aforewritten, which advowsons we had in the aforesaid land."

Patent Roll, Henry III., A.D. 1231 : "The King to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that we have granted for us and our heirs to H. de Burgh, Earl of Kent, our Justiciary of England, and Margaret his wife, that they may at their will construct for themselves and their heirs of the same Hubert and Margaret descending, or other heirs of the same Hubert, if it shall happen to the heirs descending from the same Hubert and Margaret to die, without contradiction and difficulty, a certain Castle at Hadlee, which is of the honor of Raylĕg, which honor we formerly gave, and by our charter confirmed, to the same. In witness, etc. Witness the King at Westminster, the 28th day of November."

Inquisitions post-mortem, 34th Henry III. : The King's writ to the Sheriff of Essex to inquire by jury what rents and tenements belong to the King's Castle of Hadleigh, and how much they are worth yearly. The result of the Inquisition by twelve jurors, 40th Henry III., 1256. Precept by the King to the Sheriff of Essex to take with him four lawful knights of his county, and repair to the King's Castle of Hadleye, to see in what state the King's well-beloved and faithful Stephen de Salines shall have left it, and in what state Ebulo de Genevre shall have received it. Dated at Meretun (?) 16th January. Certificate of the Sheriff that he

took John de Brettone, Gordan le Brun (of Benfleet), Martin Fitz Simon, and Simion Perdriz to the Castle of Hadley. He found that Stephen de Salines left it in a bad and weak state, the houses being unroofed and the walls broken down, and all "utensils" necessary for the Castle were wanting, and Ebulo de Genevre received it in the same state.

Patent Roll, 27th Edward I., 1299 : "The King to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting: Whereas, the most Holy Father in Christ the Lord Boniface, by Divine Providence, High Pontiff of the Holy Roman and Universal Church, to whom it was compromised on behalf of us and the King of France, to reform peace between us and the same King, and the discords and wars which lately rose between us and him from whatever cause; under certain forms and manners, among other things which are contained in the course of his pronunciation by virtue of the said compromise, ordained that matrimony should be contracted between us and Margaret, sister of the aforesaid King of France, under certain conditions and penalties, and that a dower to the value of fifteen thousand pounds of Tours in lands and tenements, in competent places, should be assigned by us to the same. We, in regard of the honour and estate of the aforesaid Margaret, subsequently augmented the aforesaid dower more largely by Three thousand pounds of lands of Tours money, of our own free will; so that in all she may have in the name of dower or endowment certain lands and tenements in fitting places within our Kingdom to the value of eighteen thousand pounds of lands of Tours money yearly, four Tours being counted for one sterling. And in order fully to perform the premises in all and singular things according to the pronunciation, ordination, and augmentation aforesaid, we have nominated and assigned to the same Margaret, the Castle and Town of Hadleye, with the park and other its appurtenances, in the County of Essex to the value of £13 6s. and 8d. To have and to hold to the same Margaret in dower or endowment as long as she shall live.

"Given by the King's hand at Canterbury, the 10th day of the month of September, in the 27th year."

Originalia Roll, 5th Edward II., 1312: Commission granted by the King to Roger Filiol, of the custody of the Castle of Haddele, which Margaret, Queen of England, the King's mother, holds for term of her life, by the grant of the Lord Edward, formerly King of England, the King's father, during the royal pleasure.

Parliamentary Petitions, No. 3,664, *temp.* Edward II.: "To my Lady the Queen and to my Lord the Duke, complains their liege yeoman John Giffard,* of the County of Essex, of Roger de Wodeham, Constable of the Castle of Haddeley, who by force and arms and against the peace of our Lord the King, and yours, who have to keep and maintain the peace, came by colour of a commission to the manor of Bures Giffard and there took two horses of the aforesaid John, and upon the same horses caused to mount two robbers and thieves of his company, armed, of whom he had about more than fifty, to proceed against you in war, and aiding and favouring as much as he could Sire Hugh le Despencer, the son, your enemy, and enemy of the land, and in the company of the said Sire Hugh he was with the aforesaid fifty men armed until the said Sire Hugh put to sea. And in returning he came with all his power to the house of the said John to have put to death him and his people, and when he could not find them he entered his warren and took their [word omitted] and conies, and emptied the warren of all, declaring that the said John was enemy of our Lord the King and Sire

* In the church of Bowers Gifford, Essex, is a very fine, though headless and otherwise mutilated, brass commemorating this John Giffard. It affords one of the too few instances of the restoration of a brass after removal from its original position. About fifty years since, the old church, being in a ruinous condition, was pulled down, or nearly so, and the present unsatisfactory edifice erected. During this work, the brass, then headless, was removed to the residence of the churchwarden (an ancestor of the present writer), where it remained for many years doing patchwork duty to a broken shelf in a store-room. At last Mr. Bayly, the churchwarden, gave it to a friend, resident in the neighbouring town of Billericay, who treated it with all due respect, and eventually gave it to a late rector of Bowers Gifford, stipulating that it should be restored to its former position on the north side of the sacristy. This has been done, and the brass remains a very fine example of the few military brasses of this period now existing. The workmanship of the shield is most beautiful. The writer regrets that, as a boy, he must plead guilty to having broken the sword.

Hugh le Despencer, and that he was favourable to the party of our Lady the Queen, Wherefore most noble Lady, may it please you to grant to the said John a commission to arrest the said Roger and to bring him before you and your Council as he who is your contrarian and rebel, and to appoint another Constable in his place who may be suitable to you and the Country."

(Endorsed):

"Let him sue at the Common Law if he will."

Parliamentary Petitions, No. 4,284, *temp.* Edward II.: "To our Lord the King shew his lieges and free tenants of the town of Hadeley, concerning divers damages which they have received by Roger de Blakeshall, constable of Hadeley since the death of Roger Filyol, formerly constable of the same castle."

(Endorsed):

"Because Humphrey de Walden is keeper of the Manor within contained, let this petition be sent enclosed in a certain Writ to the aforesaid Humphrey, to enquire the truth thereof, and on the return of that inquisition let what shall be just be done.—Enrolled."

Originalia Roll, m. 4, 5th Edward III., 1332: "The King to Richard de London late Keeper of the Castle of Isabella, Queen of England, the King's mother, of Haddele in Co. Essex. Whereas the said Queen surrendered the said Castle (among other castles, manors, etc.) to the King on 1st December last, with her goods and chattels in the same Castle, and the King on the 10th of the same month granted to the said Queen (that she might the more decently maintain her estate) by his letters patent all the goods and chattels found in the said castles, manors, etc., saving to the King the grain sown in the said lands, and the seed, and the liveries for servants, ploughmen and carters necessary till next Michaelmas, and also the ploughs and carts which will serve for the *gayneria* of the lands which the same Queen held in *gayneria*, and the animals of the said ploughs and carts; and now by other letters patent the said King has granted to Richard de Retlyng the custody of the said Castle, at the King's will, rendering £16 10s. yearly. The King commands the said R. de London to cause all the land per-

taining to the said Castle which the said Queen before the said surrender caused to be sown, to be measured, and the grain sown in the same land, and also the seed, liveries, ploughs, carts and animals aforesaid reserved to the King to be appraised and to deliver the same to the said Richard de Retlyng.

"Dated at Langele, 3rd Feby."

8th Edward III., A.D. 1335: "The custody of the King's Castle of Haddeley granted to John Esturmy to hold for life at a certain rent—£16 8s."

11th Edward III., A.D. 1338: "For the good service of John Esturmy the King remits to him the said yearly rent saving to the King and his heirs the *vert* and hunting (*viridi et venatione*) in the park."

17th Edward III., A.D. 1344: The King at the request of his kinsman William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton grants to Roger de Wodham the custody of the Castle with appurtenances during pleasure.

32nd Edward III., A.D. 1359: The King appointed John de Tydelside to repair certain houses in the King's Castle of Haddeley, taking for his wages 12d. a day during the King's pleasure.

Among the "Ministers' accounts" of the 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, and 42nd years of Edward III., we find long accounts and very full particulars "of all receipts, mises, costs, payments and expenses incurred in the restoration and rebuilding" this Castle. Many of them are of a most interesting character. Henry de Mammesfeld and Godfrey de la Rokele, Richard Suarry and John Barnton being respectively "Clerks of the Works," "controllers and surveyors."

48th Edward III., A.D. 1375: The King grants to his esquire Walter Whithors the custody of the Castle, etc.; except the water-mill to hold for life at the yearly rent of ten marks.

50th Edward III., A.D. 1377: The King grants to his esquire George Felbrygge the custody of Haddeley Castle, except the water-mill, at the yearly rent of ten marks during the King's pleasure.

51st Edward III., A.D. 1378: The King appointed his Clerk, William Hannay to be clerk of the works which the King has ordered to be made at his Castle of Haddeley.

4th Richard II., 1381: "The King to all men, etc.," Grant to Aubrey de Veer, his Chamberlain, for his good service of the bailiwick of the Hundred of Rocheford in Essex, on the death of Walter Whithors, who holds for life, by grant of Edward III. To hold for life, provided he do well and reasonably govern and do what pertains to that office towards the King and the people of the aforesaid Hundred, and do sustain at his own cost the enclosures and lodges of the King's parks of Haddelē, Thunderlē, and Reylē.

3rd Henry IV., A.D. 1402: "The King to all to whom, etc., greeting: Know ye that whereas our very dear kinsman Edward, Earl of Roteland, holds of our gift the Castle and Town of Haddelē in the County of Essex for the term of the life of the same Earl. We, of our special grace, and at the supplication of our very dear son Humphrey, have granted for us and our heirs, as much as in us is. that the Castle and Town aforesaid with the appurtenances which the aforesaid Earl thus holds for his life, and which after the death of the same Earl ought to revert to us and our heirs, shall after the death of the same Earl remain to the aforesaid Humphrey our son. To hold to him and his heirs of his body issuing of us and our heirs, by the services therefore due and accustomed for ever. In witness, etc., Witness the King at the Castle of Berkhamptede, the 26th day of September."

25th Henry VI., A.D. 1447: "The King to all to whom, etc., greeting. Know ye that we at the supplication of our very dear and faithful kinsman Richard Duke of York of our special grace, have given and granted to him and his heirs male of his body begotten the Castle and Lordship of Hadleigh in the County of Essex, with all their appurtenances, immediately after the decease of our very dear Uncle Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; if he shall happen to die without heir male of his body issuing, which same Castle and Lordship our Uncle holds, has, and occupies by the letters patent made to him by us or our father deceased; although express mention of the true yearly value of the Castle and Lordship aforesaid. or of other gifts and grants made by us to the same our kinsman before these times is not made here notwithstanding. In witness whereof, etc.

Witness the King at Westminster the 18th day of October."

31st Henry VI., A.D. 1453: "The King to all to whom, etc., greeting. Know ye that we of our special grace have given and granted to Edmund de Hadham Earl of Richmond our very dear Uterine brother, our Castle, and Lordship or Manor of Hadley in the County of Essex, with all courts, leets, rents, services, mills, fisheries, views of frankpledge, suits of court and all other appurtenances whatsoever, and the advowson of the Church of the same, together with the return of all writs and precepts and also the executions of the same, together also with one market every week on Wednesday, yearly there to be holden. To have and to hold to the aforesaid Edmund his heirs or successors therefore to be rendered, and without making fine or fee for the premises to our use to be paid. Witness the King at Westminster the 5th day of March."

1st Richard III., A.D. 1483: Confirmation of a former patent dated 2nd March in the second year of Edward IV., granting to Henry Abyndon, a clerk of the Chapel Royal, an annuity of eight pounds out of the issues of the Castle, Manor and Lordship of Hadlêg, in lieu of an annuity of the same amount granted him by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, out of the issues of Hadelê Ree and Lith Ree.

John Shute appointed Keeper of the Park, and gatekeeper of the Castle.

19th Henry VII., A.D. 1504: Grant to Leo Craiforde an esquire, of the custody of the King's Castle, Manor and Lordship of Hadlêgh and of the park there, and the offices of constable and doorward of the Castle, bailiff of the Lordship, and parker of the park. To hold for life with the usual fees. Dated 30th January.

1st and 2nd Henry VIII., 1509-10: The Castle, etc., part of the possessions of Katharine, Queen of England, and Sir John Raynesforde, Knight, bailiff and Constable.

35th Henry VIII., extract from Patent Roll: Grant by the King to Queen Katharine, his consort (in pursuance of the Act of Parliament of 31-32 Henry VIII. enabling the King so to do), in full recompense for her jointure and dower, of various honors, castles, manors, etc. The first being the

Castle, lordship and manor of Hadleigh, otherwise called Hadley, in our county of Essex, and one "shelf" called Hadleigh Roe, and the "draggyng of muskelles" in Aylesbury Hope, otherwise called Tilbury Hope, in our said county of Essex. The whole of the manors, etc., granted are valued at £2,886 3s., besides perquisites of courts, fines of lands, and farms, woods, sales, etc., to hold for term of her life, with power to make leases for twenty-one or a less number of years. Signed at Westminster the 25th February, 1544.

5th Edward VI., 1552: "Grant to Lord Riche, for seven hundred pounds of the Castle, manor and Park of Hadleigh, Essex, with the advowson of the church, lately part of the possessions of Katharine [Parr], Queen of England, deceased."

In what condition the structure was at this period does not appear, but it is probable, that having now finally left the hands of the Crown, its demolition was effected by the purchaser. From Lord Riche it passed to Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, and is now the property of Major Spitty, late High Sheriff of Essex. Such is the story of this much frequented, though little understood, ruin, reminding us in its vicissitudes of the career of its noble builder—a man who will be remembered as long as the English language exists, as the humane custodian of the unfortunate Prince Arthur—immortalized by Shakespeare in his play of "King John":

" . . . Pretty child, sleep doubtless and secure
That Hubert, for the wealth of all the world,
Will not offend thee."



Nottinghamshire Crosses.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.



AS I lately notified, some additional material on this subject has come to hand since the publication of my compilations in this magazine. I do not intend here, however, to record every new detail, but, as the articles are not likely to appear in a separate form, I have decided to append the bulk of my notes—

hastily thrown together—while I have the opportunity. Part I. consists of a few additions to my previous list. Part II. consists of further notes on those previously mentioned.

I.

Whatton and Aslockton.—Now preserved in the north aisle of Whatton Church—always the most suitable repository in rural districts for such relics—are two sculptured stones, the upper, apparently, part of the shaft, and the lower one the base, or plinth, of a cross. Near them, on the wall, is hung a printed description, in which they appear to have been regarded, probably erroneously, as the remains of one cross. There is also a photograph of a cross at Monasterboice, co. Louth, Ireland, which the local remains, when perfect, are thought to have resembled. What I believe to be the earliest reference to these remains occurs in a local pamphlet by Dr. Trollope on local churches. Unfortunately, not being able to refer to it just now, I cannot give the date, but believe it belongs to the seventh or last decade of this century. The inscription informs us that :

“The upper stone was found in the wall of a cottage in Aslockton, 1862. The lower stone underground near the guide-post in Whatton in 1877. Its style shows it to have been erected in the fifteenth century. It was standing in 1578. Extract from Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton, Esq.’s, will, dated March 25, 1578: ‘To be buried in the Chancel of Whatton Church. . . . To the repair of the highway, between the Cross and the Parsonage, 5 shillings.’ The panel facing west is a Holy Rood* (our Saviour on the Cross), with St. John and St. Mary. On the east side three figures—a bishop, St. Lawrence,† and an unknown figure. On south end St. Paul with a sword. On the north, Peter with a key. The base on the west side is worn by the knees of worshippers.‡ The cross was probably destroyed in the civil wars of Charles I.’s reign by the Puritans.”

The above interesting account was put up

* Compare supposed fragment of cross at Gedling, Notts.—*Antiquary* for January, 1888.

† This figure—St. Lawrence—is holding the grid-iron, on which he is said to have been roasted.

‡ Doubtless the cross is fixed as it originally stood, as the worshippers would thus be facing the east.

by the late Vicar, Rev. T. V. Hall. The present Vicar, Rev. G. L. Oxenham, in a letter to me dated October 27, 1887, writes :

“I think—and an antiquarian friend of mine is of the same opinion—that the shaft and base do not belong to each other, but are parts of separate crosses, one of Whatton, the other of Aslockton.”

This is probably the truth. In answer to inquiries he continues :

“The dimensions of the cross are : length, two feet ; breadth, one foot two inches ; depth, six inches. The base is of a different kind of stone, and broken in two pieces. Its measurements are : length, two feet six inches ; breadth, two feet ; depth, ten inches.”

Nottingham, the Cross of the Greyfriars.—In one of the borough rolls, A.D. 1365, occurs a reference to “the Marsh opposite the Cross of the Friars Minor.” This marsh, of course, was the street called Broad Marsh, at the west end of which the Friary stood. We have no other reference to this cross ; indeed it is only by such isolated allusions as this that several of our crosses establish their existence and perpetuate their names. Doubtless it stood, as usual, opposite the main entrance.

Mr. Sretton, a local antiquary of the last century, left manuscript notes, as well as sketches, of certain Nottingham crosses. Some of these, in the possession of Mr. J. T. Godfrey, are reproduced in his pamphlet on the subject. Certain others were printed last year by Mr. Briscoe. From these latter we learn the true position of the High Cross : “This cross was situated on the east side of the Mansfield Road, at the north end of the gardens beyond Fox Lane. Some leys of land extending from the Mansfield Road towards the Toad Holes are called and retain the name of High Cross Leys at this time, viz., 1778.” This was written before any notice of the cross had appeared in print. A religious house, called St. Michael’s Hospital, formerly stood near this spot, with which the cross may have had some connection. Its name, however, does not favour this idea ; it was more probably a wayside cross. But as the vexed question of the site of this cross has now been settled, how are we to dispose of the other which stood at the bottom of Barker Gate, to which, until now,

the name of the High Cross has been almost universally ascribed. It is not easy to say, unless it was a boundary cross. However, still another is thus added to the list already proved to have existed in this town. Another may also be added to the number I formerly computed by the circumstance that the Headless and Week-day crosses, which I previously mentioned as identical, are now known to have been independent structures.

East Markham.—A market cross once stood here on a grassy eminence near the church. In a communication dated September 17, the wife of the Vicar says :

"I remember an old man, many years dead, saying there were two market crosses here. The market was moved from this place to Tuxford in 1609, when the plague was here, and in some way it was never brought back. . . . There are no remains of the cross at all, though this old person said one was a very handsome one."

Carlton-by-Nottingham.—A charter among the Nottingham borough records, dated September 29, 1331, relates to the transfer of a piece of land lying in the field of Carleton at the Hold Cros. What was called the old cross five and a half centuries ago must have presented a very antiquated appearance. Possibly it was so named to distinguish it from a newer erection.

Worksop.—In addition to the cross near the Priory Church in this town, there is reason to believe that there was another in what is now called the market-place.

Skegby.—A.D. 1507 : "et p. campos de Sutton usque magnum chiminium quod ducit ad Nottingham, viz., inter campos et campos de Skegby et deinde usque ad crucem ad finem orientalem ville de Skegby."* (Trans. : "and by the fields of Sutton, unto the great road that leads to Nottingham, viz., between the fields and the fields of Skegby, and from thence unto the cross at the east end of the town of Skegby.")

This cross is mentioned in no other perambulation I have seen. This possibly is because the oft-changing boundary did not again cover the identical line. Whether the

cross was set up as a boundary-mark cannot be ascertained. Though the evidence does, on some occasions, seem to point to the special erection of such crosses, yet on others it appears more likely that the existing structures in the towns and villages were adapted to perpetuate the line of demarcation. It may be added that the crosses of Warsop and Linby are also mentioned in the perambulation under notice.

II.

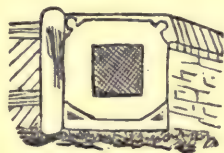
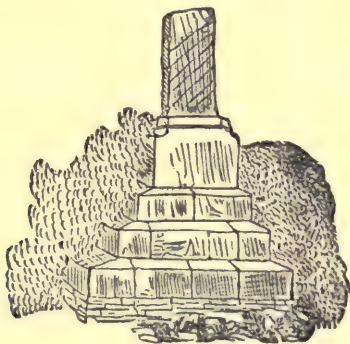
Stapleford.—The following additional note appeared in a paper on the history of Stapleford, by Mr. C. Brown, in the *Notts Guardian* recently. The Rev. G. F. Browne, Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge, referring to the evidences of early Christian work in this county, says : "At Stapleford you have a sculptured pillar of quite unique beauty of ornament, and interest of ecclesiastical tradition. It has cost me three days in three successive years to make out the intricate interlacements of its ornamentation, and it stands now revealed as a work of art as remarkable as any page of the best of the Hibernian MSS. of the eighth century, the book of Kells, or the Gospel of Lindisfarne. And it is unique in this respect, that it has on it the symbol of the Evangelist St. Luke, a great winged creature treading on a serpent, with the head and ears and horns of a calf. The church is an early dedication to St. Helen. The pillar is earlier than that, for if you ask when the village feast is, you find it is fixed by a complicated rule of thumb, which determines that old St. Luke's Day always comes in the wake week. The pillar takes us to a time before there was a church there at all. It records for us the first taking possession by the first Christian missionaries in the name of Christ and His Evangelist, St. Luke."

Linby.—In *The Peak and the Plain*, 1853, writing of "my native streams," Spencer T. Hall, "The Sherwood Forester," says : "Of the many little tributaries to the Leen, none is more beautiful or fresh than a brook that comes, with a joyful gush, from beneath an old stone cross at the bottom of Linby village street. I think the cross itself must have been saved by virtue of its being at the head of that natural fountain, for it was left

* Perambulatio forreste de Sherwood. Facta xxvi. die Augusti anno regni Henrici regis sept. mi. xxi.—Deering's *Nottingham*, appendix, p. 311.

uninjured by the Puritans, when almost every other relic of the kind in the neighbourhood—one at the upper end of the same village—was broken in their zeal, or, if you will, their frenzy." The latter is considered as fine a specimen of the village cross as any in England.

Gringley-on-the-Hill.—The cross here, which stands on a little green separated by the width of the highway from the vicarage and churchyard, has an octagonal shaft and square steps. A gentleman who long resided in the neighbourhood, is of opinion that there is no foundation for the story that this cross belongs to the Vicar. This point, however, is one which I have had no opportunity to investigate, and must, for the present, therefore, remain a moot question.



pronounced and spelt "Beaumont" by the natives, and all others, except those who have spelt it corruptly to add weight to their arguments. The part of Newark in which the cross is situated is called "Beaumont" in manuscripts at Oxford, dated 1310, and subsequently—long before the cross was erected. From this district, doubtless, the structure naturally took its name.

Colston Bassett.—A local writer says this cross "was rebuilt in a debased style to commemorate the accession of King William IV., by Hy. Martin, Esq."

Walkeringham.—The massive and almost shapeless plinth of the cross here is seen from an old photo, about 1857, in my possession, to be square at the base and octagonal at the top, the same as the Holme

It may possibly become a bone of contention in some future age.

Newark.—I omitted, on a former occasion, to quote the opinion held by the eminent author of *The Ancient Stone Crosses of England*, who, however, it must be borne in mind, had not such facilities, and could not have devoted such attention to it, as resident local historians. Mr. Rimmer thinks that, "It is a valuable example of a memorial cross, as the date is so completely fixed." He refers, of course, to the Viscount Beaumont theory, adopted apparently by all later writers. The particulars he gives of the battle of Towton Moor, where the Viscount was slain, and other notes, are not sufficiently relevant for repetition. That this theory, however, must be abandoned, is obvious, for reasons previously given. The name of the cross is, and always has been,

cross, of which there is a small engraving in the *Antiquary* for January, 1888. The measurements formerly given of this cross are thus corrected by Rev. G. M. Gorham. The three steps, commencing at the bottom, are thirteen, twelve, and seven inches high respectively, and each fifteen inches wide. Height of plinth, eighteen inches; plinth and fragment of shaft together, twenty-seven inches. This makes the total height four feet eleven inches.

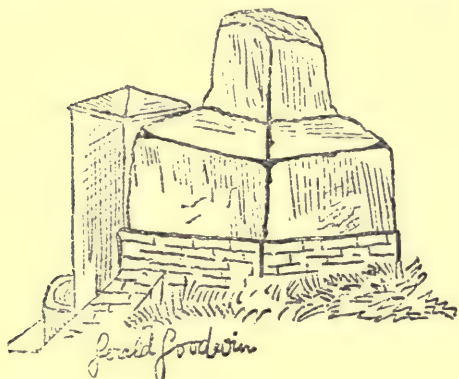
North Collingham, the Village Cross.—I have lately received some additional notes and measurements of the crosses of North Collingham, Winthorpe, and Holme, with sketches of the two former, which I have pleasure in reproducing. For them I am indebted to Mr. G. Goodwin, of Newark, lately a resident pupil of the Vicar of Holme. Of the North Collingham village cross, con-

sisting of three steps, plinth, and stump of a shaft, I append his own account :

"The foundation is of thin sheets of stone of a slaty appearance, which is gas-tarred over. It has (as in sketch) bushes on both sides, which form the hedge to a cottage garden ; thus the back of the cross stands in the garden, but the front is in the street. It stands about a quarter of a mile from the church. The dimensions are : width of bottom step, eight feet six inches ; second step, seven feet ; third step, five feet ; and each one foot in height. Breadth of plinth, three feet eight inches ; length of shaft, three feet ; diameter, one foot four inches. On the cross are several initials and one date—1665."

The Churchyard Cross.—"The cross in the churchyard is let into the wall, and is two feet eight inches square. It stands beside a wooden gate. The flood-marks are on the other side, the side I have drawn being in the churchyard, and the flood-marks in the street."

Winthorpe.—"The little cross here, which stands over a well on the village green, must formerly have been a pleasant and welcome sight to the thirsty traveller, as the one in Scott's *Marmion*. In modern times, however, its picturesque appearance has been marred. The shaft has been broken off short, the base set on a foundation of modern



brickwork, and the well covered by a pump as shown in the sketch. My correspondent gives the dimensions as follows : plinth, two feet two inches square ; shaft, one foot two inches square ; length, eleven inches.

Holme.—"The plinth is three feet broad and two feet in height. The shaft is one foot in diameter and one foot five inches high."

Attenborough.—Probably the earliest reference is that in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, i. 110 : "The village has now the appearance of a lonely place, but it is said to have once been considerable. In a field near it is the stump of a town cross called St. Mary's Cross, the numerous dwellings around which have long since disappeared."

Mansfield Woodhouse.—The Vicar writes to me to say that, to his great disappointment, he was unable to arouse any enthusiasm among the inhabitants, and, consequently, the projected Jubilee restoration of the village cross had to be abandoned.

A. STAPLETON.



On Chronograms.

BY JAMES HILTON, F.S.A.

(Continued from the *Antiquary*, vol. xix., p. 121.)

V.

SINCE the publication of the third of this series of papers, two other works by Michael Winepacher have come to light through the agency of a German antiquarian bookseller, and they are now in the library of the Rev. Walter Begley. To say that the works are rare is the very echo of our experience, as no other copies of them are known to us ; it therefore seems desirable that their existence should be recorded with a short description of their contents, though they are worthy of being fully reprinted. Like the work by our author, already mentioned in the *Antiquary* (xviii. 103-106), these two are also calendars of the years of their publication, constructed on the same plan ; each day in the year has one or more Latin hexameter and pentameter couplets appropriate to the saints to whom the days have been assigned, and each single line is a chronogram of the year. A version in German verse, not chronogrammatic, follows each

couplet. It appears that the author of these works was a parish priest at Moos, in the Passeir-thal in Tyrol, some miles north of the now well-known place of resort, Meran; a quiet spot, no doubt, some two centuries ago, though later on the valley was famous as the birthplace of the Tyrolese patriot and leader, Andreas Hofer. The calendar for 1726 has been already noticed.

The first calendar now to be described is for the year 1724. The title-page, commencing with five chronograms of the year separated by stars, with the date letters in red, is as follows:

AVRELII
FELIX DECENNIVM.

*

SEV

CALENDARIUM LABENTIS HVIVS ANNI

*

A NATIVITATE DOMINI, AC
SERVATORIS NOSTRI

IESV CHRISTI,

*

M.DCC.XXIV.

*

QVI BIS QVINTVS EST A CÆPTO GRANDIS
CENOBII PRÆSTANTI REGIMINE

*

Reverendissimi, perillustris, ac amplissimi | Presulis | Domini Domini | Augustini, | Sac. Ord. Cisterc. Exempti, ac Celeberrimi | Monasterii ad B. Virginem, & S. Joannem | Baptistam, in Stams | Abbatibus dignissimi : | Sac. Cesareæ, & Regiæ Cathol. Majestatis &c. &c. | Consilarii, & Aulæ Sacellani Perpetui : necnon Statuum | Provincialium Tyrol. Actualis Deputati. |

CVIVS GRATIOSO HONORI DICATVM FVERAT
A

MICHAEL VINEPAHER, PRESBITERO, &
PASTORE PALVDIANO IN PASSIRIA.

Υ. ♂. HIC ARIES PRIMVS POST HVNC EST ORDINE TAVRVΣ.

Π. POLLVX, ET CASTOR GEMINI SINT DENIQVE FRATRES.

Ξ. GRANDIOR IN CANCRO RVRSVS PROMITTITVR ÆSTVS.

Ω. ♀. INSEQVITVR VIRGO PRÆCLARA SVBINDE LEONEM.

Α. ♀. CVM LIBRA QVOQ: SOLIS ITER NEPA POSSIDET VSQVE.

Τ. ♂. TVNC PORRÒ ARCITENENS DEXTRÂ VIBRAT IPSE SAGITTAM.

Ω. ♂. ✕. DENIQ: PROVENIVNT; QVI? SVNT CAPER, AMPHORA, FISCES

The "calendar" fills thirty-eight pages. There is no space here for a reprint of even

* In the Ober-Inn-Thal, in Tyrol; founded in 1273.

IN
GAVDIVM
Thom. Kemp. l. 2 de



CRVCE
SPIRITVS.
Imit. Christ. cap. 12. n. 2.

Cum permissu superiorum.

The title may be thus translated :

The happy decade of Aurelius. In other words, a Calendar of this new and passing year 1724, after the nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is the tenth from the beginning of the excellent government of the great convent, of the most reverend, illustrious, and distinguished Augustinus, the most worthy abbot of the holy order of Cistercians of the free and famous monastery of the Blessed Virgin and Saint John the Baptist at Stams, and councillor and perpetual chaplain of the court of his Imperial and royal Catholic Majesty, etc., also the acting Deputy of the provincial States of Tyrol. To whose gracious honour this has been dedicated by Michael Winepaher, priest and "pastor paludanus" in the Passeir Valley. In the Cross is joy of the spirit. (From Thomas à Kempis.) Printed by permission of the authorities.*

An address to the Abbot next follows, couched in figurative language playing on the word 'felix' (in the second line of the title), in allusion to the ten years of his happy reign, and to Arabia Felix so productive of delicious fruits, a name which the Monastery at Stams deserved to have, because there the presence of the Abbot was as the rays of the sun, etc.; ending by a wish that the same rays might fall on the author until the Abbot himself shall have his place among the Saints in the Calendar.

Here the author signs himself as

PASTOR PALUDANUS.

In the calendar of 1726 there are some hexameter chronogram lines on the signs of the zodiac. In that now under notice, we find the following, but different lines, each making the date 1724 :

one month, as I have done elsewhere.† It is followed by these votive verses, addressed to the Abbot of Stams :

† See "Chronograms continued," p. 414.

PRO
PRÆVLE STAMBENSI
VOTA NOVÆ ET SOLENNIA
ASTROLOGI
PALVDANI.

*

LVX SOLIS RADIANS CHARIS STAMBENSIBVS ORTA EST,
AVGVSTINVS VBI CÆNOBII, ANTE DECEN
ANNOS, FIT PRÆSVL; NIMIS Ô DILECTVS AB AXE.
DOCTRINA, ET VIRTVS QVAM SOCIATA FVIT!
MATHVSALÆ HIC GRANDIS PRÆSVL BENE VIVAT IN ANNOS!
ATQVE BONIS OVIBVS GAVDIA MILLE CREET!
CORPORIS ET LANGVOR PARITER DEIN EXVLET OMNIS!
ET MAGNVS CRESCAT VIRIBVS INDE VIGOR!
CÆNOBII PATRIEQVE DECVS, VENERETVR, AMORIS
IN TITVLO, FELIX SVB DITA AMATA COHORS!
FLORESCAT! VIREAT! MAIAS QVOQVE VIRIS AD ALPES!
IMPLET VBI FELIX HORREA DIVA CERES
DENT SVPERI ET CVNCTIS PATRIBVS STAMBENSIBVS ANNOS,
MENSES, QVEIS CVNCTI SVNT SINE NVBE DIES!
NVMINA LATA VIRI SOLENNIA VOTA FECVNDENT!
CÆNOBII GRANDIS SERVVS HIC VSQVE MANET.

A playful astrological appendix next follows, with this title-page:

CONSVETA,
ET PLANÈ VTILISSIMA
APPENDIX,

*

IN QVA
EX STELLA SPECTATÆ MAGNITVDINIS,

*

INSIGNITER, ET LVCVLENTIVS DEMONSTRATVR

*

CERTA
ET MERA VERITAS
DE FVTVRIS CONTINGENTIBVS.

*

AVCTORE
EXPERTISSIMO ASTROLOGO
PALVDANO, IN PASSYRIA.

This "customary and most useful appendix" contains verses in chronogram of a pretended prophetic character about the seasons, the eclipses, and a big war about to happen in Spain, with these several headings:

ΕCCE Προγγισιν
DE QVATVOR ISTIVS ANNI TEMPORIBVS.

*

PRÆFATVM
DE ECLIPSIBVS LABENTE ISTO ANNO
FVTVRIS.

*

Προγγισιν
DE INGENTI BELLO,
CERTISSIMÈ, ISTO ANNO, IN HISPANIA
EXORITVRO.

The last words in this calendar are:

NVMEN
LAVDETVR ET GLORIFICETVR
SINE FINE!

This curious calendar and appendix for the year 1724 contains fifty folio-size pages, and 959 chronograms, all making that one date.

The calendar for 1727 has a handsome title-page boldly printed in red and black, all in chronogram of that year, as follows:

ΕΠΙΣΟΠVS
QVEM
PAVLVS HABERE INTENDIT,
IRREPREHENSIBILIS,

*

SIVE
CALENDARIVM LABENTIS
NOVI ISTIVS ANNI

*

AB IPSA NATIVITATE DOMINI,
AC GRATIOSI SERVATORIS NOSTRI
IESV CHRISTI

*

M.DCC.XXVII.

*

IN QVO
PRÆTER FESTA ORDINARIA,
MEROS SANCTOS, BEATOSQVE
ΕΠΙΣΟΠΟΣ VENERATIONI
PROPOSUIT,

*

VERSVMQVE CHRONOGRAPHICO ADVMBRAVIT,

*

MICHAEL VVINEPAHER,
PRESBIJTER, ET PASTOR PALVDANVS IN PASSIJRA.

SALISBURGI,

Typis Joannis Josephi Mayr, Aulaco-Academici
Typographi p.m. Hæredum.--Priostat Oenoponti apud
Simonem Holzer, Bibliop.

This title may be thus translated :

The Bishop whom Paul inclines to hold blameless, or, in other words, a Calendar of this new current year 1727, after the very nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. In which are set forth, in addition to the ordinary festivals, the holy and blessed bishops for veneration, and sketched in chronogrammatic verse by Michael Winepacher, presbyter and pastor "paludanus" in the Passeir Valley. Printed, etc., at Salzburg. Published, etc., at Innsbruck.

Then follows an address to Antonius

XII. SIGNA ZODIACI QVÆ MAGNIS
PASSIBVS SOL PERAGRARE SOLET.
τ. QVANDO ARIES FVKIT, ET FERVET, TVNC CORNVA MONSTRAT.
♄. SEGNIOR AC CVRRVM TAVRVS AD ARVA TRAHIT.
♊. CONCORDANT GEMINI: SVNT VERÈ FRATER VT VNVS.
♋. IPSE MOVET CANCER VIX, VT ET ANTE, PEDES.
♌. E SYLVA (HÆC REX EST) AVDI RVGIRE LEONEM?
♍. NON PETIT; EXHORRET VIRGO PVDICA PROCVM.
♎. EXHIBET VSQVE POLVS SAT RECTO PONDIKE LIBRAM.
♏. SCORPIVS, VT VIRVS, FIT MEDICINA TIBI.
♐. EX ARTE ARCTENENS, VAH! FRVSTRA TENDIT ET ARCVUM,
♑. ABSCONDENT RVPS TOT QVIA IN AXE CAPRVM.
♒. CERNIS, VT EFFVNDAT CONSTANTER AQVARIVS VRNAM:
♓. EXTINGVIT RECREANS PISCIBVS INDE SITIM.

Then follows a list of thirteen movable feasts (festa mobilia) and the daily calendar on the same plan as before, with chronograms of the year and German translations. A different set of Saints and circumstances is given in each of the three calendars. After the calendar the appendix follows, with a title-page, thus :

VTILES EQVIDEM,
ATQVE INSIGNIORES
OBSERVATIONES
ASTROLOGICÆ,
*
TVBO OPTICO
EX TVRRI PASSIRIÆ
NON ITA PRIDEM SPECTATÆ

*
IN QVIBVS
FVNESTÆ ECLIPSES, MORBI,
HORRIDA PRÆLIA, &c.
SIGNATA SVNT.

*
EX MANVS CRIPTI
SENIORIS PASTORIS PALVDIANI
PROLATÆ

*
DIE
AVSZ HEVR REGIERENDEN, DOCH KALTEN
PLANETEN SATVRNO,
ERSEHENE VVETTER,

GRAVSAME FINSTERNVSSEN,
GEFAHRLICH-HITZIGE
KRANKHEITEN, VND ARTIGE KRIEGS-LAVFFE.

*
AM TAG GEGEBEN
VON ALTEN HIRTEN DER FRISCH-VERFAVLTEN
PASSEYRER VVASSERN.

*
ANNO PRÆSENTE.

A set of Latin chronogram verses follows, in four stanzas; each describes one of the four seasons, with a German metrical version appended. It has this title :

SACRA, ET EXACTA
ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ
DE
QVATVOR ANNIS TEMPORIBVS.

After this other sets of chronogram verses follow, bearing respectively these titles, in allusion to certain events, and somewhat jocular and satirical in character, but too long for the pages of the *Antiquary* :

EN ECLIPSIN! EX ORTV SVO VERÈ
PALPANDAM!

*
QVÆ, ÆGIPTIACÀ ILLA,
VIX MINOR HABERI DEBET.
Ad cosmophilum Atheum.

— o —
DE MORBIS,
VT EX SATVRNO APPARET,

LABENTE HOC ANNO, FATALIBVS.
Ad duos germanos Fratres. Porphyrium, et
Gangarum, Chyragrā laborantes.

—o—
DE BELLO,
QVOD LABENTE ISTO ANNO,
LYÆVS, ET NEPTVNVS GERERE INTENDVNT.

—o—
ISTE ANNVS, VT AB ASTRIS COLLIGO,
MERIS FVNGIS ABVNDABIT.
Ad Philibertum Astrologum.

This calendar for the year 1727 contains 59 folio-size pages, and 1,077 chronograms, all making that one date. The three calendars by this author Winepaher give us a total of 2,925 chronograms.

It is necessary to refer to the rule laid down in the first of this series of papers (*Antiquary*, xvi. 58), viz., that every letter which is a Roman numeral *must* be counted. Such letters must not be adopted or rejected to suit the intended date. A process of selection of this kind could be carried on with any page of printed or written matter, and a date sentence might be so constructed with the greatest facility, but it would be no chronogram after all. A misprint in a properly constructed chronogram is easy of detection, and can be rectified with confidence if the rule has been observed; but the process of correction may be less easy with chronograms printed throughout in small letters, as not infrequently happens, if the rule has been neglected. Take a chronogram so printed, and restore all the numeral letters into tall capitals, and count them up; the date should then come forth correctly. This will be made clear by what follows, extracted from among examples composed and printed more than 320 years ago, and contained in two tracts which have recently come under my notice in the library of the Rev. Walter Begley. No other copies are known to me.

Bavarian History.—Title-page: "Chrono-

graphia particularis, in gratiam illustrissimi principis Alberti, Boiariæ ducis, congesta, authore MKD." A second title is as follows: "Arithmologia, seu Memorale chronographicum, per quædam disticha," etc., etc. By Martinus Clostromarius, otherwise Martin Klostermair, medical doctor at Munich. Printed at Munich, 1567, pp. 64, size 8 × 5½. The tract seems to have been printed under the patronage of the Duke Albert of Bavaria. After eleven pages containing a flattering address to the Duke, and complimentary verses to the author, we find an explanation of the use of the numeral letters; then immediately following are sixteen pages of chronograms relating to Bavarian history and illustrious men, printed without in any way distinguishing the numeral letters. The dates in ordinary figures are appended to each. The following may be taken as examples of all, as they appear in the print:

The date of the founding of the City of Munich, Anno 1175.

"Vrbs fundata viret Monacensis, Laus tibi trino."

A certain church was built there, Anno 1468.

"Virginis insignitæ Ecclesia structa Monaci."

Charles, of Spain, was elected emperor, Anno 1519.

"Carolus eligitur Cæsarque propagine sancta, Hesperiae magnæ, prospera sceptrā gerens."

The marriage of the Duke Albert at Ratisbon, Anno

1546.

"Connubia et Boius Dux Albrechtus celebravit, Cui Rattisponæ Regia sponsa data."

The death of the heretical Martin Luther, Anno

1546.

"Occubuit Martinus ut hæresiarcha Lutherus Hæresiarcha furens, ipse prophana tulit."

The death of the author's parents; his father, Anno 1540; and his mother, Anno 1527.

"Hic genitor Klostermair fatali jacet hora, Exuvias linquens, Spiritus astra colit."

"Anna Patris coniunx præcessit tot morientes Annos, quot graphice lecta sapit."

I now render the same lines into chronograms with every numeral letter distinguished by superior size:

VRBS FVNDATA VIRET MONACENSIS, LAVS TIBI TNINO	= 1175.
VIRGINIS INSIGNITÆ ECCLESIA STRUCTA MONACI	= 1468.
CAROLVS ELIGITVR CÆSARQVE PROPAGINE SANCTA	= 1519.
HESPERIÆ MAGNÆ, PROSPERA SCEPTRA GERENS.	
CONNUBIA ET BOIVS DVX ALBRECHTVS CELEBRAVIT,	= 1546.
CVI RATTISPONÆ REGIA SPONSA DATA.	
OCCVBVIT MARTINVS VT HÆRESIARCHA LVTHERVVS,	= 1546.
HÆRESIARCHA FVRENS, IPSE PROPHANA TVLIT.	
HIC GENITOR KLOSTERMAIR FATALI IACET HORA,	= 1540.
EXVVIAS LINQVENS, SPIRITVS ASTRA COLIT.	
ANNA PATRIS CONIVNX, PRÆCESSIT TOT MORIENTES	= 1527.
ANNOS, QVOT GRAPHICE LITTERA LECTA SAPIT.	

The tract contains more than 200 numeral lines, or couplets, thus capable of being rendered into chronograms; some, however, are not composed with due attention to the letter $D=500$, the author having remarked at the outset that the letter may sometimes be so counted. Such, we have seen, is almost the rule with the early Flemish writers, though later on admitted to be wrong.

The other tract is composed in a manner similar to the foregoing one. It relates to Bohemian history, and bears this title: "Disticha certis literarum notis annos a Christo nato exprimentia, quibus omnium Regum Bohemorum inaugurationes, obitus, quorundam etiam natales, & dignitatum accessiones contigerunt, adjunctis iconibus eorundem ad vivum effigiatis," etc., etc. "Autore Davide Crinito Nepomuceno Reip: Rakownicenæ Notario." Printed at Prague. No date, but probably about 1566, pp. 31, size $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. The work is dedicated to the Emperor Maximilian II., who reigned from 1564 to 1576. The subject consists of

hexameter and pentameter couplets appropriate to the Kings of Bohemia, from Wratislaus I. in 1086 to Maximilian I. in 1564, when the country was united to Austria. A woodcut representation of each—we can hardly venture to say portrait—within a circular border precedes the couplets, which really are intended for chronograms, although, as in the tract last described, the numeral letters have no distinguishing mark to indicate that meaning. I select a few by way of illustration:

Wladislaus II. is crowned, Anno 1169.

"Regali excipitur princeps Wladislaus honore,
Hunc tribuit Virtus, Cæsar at ipse tulit."

He died, Anno 1184.

"Frena ut septenis Wladislaus Regalia lustris
Gesserat, hunc Clotho tetrica sponte necat."

Primislaus Ottogarus began to reign, Anno 1254.

"Nomen avi, Ottogarus, qui Rex sortitur, et
hæres, Suscipit extincti Regia frena patris."

He died fighting against the Emperor Rodolph, Anno 1278.

"Pacta ubi connubii infringit confecta Rodolpho
Ottogarus, tractans acria bella ruit."

The same lines rendered into chronograms:

REGALI EXCIPITVR PRINCEPS VVLADSLAVVS HONORE,	}	= 1169.
HVNC TRIBVIT VIRTVS, CÆSAR AT IPSE TVLIT.		
FRENA VT SEPTENIS VVLADSLAVS REGALIA LVSTRIS	}	= 1184.
GESSERAT, HVNC CLOTHO TETRICA SPONTE NECAT.		
NOMEN AVI, OTTAGARVS, QVI REX SORTITVR, ET HÆRES,	}	= 1254.
SVSCIPIT EXTINCTI REGIA FRENA PATRIS.		
PACTA VBI CONNVBII INFRINGIT CONFECTA RODOLPHO	}	= 1278.
OTTAGARVS, TRACTANS ACRIA BELLA RVIT.		

There are altogether seventy-five chronograms made on the same plan, and though occupying twenty-three pages, are somewhat uninteresting. Both tracts are very rare. A book-hunter may wait for years before another copy may turn up. Later on, I shall adduce other examples of chronograms printed without distinguished date letters.

A rare tract in the library of the Rev. W. Begley, size $7\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ inches, pp. 36, with a frontispiece and six emblematical engravings and "explanations" in Latin, designed to glorify the infantile Archduke Joseph of Austria, who became Emperor of Germany in 1705. It bears this title: "Allusio votiva, ad auspicatissima nomina serenissimi archiducis Josephi Jacobi Joannis Ignatii Antonii Eustachii, Pragæ regni Boëmiae metropolin primèvis visitantis

QVO LIBVSSA DIE PRAGENSES ELE VAT ARCES:

(23 Septembris, Anno 1717.)

HOC ETIAM VOLVIT REX REVENIRE DIE.

(23 Septembris, Anno 1679.)"

The chronograms show two anniversary dates—the latter one applicable to the occasion celebrated by the tract. It is dedicated to the Emperor Leopold I., the father of the Archduke, by the author Ludovicus Carolus Wit. The approbation and the license to print issues from the Clementine (Jesuits') College at Prague. Each emblem is a representation of some Scriptural or beatified character bearing one of the names of the Archduke. The chronogrammatic features are confined to the title-page, and to a subsequent title, with an anagram on the names, and thus dated:

Nascitur ad Pacem Princeps: Componitur Orbis
EIVS AD ARBITRIVM: NOSCITVR VNGVE LEO.

This gives the date 1679, and has allusion to the Lion in the armorial device of Bohemia. On the reverse of this title-page is an "echo" verse, and a curious example of "retrograde" composition as follows. The latter commences with the word "saltat," and the

words are to be read the same forwards as backwards :

Alludat et refracta Laudat
Principi Pacis Echo :
Echo per imperii portas portusque Naonis
Læta sonat, Mavors non tonat, Auster ovat.
Et
Saltat ad artem animo, non omina metra dat atlas :
In germine enim Regni
Te rege non egeret
Sic apertè et re pacis
Messem.

Quæ olim plena (non est) heu Luna Boëma
Passa tot eclipses orto SOLE LEONIS :
SOLE SED AVGVSTO PROPRIORE NITEBIT ET IPSAS,
ABSTERGET TENEBRAS PROVT OLIM PLENA FVTVRA.

(To be continued.)



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Mexican Gothamite Story.—Once, upon a great festival, the Town Council of Lagos went to the parish church to hear the Mass. And all the members of the Council were dressed in seemly state in black coats and tight black trousers and flowing cloaks, and each wore a wide-brimmed hat of black felt over which a feather gallantly curled. For their comfort a leather-covered bench was placed before the chancel rail. And when they came to sit, each man, in the order of his dignity, sat down upon the bench and placed beside him his hat. But when six of the twelve Councillors thus were seated the bench was full. Then a whispered conference was held, and it was decided that the bench must be stretched. So six of them took hold of one end, and the other six took hold of the other end, and they pulled hard. Then they came to sit again. And now the first Councillor put his hat beneath the bench ; and the second did likewise, and so did they all. And they all in comfort sat down—by which they knew that they had sufficiently stretched the bench. Being thus seated, the first Councillor crossed his right leg over his left leg ; and so did the second Councillor, and so did they all. But when came the time in the Mass when all must rise, not one of the Councillors could tell certainly which two of the twenty-four legs were his ; for all

Ades maturè, oro, erutam seda
Te nam solem te seges et melos manet.

The allusions here are difficult of explanation ; “atlas” means the Christian world, and “solem” seems to signify the influence of Sol (the sun), typical of the Emperor and the Archduke. The author concludes by humbly offering the “allusions” to the most august Emperor, finishing with these verses, making the date 1670 :

were clad in tight black trousers and all were crossed. And each man looked at the many legs among which were his own, and sorrowfully wondered if he ever should know his own legs among so many and so be able to arise and walk. And while they thus pondered it fell out that the first Councillor was bitten by a flea fiercely in his rearward parts. And the first Councillor slapped at the flea, and, that he might slap the better, uncrossed his legs. Then the second Councillor knew which were his legs ; and so did the third, and so did they all. And so they all uncrossed their legs, and with great thankfulness arose.—*From “Mexican Folk-lore and Superstitions,” in Scribner’s Magazine.*

Bow Castle Broch, Gala Water.—The following appeared in the *Scotsman* of March 11 : “About four months ago the discovery of a broch on one of the heights overlooking Gala Water was announced in our columns. Since then the interior of the old ruin has been cleared out, and a partial examination has been made of its surroundings, we regret to say, without any tool or article of human handiwork having been found belonging to the rearers of brochs—whoever they were. Those who came upon the broch, which is on the farm of Bow, four miles north-west of Galashiels, and marked ‘Castle’ in the Ordnance Survey maps, hoped that the announcement of the discovery might induce some of the Antiquarian Societies to undertake its exploration. They

applied to a Border Association of this kind, but did not succeed. Some Edinburgh archaeologists visited the ruin, and it was hoped that this might lead to an exploration under the supervision of experts, but nothing of this kind resulted from their visit, and the discoverers of the ancient fortress or dwelling of a race unknown in history were reluctantly forced to get the work done in the best way available to them. As intimated at the time of the discovery, the farm is on the Stow estate of Lady Reay, and when her factor, Mr. Crawford, W.S., Duns, was applied to, he very obligingly offered to send men to clear out the ruin if its discoverers would be responsible for instructing them how to proceed. Accordingly, the large collection of relics from brochs in the north of Scotland, now in the Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, was examined, and the various types carefully noted, so that were anything allied to them found at Bow Castle it would not escape detection. The bone tools and implements, and the pounding stones or hammers, and the stone lamps or drinking-cups of the broch-men, are so different from those of the so-called Stone and Bronze Ages, that anyone can recognise them at a glance. As previously stated, when the broch was discovered it presented to the inexperienced eye only a low flattened mound of loose stones capping the apex of a peaked height 1,020 feet above sea-level, precipitous on the south-west, and declining on the north-east by a gradient of about 5 degrees from the horizontal towards the hill stream called Halkburn. But the north-east margin of the pile consisted of large stones plainly disposed in a circular position, suggesting building. A cursory examination showed that the ruin was the base of a wall $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, of uncemented, undressed stone, enclosing a circular space 32 feet in diameter. This, as was stated, was enough to prove that the ruin belonged to the architectural type well known in the north and north-west of Scotland as brochs. The first step in exploration was to clear out to the floor the interior space enclosed by the wall. It consisted of stones and black earth, and it was meant to pass all the earth through a riddle, so that any needle or pin of bone it might contain would not escape observation. The earth, however,

was found to be too humid to pass through the riddle. There is no reason for holding that this made any difference as to the result, for the men were so careful in removing the debris that every fragment of bone was easily distinguished and laid aside. When the interior had been cleared out to what was considered the level of the original floor, it was seen that the floor consisted of fine clay that had been hardened by fire after being laid down. Its colour, a bright red, approaching pink; its hard, compact texture, portions of it less decomposed by weathering than the mass, being scarcely distinguishable from recently-made brick, were held to prove that the clay had been baked by fire. The undersides of portions of it were plainly marked by longitudinal grooves and variously shaped depressions such as soft clay would take if pressed down on a rough stony bed. No lines could be seen on the upper surface to suggest a paving of previously burned brick. The substance used had been pure and very fine clay, without any admixture of sand. The flooring on the south-west side for a distance of 4 yards in length by 1 in width was pavement of flat, irregularly shaped stones. These were lifted, and found to cover loose stones that had evidently been used to fill a natural hollow in the rocky site on which the broch had been reared. At many places the floor was strewn with black dust and pieces of wood charcoal, the larger fragments about 1 inch cubes. The investing wall, wherever examined, was found, to be laid on rock *in situ*. The next step was to dig up and to remove the flooring, and this done, it was found to cover, to an approximate level, the out-cropping margins of the Llandoveny grits dipping at a high angle, and striking north-easterly across the site of the broch. So far, no distinctive relic of the broch age was found. Not a fragment of a broken quern, or stone vessel, or bone implement was disinterred. Several teeth of horses, fragments of the skeletons of sheep, rabbits, and of smaller animals, probably mice and birds, were picked up—all of which might have been placed there after the work was a ruin. The teeth of the horses invited some consideration—as modern conditions are against their existence on a lonely hill-top; but it was once part of the forest grazings

of the Melrose monks, who kept herds of wild horses, and the wolves of that period may have dragged into the ruin of the broch portions of such game on which they preyed. Only one specimen of bone found was faintly suggestive of the broch-men. It is 3 inches in length by 2 in width, thin, and very much decayed. The cells are so large as to be suggestive of the osseous structure of the cetacea—and it is known that the builders of the northern brochs made some of their tools out of the large bones of the whale; but the fragment under consideration is not in the least tool-like, and it is safest to draw no inference from its cellular character. Fragments of three earthenware vessels were found above the level of the original floor. All have been shaped on the potter's wheel, and hard baked. The diameter of the largest of the three must have been about a couple of feet, and portions are almost 1 inch in thickness. One of the vessels has been so hardly baked that it rings like metal when struck. When the interior of the work had been fully cleared out it was found that the investing wall was $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, from 12 to 18 inches in height, without any trace of cement, and on the exterior margin having a foundation of large boulders. The inner margin is in places founded with large stones, but in other portions of slabs that a child might handle. Among the ruins the two largest blocks now visible are 7 feet and a few inches in length, by over 2 feet in width, the one being about 12 inches in thickness and the other about 24. From this maximum blocks of all sizes down to mere splinters have been used in the structure. The diameter of the open space within the wall does not vary more than 6 inches—the average of four cross measurements being 31 feet 9 inches. Most of the larger stones are boulders that have been shorn of their angles by travelling, but some of them are so angular as to suggest that they have been torn from the beds on which the broch stands. The entrance to the broch was easily enough determined, and is on the north-east side, which, as already said, is a gentle slope. At one side of the passage half of the original foundation has been preserved; at the other side, only one of the foundation-stones—so far as can be reason-

ably judged—remains. Measured thus, the width of the passage at the inner end has been 4 feet 8 inches—in harmony with entrances to some of the northern brochs, as described by Mr. Craig, junior, Edinburgh. The outer half of the passage is entirely ruinous, and its original character cannot now be determined. Aware of the fact that the best 'finds' of broch relics were got in ash deposits, a cursory search for one or more of these was made near the Bow Broch, but without success. The surface is natural grass, and on both sides the peak is so freely exposed to blasts from the south-west that no ashes could rest on their surface. But on both sides, and also in front of the broch, traces of ash-heaps were sought for by picking into the grass over low knolls, but no charcoal was seen. It was intended to clear the exterior of the wall all round, but the non-discovery of anything of the slightest value was so disheartening that this was not carried out. The broch has occupied nearly all the apex of the peak, but on the slope on the north-east side, where the entrance is, are what seem to be artificial flats of approximately circular form, defined by the foundations of stone dikes. One such leaves one side of the work, and runs down the slope about 150 yards, to where it has been cut off by cultivation. This wall must have been at least 3 feet in thickness, and is plainly connected with the broch. That the building was a broch, as defined by Scottish archaeologists, there is no room to doubt or question, and it is one of the only two at present known south of the Forth. Probably there are between the Forth and the Cheviots many mounds which, if examined, might turn out works of the same type. Had this Bow 'Castle' been in a moist valley its gray weather-bleached stones would long ago have been buried under rank grass or waving bracken, and pilgrims in Borderland should seek out and examine stony mounds for traces of these old and interesting buildings.

A Pioneer of Intelligent Church Restoration.—Dunchurch is one of the most beautiful of the larger agricultural villages in Warwickshire, which, before the era of railways, formed one of the changing-stations on the great north-road, as its overgrown inn with stabling for a hundred horses

testifies, but it is now known to few, except hunting-men, with many of whom the aforesaid inn is a favourite resort. Dunchurch possesses a few good specimens of cottage-form; but most of its antiquarian interest centres in its church, which is a very good example of the usual Midland village type, having an aisleless chancel, and nave and aisles roofed in one span, and consequently possessing a somewhat lofty nave arcade, but no clere-story. Possibly its chief importance lies in its having been one of the earliest village churches to be restored, of which there remains an account.† Some time after the appointment of the late Archdeacon Sandford to the vicarage living, it became necessary to restore the church, which was in a shocking state; and the vicar therefore set about it at once. The condition of the church is pointed out in a letter from John Carter, the antiquary, in 1800 (*Gent's Mag.*, vol. lxx., p. 1146), in which he says: "In the interior of the church I was not less busily employed on its architectural parts, where my greatest attention was directed to the ornaments and tracery on the sides of the seats ranging along the aisles of the building, inexhaustible in their varying forms. While thus engaged, I received a visit from the clergyman and the clerk; and I was not a little confounded which to wonder at most—the apathy of the former, who could not possibly conceive what in his church was worth my notice; or the insensibility of the latter, who said they were burning off (as occasion permitted) the old rummaging oak seats, to make way for *fine new deal pews*, which I assure my readers, from those already set up, were very little better in point of carpentry than a Smithfield Bartholomew show-booth. They then left me with much seeming contempt for passing my time in such useless employ as pouring (*sic*) over mouldy walls, broken pavements, noseless figures, and worm-eaten boards." From this extract, it may be conceived that Archdeacon Sandford had a fairly open field for restoration; and in *Parochialia* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1845), he gives an account of what he had done, and his reasons for doing it. Although at the present day architects and those learned in Gothic styles will find much to grumble at in

the condition of Dunchurch, the restoration was made with taste and reverence far in front of the time; and *Parochialia* remains a book to be studied by persons interested in church restoration. The account given is clear and straightforward, though unhappily the author has not thought it necessary to give either exact dates or names; the date of the restoration may, however, be fixed at between 1842 and 1845. The value of the book lies chiefly in its wood-cuts, which were evidently drawn by someone who was well conversant with details of the work he was depicting. For example, some of the bench ends, for which Dunchurch is notable, are, although drawn to a small scale, so clearly defined that, with enlargement, they might serve for working drawings. The windows, too, are drawn to scale; and, with the exception of that of the very curious eastern window, are equally good. A cut of the west door is added, and shows a fine decorated portal—plain, but striking. Amongst other good points, this book has a sample of plans, and a table of dimensions. One of the pillars has a late decorated capital, composed of a slight hollow at each of the eight angles, being a ball-flower; above are two waved mouldings, nearly the diameter of the column in depth; and above that an embattled cornice. The description is most uninviting; but, nevertheless, the effect is good. The author details the care which he took that all remnants of antiquity should be preserved and, where possible, retained in their original place; and where new work was absolutely necessary, that the insertions should be positive reproductions of the original. Such additions as were unavoidable—seats, stalls, and the like—he was careful should be as nearly in accord with the building as the doubtful taste of the period permitted. It would seem probable from the text that Mr. Sandford was his own architect; and the occurrence of the name of the recently-deceased Matthew Bloxam makes it more than probable that he had the advice and assistance of that distinguished authority on Gothic architecture. The greater part of the book details the archdeacon's method of managing his parish and schools.—A. C. B.



Antiquarian News.

A MEETING was held on March 13, in the lecture-hall of the Incorporated Law Society, Mr. Lake, the president, in the chair, to consider the best means for ensuring the safe custody and preservation of provincial records. Letters from several well-known antiquaries and others, expressing regret at their inability to attend, were read. Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore then proposed the formation of a Central Record Board, presided over by the Master of the Rolls, which should report upon the condition and custody of provincial records. It was suggested, also, that County Record offices should be formed under the auspices of the County Councils, in which might ultimately be deposited not merely "County Records," but parish registers, and other local muniments, with provision, also, for the inclusion of private documents, *pro salva custodia*, the adoption of the scheme to be, within certain limits, voluntary in each county, and due regard had for vested interests. After some discussion, the following resolution was adopted: "That the time has arrived for taking steps to ensure the safer custody and preservation of local records; and that, to effect this object, it is desirable that County Record offices should be established as depositories for local records." A committee was then appointed to ascertain how such a scheme could best be carried out.

The duty of erecting tablets on historical houses in a locality is not likely to be ignored. Mr. John Robinson, one of the leading members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, has sent us a prospectus of the "Memorial Tablet Fund," in which he points out that the cost of carrying out this work in Newcastle will be small; yet, as the funds of no existing society are available for the purpose, an appeal is made for subscriptions. We extract the following: "In Newcastle there are several houses made historical by the lives of some of her greatest citizens having been associated with them. The names of Collingwood, Eldon, Stowell, and Armstrong will ever cast an honour upon the city of their birth, yet their birthplaces are unknown to the majority of its inhabitants. The houses in which lived divines, missionaries, and scholars whose fame is world-wide; the homes of artists and musicians whom we delight to claim as natives of our city; and the houses in which lived the great architects and builders who made modern Newcastle, are not known to many; while the rooms frequented by Garibaldi, Mazzini, Kossuth, Marat, W. Lloyd Garrison, and other great foreign patriots, are passed by unnoticed by thousands daily. The visit of the British Association to Newcastle this year is most opportune for such a movement."

We have received the prospectus of the *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*. It is to be illustrated and published quarterly. In a sub-title it is called an "Antiquarian Gleaner," apparently from Mr. Austin Dobson's poem, "We are the Gleaners after Time," which was published in *The Antiquary*.

The New York *Nation* recently alleged that it had come into possession of a document giving the names of persons liable to pay the first of the subsidies granted by Parliament in 1598 in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and that the name of Shakespeare occurs in the list, thus showing he was then living in St. Helen's.

It has been reported that a master baker, residing in Hainburg, in Lower Austria, found beneath the floor a pot containing perhaps a thousand silver coins. It is conjectured that they were buried in 1683, when a Turkish invasion seemed imminent.

About three weeks ago some workmen, while digging near North Ballachulish, came upon a prehistoric grave. The urn is made of peat, with powdered granite and mica schist kneaded in to give strength. The specimen is unique, as those which have been hitherto discovered are all of clay.

An interesting discovery was lately made at the Wynne Slate Quarry, Glyn Ceiriog. During the cleavage of a block by the workmen, a curious specimen of fossil came to light, half of which Mr. Frank Rooper sent to the British Museum, and for which he received the thanks of the trustees. It is described as "An *Orhoceras*, in Silurian slate rock (altered by slaty cleavage)."

A discovery of great interest has been made in York Minster. Workmen engaged in sanitary improvements in the old Song School unearthed a beautiful tiled floor about two feet below the ordinary stone floor, and beneath the gas and water pipes. It was in a wonderful state of preservation. The tiles have been taken up, to admit of the necessary excavations, and meanwhile some human remains, evidently of great age, have been dug up.

It is said that the Russian Government has not abandoned the idea of obtaining for the Orthodox Greek Church the fragment of a cross alleged to be a portion of the cross found by Helena, which once adorned the Church of Santa Sophia at Constantinople, and is now in the episcopal treasury of Limburg-on-the-Lahn. It is added that great concessions would be made to procure this precious relic.

Shrove Tuesday was celebrated in the usual manner at Dorking this year, when, according to a custom which has prevailed for the past 500 or 600 years,

football was played in the streets. All business was suspended, and the shops were barricaded, the town itself looking as if it were besieged. Hundreds of people witnessed the game, including some of the leading tradesmen of the town.

A letter of Burns's, and two of Sir Walter Scott's, were sold at Dumfries in March last, and only realized very moderate prices. The former was purchased for £2, and the latter for 10s. and 10s. 6d. respectively. A short time ago Miss Todd, a granddaughter of Gavin Hamilton, bequeathed to the Kilmarnock Museum two original letters of the poet.

The public library at Newcastle has, by a bequest of the late Mr. H. P. A. B. Riddell, C.S.I., of Whitefield House, Heppel, Northumberland, been enriched to the extent of from 800 to 1,000 volumes of rare books, dealing principally with antiquities and archæology, and including a complete set of the journals and transactions of the Royal Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay; an exhaustive series of departmental reports; memoirs of eminent Anglo-Indians, political and military; and histories of India, and other Asiatic dominions. The late Mr. Riddell had held many important civil posts in India, including that of Postmaster-General for India, and was a member of the Legislative Council of India. His nephew and successor, Mr. J. W. B. Riddell, has added to his uncle's bequest a large number of volumes of a similar character.

An interesting relic was recently found by a young girl whilst gathering a burden of small wood under what is traditionally known as the "Roman Camp," situated on the top of a high cliff on the eastern part of Drummond Hill, behind Taymouth Castle. The relic is a perfect specimen of the ancient "celt," and has been purchased by the Marquis of Breadalbane for a considerable sum. Lord Breadalbane has taken the relic to London to submit it to the British Museum authorities.

Rochester Castle is by far the finest ruin within thirty miles of London, and there is no specimen of ecclesiastical Norman work within the same area comparable to Rochester Cathedral. Works are now going on to support the foundations of the west front, and the workmen at the base of this undoubtedly Norman wall have come across another wall, which is believed to have been part of the church erected in 614 by Ethelbert, King of West Kent, in honour of St. Andrew.

Workmen are at present engaged in restoring the interior of the room known as the library in Fernihurst Castle, near Jedburgh. This room, which is situated in the south-west corner of the building, is of circular form, and had a beautiful oak-pannelled roof, with a

nicely carved pendant in the centre. The panelling, which was somewhat broken, has been restored. Two windows, 2 feet high by 20 inches wide, which had been built up, have been cleared out, as also some shot-holes. The door leading into the room has been raised about half a foot. The room is to have a double floor; the lower one, which is of red-wood, has already been laid; and the upper, which is to be of oak, will be laid by-and-by. The walls are to be lined with fine larch grown on the estate. Lord Lothian, it is understood, intends to carry out other improvements soon.

A movement has been started for organising a new archæological society for Yorkshire. Mr. R. V. Taylor published the following letter on the subject in a recent issue of the *Leeds Mercury*: "With the suggestion of Mr. Edmund Wilson, of Red Hall, Leeds, in his letter to you about a fortnight ago on the above subject, I heartily concur. During the last ten or twelve years especially a vast amount of valuable information respecting Yorkshire history, biography, antiquities, topography, and genealogy has been given in the local papers. It is, therefore, very desirable that an association should be formed in Leeds of all those who are interested in the above subjects, and who would be willing to assist in their arrangement, classification, preservation, and development. There are somewhat similar associations in Bradford, Hull, Huddersfield, and many other places, as Batley and Heckmondwike; then why not in Leeds, which ought to be the headquarters of all the other associations? A room is wanted, where the meetings could be held and the collections arranged. Probably one might be obtained in the Municipal Buildings or in the Philosophical Hall, or at the Yorkshire College, Mechanics' Institute, or at Red Hall, etc. It should properly contain copies of all the Yorkshire books, engravings, and MSS.; and all the articles on Yorkshire history, antiquities, biography, topography, and genealogy should be cut or copied out of the local papers and placed in alphabetical order, according to persons, places, and subjects; and large folio indexes should be made and continued of all these, and also from the index of every Yorkshire book, manuscript, and subject; with another book for lists of what is still required to be done, and the names of those who would assist, etc. Above a hundred names were forwarded a few years ago of those who were willing to assist in a comprehensive History of Yorkshire, and in the formation of a Yorkshire Historical Society. Hoping other suggestions will be forthcoming from Yorkshire authors, antiquaries, topographers, etc."

We have already called attention to Mr. Albert Hartshorne's projected work on Seventeenth and

Eighteenth Century Wine-Glasses and Goblets. But the subject has not hitherto been treated, and it is desirable that any notes which may enhance the completeness of the work may be communicated to the author. Mr. Hartshorne's book will describe the drinking-glasses of the time of the Civil War, and of the Restoration; the glasses with coins in the stems; those of which the fashion was introduced at the coming of William III., the glasses of the Jacobite and rival clubs; those which came in on the accession of George I.; the tall champagne glasses punch and ale glasses; "Hogarth" glasses; masonic glasses; thistle glasses; commemorative, memento, and memorial glasses; armorial glasses; betrothal glasses; sealed glasses; "blunderbusses;" political glasses; square-footed glasses; liqueur glasses; rummers; coaching glasses; the numerous variety of beaded, twisted, threaded, and coloured stemmed glasses; and the engraved, gilt, and cut wine-glasses and goblets of the latter part of the last century. Mr. Hartshorne will be glad of any notes of *dated* examples, with descriptions and heights of such glasses, their shapes and the fashion of their stems, and references to collections of such objects.

For some time it has been apparent that the east wall of the chancel of the parish church of Ellesmere has been sinking, and the subsidence has naturally given rise to anxiety. The church is built on a mound which stands many feet above the level of the streets that skirt two sides of the churchyard, and the end of the chancel runs quite near to the retaining wall surrounding the churchyard. Mr. Pearson, R.A., the architect of Truro Cathedral, was consulted, and he recommended the under-pinning of the side walls of the chancel and the entire rebuilding of the gable-end.

Among items of "restoration" news we notice a movement is on foot for the restoration of Rossett Parish Church, at a cost of about £4,000, and that Old Malton Priory Church has been re-opened after restoration. With all its rich relics of the monastic era, Yorkshire has only one memorial of the Gilbertine order, and that is, St. Mary's Priory Church at Old Malton, which, in fact, is the sole church of the only English monastic order ever founded that is still used for public worship.

Early in March last the Dean of Westminster delivered a very interesting lecture on Westminster Abbey at Toynbee Hall in the East End. After sketching the origin and history of the edifice, the Dean pointed out that as the place of the crowning and burial of English monarchs, the Abbey focussed the national history. At the present time the utterances of the Dean on the subject of the Abbey are

naturally of much interest. He proceeded to point out the connection of Wales and Scotland with the Abbey, observing that the crown of the last Welsh King, Llewellyn, was brought to that sacred place, whilst the remains of Henry VIII., the Welsh King, and James I., the first Scottish King, were buried there. In that way they could see how the Abbey helped to typify the solidification of England. After a time people began to realize that poets held an empire no less than that of Kings, and the first great poet, Chaucer, was buried there. A citizen obtained leave to put a monument up to Chaucer, and the body was then removed to where it now rested, and that was the foundation of Poet's Corner. A great succession of poets and others were laid there. They could stand with one foot on the grave of Dr. Johnson, and the other over the remains of Garrick. He had been asked to clear out some of the ugly monuments now standing in the Abbey, but he thought of what England owed to the famous men they represented, and felt that these monuments ought not to be removed.

We learn from the *Archaeological Journal* that Precentor Venables has communicated an account of the discovery, recently made at Lincoln, of a piece of the Roman Wall. This fragment, though not large, is important as preserving the original facing stones, which in every other remaining portion of the wall have been completely removed. The discovery was made at a spot in the northern section of the eastern wall, a short distance to the north of the east gate of the Roman city. At this point the original Roman fortifications are preserved more fully than in any part of the circuit. The foss (now converted into a garden) and the agger remain very distinct, especially at the north-east angle, and a considerable length of the wall is still standing. This latter, however, consists only of the rough core of concrete and grouted work, without any part of the facing. The removal of the soil of a garden formed on the inner side of the wall brought the newly-discovered fragment to light, and further investigations have clearly revealed its character. It exhibited a block of masonry projecting about 8 feet from the inner face of the wall. Its length from north to south was about 24 feet, but 10 feet had been destroyed by the builders before attention was called to it, leaving only 14 feet standing. It was built of well-dressed blocks of the local oolite, measuring about 5½ inches by 12 inches. The mortar of the joints was perfectly fresh, retaining the smooth surface left by the trowel and other marks of the tools of the Roman workmen. A rectangular trough ran along the recess from north to south, stopping short of the northern face by several inches. This, which at first sight looked like a drain, was more probably a section

of a square chamber, of which, with the adjacent wall, the whole of the eastern part had been removed. Such chambers are found in similar places at Bremenium and other stations on the Roman Wall. There, also, we find a similar internal thickening of the wall at various points in the circuit, probably for the purpose of forming a platform for planting balistæ and catapults, and other military engines. The present platform, including the thickness of the wall, would have measured about 24 feet by 30 feet 6 inches. It should be mentioned that the putlog holes on both remaining faces were very perfect. Plans, sections, drawings and photographs of the fragment of wall were exhibited. Some very valuable remarks were made by Mr. G. E. Fox, who stated that he had an opportunity during the previous week of examining the remains which he considered of extreme interest. He fully concurred in all that Precentor Venables had said. He regarded such internal thickening of the walls as a mark of very early Roman work. It was not found in the large southern stations of later date, such as Lymne, Richborough and Porchester, where the projections and towers were always external.

Mr. G. H. Knight, Registrar of the Diocese of St. Albans, attended recently at the Abbey on behalf of the Vicar-General to receive objections to the granting of a faculty to Mr. Henry Hucks Gibbs, Alderham House, near St. Albans, enabling him to carry out the restoration of the Lady Chapel and the ante-chapel. On behalf of Lord Grimthorpe, Batchwood, appearance was entered against the granting of the faculty. The proceedings were of a formal character, and were ultimately adjourned for a week to enable Lord Grimthorpe and Mr. Gibbs to endeavour to arrive at a decision with regard to certain technicalities, and if an amicable settlement is reached in this respect, the case will be further adjourned. The point which has arisen between Mr. Gibbs and Lord Grimthorpe is of a rather interesting though somewhat complicated character. In 1877 a faculty was granted to the Earl of Verulam, Sir Edmund Beckett (now Baron Grimthorpe), and other members of an executive committee to restore the Abbey. The committee proceeded with the work, but were unable to complete the restorations owing to want of funds. In 1880 another faculty was granted to Sir Edmund Beckett to restore, repair, and refit "the said cathedral or collegiate and parish Church of St. Albans," and to do all the works in accordance with a design deposited in the registry, but reserving power to the committee to execute any work for which they might have funds intrusted to them, and particularly to restore the western porches of the Abbey, by arrangement with the Freemasons of England should they think fit, provided they did not interfere with any works which

might have been previously begun or contracted for by Sir Edmund Beckett. The nave and south transept were restored at the expense of Lord Grimthorpe, and he has also nearly completed the north transept. The restoration of the Great Screen in the Saints' Chapel was commenced in 1884 by Mr. Hucks Gibbs, and that work will shortly be concluded. To continue the restoration of the eastern portion of the Abbey Mr. Gibbs now seeks power to restore the Lady Chapel, which is in a condition rendering it almost unfit for use. Lord Grimthorpe's opposition to the granting of the faculty is based on the contention that the words "cathedral or collegiate and parish church" in the faculty obtained by him in 1880 cover the entire building.

A recent correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury*, writing of the parish church of Capel-le-Ferne, near Dover, says it is a somewhat interesting fact that there are no means of lighting this church, so that the worshippers are required to carry their own lights; and it is no uncommon sight to see a member of the congregation standing during the singing with his hymn-book in one hand and his candle or lamp in the other.

The *Newcastle Chronicle* reports that some interesting discoveries have been made during the past few weeks in the course of the excavations for the foundations of the new Co-operative Flour Mill on the foreshore of the river Tyne at Dunston. A very old canoe was reached, but unfortunately it was so much damaged before its true nature was discovered as to be unfit for preservation; and there were also found portions of the horns of deer. The most complete relic, however, has been a farthing bearing date 1670, in the reign of Charles II. The coin, notwithstanding its long entombment, was in an excellent state of preservation, the inscription and figures being clear and distinct.

Adverting to Mr. Milliken's article on pp. 185-188 *ante*, we learn that the second reading of the Monumental Chapel (Westminster Abbey) Bill is postponed to May 3 current. Moreover, the Bill has been somewhat modified. The principal change is on this wise: whereas the original scheme in its entirety depends upon contributions amounting to, say, £160,000, from out of public and quasi-public moneys, it is now intended to rely mainly upon voluntary subscriptions to the extent of, we understand, about half that sum. Thus the chapel itself will not be so large as was at first projected, whilst of the houses in Old Palace Yard one will remain. The ground-rents here, equal to £700 a year, will shortly fall in. Mr. Lefevre proposes to forego contributions from the coal and wine dues, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as the ground landlords, should accept in compensation a

sum calculated upon the value of the present ground-rental, since, in his assumption, public opinion will not agree to the renewal of leases for property which so completely screens the chapter-house and portions of the Abbey from view. Surely this argument is equally applicable as against the erection of any other building—be it a monumental chapel or not—on that ground.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Cymmrodorion Society.—February meeting.—Paper on the "Early History of Bangor Monachorum," by Mr. A. N. Palmer. The author sought to prove the Welsh colonization, during the troublous times following the Danish and Norman invasions, of the western parts of the counties of Chester and Salop.—The descendants of those Welshmen who at this time settled there were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Norman Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury or of their dependent barons, and ultimately became completely Anglicized, but how long it was before the Anglicizing of them was effected few people have any idea. With regard to Cheshire, Mr. Palmer showed that the hundred of Broxton in that county, which is the hundred adjoining the two Maelors, was in its western and southern parts, for at least three centuries after the Norman Conquest, predominantly Welsh. The Stocktons of Stockton appear to have become for a time wholly Cymricized. The Hortons of Horton were probably originally wholly Welsh. An examination of territorial names in Coddington, further inland, as well as in Shocklach, close to the Maelor district, show unmistakably that they were the names of Welsh-speaking people, and they are the names not of villani, but of freeholders and lords of manors. The same, again, is true with regard to Tushingham, and Mr. Palmer, without multiplying instances, asked his listeners to accept his statement that in the case of almost every other township in the western, southern, and midmost parts of the hundred, Welsh freeholders, or the descendants of Welsh freeholders, were during the period referred to quite common. In some townships the inhabitants appear to have been wholly Welsh. Yet the townships in which they lived bore English names. The inference is that, as in the case of the two Maelors, a district formerly English had been settled by Welshmen. When did this settlement take place? All the manors in which the aforesaid townships lay are said to have belonged in the time of Edward the Confessor to English lords, but that these were for the most part titular lords merely is plain from the further statement that their manors were in general "waste." This shows that the hundred had been harried, but gives no indication of the Welsh occupation of it. Nor was there, it would appear, any such occupation at the time the great survey was taken,

for there are no references to Welsh freeholders in the Cheshire Domesday Book, such as occur, for example, in the Shropshire Domesday Book. It looks, therefore, as if the Welsh immigration into the hundred of Broxton took place after the year 1086. The migration, at any rate, is an interesting example of the eastward movement of the Welsh in the eleventh century, and so far as Mr. Palmer knew, attention has never hitherto been called to the fact that Broxton contained a Welsh-speaking population for more than three centuries after the Norman Conquest. Coming to Shropshire, Mr. Palmer dealt with the north-west corner of it only, the part best known to him. This district, which includes the hundreds of Pimhill and Oswestry, is larger than that bit of Cheshire already referred to, and the descendants of the Welsh who settled in it continued to speak Welsh down to our own time. With regard to this portion of Shropshire, Mr. Palmer repeated his previous statements, viz: (1) That this district was once predominantly, and except perhaps in a small portion of it, immediately east of Offa's Dyke, almost exclusively English, or at least Anglicized; (2) that the greater part of it was subsequently seized by the Welsh, and settled by them, and that the western part became almost exclusively Welsh; and (3) that the people of this district becoming soon after English so far as their allegiance was concerned, continued nevertheless to speak Welsh for a very long time, and in the western portions of it to do so down to our own time. Mr. Palmer proceeded to support these statements by a solid array of facts. Beginning with the Lordship of Ellesmere, within the old hundred of Baschurch, which roughly corresponds with the later hundred of Pimhill, Mr. Palmer pointed out that in 1177 Henry II. granted it to David ap Owen Gwynedd, and that King John later on granted it to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, facts which went to prove that the district already contained a very large number of Welsh-speaking people. This conjecture is supported by documents, for in an "extent" of 1276 the names of many Welsh free tenants occur, whilst we find that in 1341 the greater part of the Lordship of Ellesmere was exempted from the payment of ninths as being "in Wales," nor was it re-attached to Shropshire until the reign of Henry VIII. A similar state of things was to be found elsewhere. Domesday Survey states that there were in Nessham (= Great Ness) six Welshmen who rendered twenty shillings, and at a later date we find various Welsh families planted in the more western townships of the hundred, and other evidences of a Welsh population. Mr. Palmer believed that these were not descendants of the old Welsh occupants of the district, but later intruders. One point in favour of this theory was that at the time of Domesday all the names of the townships in the hundred of Baschurch, with one doubtful exception, were thoroughly English. Coming to the hundred of Oswestry, or rather of that portion of it which lies east of the Dyke—a district almost identical with the Domesday hundred of Mersete—Mr. Palmer observed that with the exception of eight or nine townships near the Dyke, and four in the middle portion of the district, all the townships making up the latter bear English names. Even in the western portion of the district, the townships that have English names far outnumber those that have Welsh. And these names

do not merely go back as far as the Middle Ages and up to and beyond the time of the Domesday Survey, but township names of this class appear to have been more numerous in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than they are now. We read of Newton, Caldicote, Hauston, Tibeaton, Norslepe, and Ulpheresford, names which have either been displaced by Welsh names, or which stand for townships that have since been added to and absorbed by other townships. Such thoroughly English names as Meresbury and Meresbrook have also since been partially Welshified into Maesbury and Maesbrook, and Porkington has been turned into Brogyntyn. The hundred of Merset was in the early part of the eleventh century mainly, if not wholly, English. In the time of King Ethelred the Unready it yielded a substantial revenue to the King's Exchequer. In Edward the Confessor's time the lords of the manors were English, but their manors were "waste," *i.e.*, brought them no revenue. From this it would appear that it was in Edward the Confessor's reign that the successive Welsh settlements took place within the hundred, which in a few years converted it into a district almost wholly Welsh. It is very possible, in fact, that the hundred of Merset was at this time actually reorganized and made into a Welsh commote. The Rev. R. W. Eyton, it is true, ridicules the statement made by some of the Welsh writers, that Croes Oswallt (the Welsh form of Oswald's Tree, Oswestry) was one of the three commotes of Cantref-Trefed, but the only defect in Mr. Eyton's otherwise admirable work is the lack of appreciation which it shows of the Welsh evidence. In the case of every Welsh commote the occupiers of land were liable to certain peculiar customs and services due to the lord of the commote. And the revenues of the Lords Marcher of Oswestry include items which represent many of these. For instance, the accounts of 1276, given in full by Mr. Eyton, mention items called "umbarge," elsewhere called "trethmorkey," "Kihl," elsewhere called "treth canidion," "mut" and "cais," which stand in all likelihood for the Welsh "amobr" or "treth merched," the "cylch" or "treth cynyddion"—the huntsman's tax, the commutation for which in the Oswestry accounts is called "Keys," *i.e.*, "treth cais." The payment called "mut" is evidently the same as that which was called in the adjoining Lordships of Chirk "treth mwy." What this meant Mr. Palmer was not quite certain. It is described in the Oswestry Accounts of 1276 as paid by the men of Shotover in time of war for keeping their cattle at Oswestry in peace. All this points to the conclusion that a part at least of the hundred of Oswestry—the Walcheria—had actually been, though but for a short time, a Welsh commote, and it conclusively proves that the occupiers of land within that district had become subject to the incidents of Welsh tenure. Who were the Welsh chieftains who laid violent hands upon the hundred of Merset can only be answered in part. One of them, it is pretty certain, was Rhys Sais, who appears to have seized a great part of Dudleston, which, at his death, in 1073, fell to his son Iddon, whose name is perhaps preserved in Crogen Iddon in Glyn Ceiriog. From Trahaiarn, the son of this Iddon, nearly all the notable families of Dudleston are derived—for example, the Edwardses of Cilhendref, the Holbeaches, the Kynastons of Pant-y-Bursley, the Vaughans of Plas

Thomas; and through the female line the Wynnes of Pentre Morgan, the Eytons of Pentre Madoc, were in like manner descended from Tudor, another son of Rhys Sais. Other probable leaders of the Welsh forward movement were Bledwyn ap Cynfyn and Gwrgeneu ap Ednowain ap Ithel. The capture and settlement of the hundred by the Welsh most probably took place in 1055, the year when Gruffydd ap Llewelyn harried Herefordshire. Not only did Welshmen occupy the hundred, but it became subject to Welsh law. Mr. Palmer quoted names proving the parcelling of land therein, according to the law of Gavelkind. But when Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, became firmly seated in his earldom, he hastened to establish his authority over the old hundred of Merset, so that at the time of Domesday every manor in the hundred, except Porkington, was held by Normans, the Welsh proprietors becoming free tenants, but preserving, probably, most of their privileges under the name of the customs of the manor. The subjection of the people of the district to the allegiance direct or indirect of the English King did not for centuries make any serious inroad on their Welsh speech or characteristics. The Lordships of Oswestry and Whittington were taken to be not in England but in the Marches of Wales. Every parish in the hundred of Oswestry, except that of West Felton, belonged not to the English See of Lichfield or Chester but to the Welsh See of St. Asaph. The Anglicizing (or adoption of the English language by the mass of the people) of the western part of the district did not really begin until about the time of Elizabeth; nor is this process, so long delayed, completed even now. What is said of Oswestry in this respect is also applicable to that portion of Chirk in Denbighshire which lies east of the Dyke. Mr. Palmer did not deal with the portion of Flintshire east of Offa's Dyke, but believed the same remarks would also apply there. His final conclusions were that the large tract of country referred to was during, say, the ninth and tenth centuries Anglicized quite up to Offa's Dyke; that subsequently (in the eleventh century) the Welsh swarmed across the Dyke in such numbers that the population, for something like 15 miles east of it, became wholly or partially Cymricized, and that by the gradual Anglicizing of these intruders, a process which it has taken 800 years to effect, Offa's Dyke has now again become, roughly speaking, the border-line between those who speak English and those who speak Welsh.

Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society.

—March 15.—Mr. T. T. Empsall, the president, read the concluding portion of his paper on the "Bolling Family." On a previous occasion the narrative of this historic local family had been brought down to William Bolling, of Chellow and Manor House, Manningham, who died in 1731. At the time of his death there remained of his family a brother Edward and a sister Mary, his own son John having died a short time previously, leaving as his widow, Ann, the eldest daughter of Colonel John Beckwith, and a daughter Mary, to whom her grandfather left the bulk of his property, the heir in reversion being William Bolling, nephew of the testator. Ann Bolling, the widow of his son John, was a very illiterate person, as was clearly shown by the character of the letters written by her. After her husband's death she re-

moved from Chellow to a residence at Baildon, inherited by her from her grandfather, Lawyer Gregson, and finally settled in London. The management of her property in this neighbourhood was in the hands of agents, notably those of Thomas Northrop, usher of the Bradford Grammar School, afterwards of Henry Hemingway, attorney, and the correspondence shows that they had a very onerous time of it in the discharge of their duties. Her daughter Mary, the heiress of the Bolling estates, married a Mr. Thomas, of London, but died childless in 1768, the property then falling to William Bolling, previously named. Ann Bolling, the widow, died in 1773, the whole of her belongings being devised to relatives, two of whom were Benjamin Fearnley, a lawyer at Birstall, and John Loble, a lawyer at Bingley. One portion of her property, Mr. Empsall believed, included what was known as the Hornblow Lands in Manningham, the custom of blowing the horn originating with John of Gaunt, who appointed one John Northrop to the service, for which certain lands in Manningham were assigned to him. From a post-mortem inquisition, made in 1613, of the estates of Thomas Lister, of Manningham, it appeared that Lister had acquired of John Northrop lands which he held by the blowing of a horn at the Market Cross in Bradford, which property must have drifted into the hands of Lawyer Gregson, and so came to Mrs. Ann Bolling. Of the Bollings who settled at Ilkley some years before the close of the seventeenth century there remained at the decease of Wm. Bolling, of Chellow, in 1731, Edward and Mary Bolling. Edward was born in 1653, and was a governor of Ilkley Grammar School in 1695, and died in 1740, aged eighty-six. Mary Bolling married the Rev. Thomas Lister, Vicar of Ilkley. Their eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Ellis Cunliffe, and Phoebe, the youngest daughter, married her cousin, William Bolling, who, as stated, succeeded to the property of his uncle, William Bolling, of Manningham. His eldest son, John, born in 1746, died in 1825, and two of his younger brothers, Nathaniel and Robert, died bachelors in 1836 and 1837. The Bollings of Ilkley therefore became extinct, as had been the case with the main line some time previously.

Sussex Archæological Society.—Annual meeting held at the Barbican, Lewes Castle, in March.—The clerk read the annual report, as follows: "The committee, in presenting the report of the proceedings of the Sussex Archæological Society for 1888, congratulate the members upon the satisfactory condition of the society and upon the progress made during the past year. The annual meeting, on August 9, was generally considered one of the most successful that has taken place for some years. The day's proceedings included visits to Bayham Abbey, Lamberhurst and Scotney Castle. The carriage-drive, from Tunbridge Wells, passing through most varied and picturesque scenery, was much enjoyed, the weather being exceptionally fine. At Bayham the members and their friends were met by Captain Philip Green, who threw open the house for their inspection. The beautiful and carefully-preserved ruins of the Abbey (which had not been visited by the society since 1858) were examined with very great interest, and a paper upon the 'Architectural History of this once Flourishing Priory' was read by W. H. St. John Hope, Esq.,

M.A., F.S.A. This paper will be found in the current volume of the Society's publications.—The annual dinner took place at Lamberhurst, under the presidency of Edward Hussey, Esq., who afterwards welcomed the company to Scotney Castle, where that gentleman read a paper upon the history of that beautiful and romantic place. Before leaving the visitors were invited to partake of tea. The thanks of the committee are tendered to G. Abbott, Esq., and others who contributed to promote the success of the meeting. During the past year the society has lost by death several members who for many years were prominently associated with its management. Reference should be made in this connection to the sudden and lamented decease of the Rev. Prebendary C. Heathcote Campion, M.A., Rector of Westminster, from the effects of an accident while riding, on October 8, at the advanced age of seventy-four. From its establishment, in 1846, he was a member of the committee of the society, he was a valued contributor to its collections, a kind and good friend at all times, and was also one of the honorary secretaries, having been elected to that office at a special general meeting of the members on June 21, 1888. Another prominent member of the society, who also passed away during 1888, was Robert Crosskey, Esq., J.P. Joining the society in 1857, Mr. Crosskey was for many years a member both of the Finance and General Committees; he also filled the office of honorary curator and librarian. His death occurred on November 9 (at the age of sixty years), while at Grasse, in France. Mr. Crosskey always manifested a warm interest in the welfare of the society and the committee desire to place upon record their sense of the loss it has sustained by his lamented death. Mention should also be made of the loss of another member of the committee, Major Warden Sergison, J.P., who died on July 16, after a short illness. Among other old and valued members of the society who passed away during the year was the Rev. Thomas Agar Holland, M.A., Rector of Poynings, who died on October 18, at the very advanced age of eighty-six. The rev. gentleman was one of the original members of the society and a contributor to its collections. At a meeting of the committee, held in December last, Charles Taylor Phillips, Esq., was unanimously chosen as honorary curator and librarian *pro tem.*, and the thanks of the committee are due to that gentleman for the services he has so zealously rendered in promoting the interests of the society. Thanks are also due to E. H. W. Dunkin, Esq., for his valuable services in compiling the Calendar of Deeds, which will be found in the present volume. It has been suggested that it would be desirable to form a collection of portraits of 'Sussex Worthies,' and also a loan collection of objects of antiquarian interest; the rooms over the society's reading-room and library to be utilized for these purposes. It is hoped that the members will co-operate with the committee so as to enable them to carry out the suggestions.—The course of the proceedings was mostly formal; but the election of Mr. Phillips to the post of hon. curator and librarian raised a point which is of interest in the affairs of similar societies. Mr. Phillips pressed for a grant for aid and maintenance of the museum and library. Were they going to give him a penniless exchequer or an annual grant, so that he would be able to carry out

the work of progress? Hitherto the supplies granted had been small and at long intervals, and had to be obtained through the members of the Finance Committee. It was essential that some immediate action should be taken for the acquisition of books, and if no fixed sum was placed at one's disposal, one hardly knew how far he could proceed. He (Mr. Phillips) thought a certain sum might be granted and some arrangement made so that the curator could make purchases both for the museum and the library. He knew they were not in such a rosy condition as the members could wish, but they had funded property which, according to the balance-sheet, brought in £21 a year. Could not a portion of that be assigned to the holder of the office of curator?

Belfast Natural History and Philosophic Society.—March 5.—Paper by Mr. Seaton F. Milligan, on "The Sepulchral Structures and Burial Customs of Ancient Ireland."—Mr. Milligan, having briefly surveyed the methods and monuments of sepulture in Europe during pagan times, in ancient Egypt, and in the East, proceeded to examine ancient Irish sepulchral monuments, in illustration of architecture, civilization, and modes of thought. Irish tombs are not found pictures, as the Egyptian, though they are ornamented with symbolic carvings, the key to all of which has not been clearly defined. Occasionally there are found in tombs implements and ornaments which enable us to form some idea of the civilization that had been attained to at the period of the interment—implements of bone, rough flint, and unpolished stone. Weapons are found in graves of the earliest period. Polished flints, stones, and beads are found in tombs of a more recent date, whilst bronze weapons and ornaments are discovered in tombs of a still later period. Bronze weapons and ornaments also show various stages of development, from the plain bronze celt to the beautifully finished socketed spear or sword, inlaid with gold or precious stones. A great development in art is observable from the rudely-carved bone ornaments to the torques, and fibulae in bronze, silver, and gold, decorated with those charming interlacing patterns so minutely carved as to require a glass of some power to detect all the delicate tracery with which they are so profusely embellished. From an examination and comparison of implements and ornaments found in the tombs, we may form a fair estimate of the civilization that was contemporary with these objects. Mr. James Ferguson, in his work, *Rude-stone Monuments*, after referring to Carrowmore, County Sligo, and Glencolumkill, County Donegal, speaks rather disparagingly of the remaining isolated cromlechs of Ireland. He says: "It is extremely difficult to write anything that will be at all satisfactory regarding the few standing solitary dolmens of Ireland." He says, further, if all those which are described in books or journals of learned societies were marked on a map, the conclusion would be that the most of them are found on the east coast, a dozen or so in Waterford, as many in Dublin and Meath, and an equal number in County Down. He concludes his description of Irish sepulchral monuments by saying that there may be other rude monuments in Ireland beside those described, but they cannot be very numerous or very important or they would hardly have escaped notice.

It is to be regretted such statements should go forth uncontradicted. Only four counties in Ireland up to the present time have been systematically explored and described. The first (County Dublin) was completed many years ago. Mr. Wm. Gray was next in the field, having described and figured twenty-four cromlechs in Antrim and Down. County Sligo, the last thus described, has just been completed in the columns of *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, by Colonel Wood Martin, the honorary secretary. The number of sepulchral monuments figured in the journal for County Sligo number about one hundred. With the exception of these four counties, Ireland, from an antiquarian point of view, has yet to be systematically explored and described. County Donegal is very rich in those remains of past ages; indeed, with the exception of Carrowmore, there is no such collection of cromlechs in the United Kingdom as in the districts of Malinmore and Glencolumkill, on the property of Messrs. John and James Musgrave. After Carnac, in Brittany, and Carrowmore, in Sligo, this district in Donegal has the third finest collection of cromiechs in Europe, numbering about thirty in all. Messrs. Musgrave have recently vested these monuments in charge of the Government, under Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Act, and will be taken charge of in the future by the Board of Works. This district, in addition to these ancient monuments, has great attractions for the ordinary tourist. Words do not convey any idea of the impressions made on the mind on obtaining a view from the sea of the stupendous cliffs of Slieve Liag, 2,000 feet in perpendicular height; or of the wild and rugged scenery of the mountain passes which the traveller may explore. There are a great many sepulchral monuments and inscribed stones scattered over County Donegal. One of the finest stone circles in Ireland is situated on a hill within two miles of Raphoe, at a place called the Topps. There is a very curious stone covered with cup-marking in this circle. There is another fine circle between Carndonagh and Culdaff, as well as a huge kistvaen. In County Tyrone there are a great many sepulchral monuments. One of the most notable is on the hill of Knockmany, near Clogher. In another district of Tyrone, adjoining the towns of Castlederg, Newtownstewart, and Plumbridge, I noted nine cromlechs, some of them cup-marked, beside pillar stones and cairns, none of which have been heretofore described. In other districts of Tyrone there are cromlechs, so that when it will be systematically gone over Tyrone will be found to contain a great many interesting relics of the past. Amongst the ancient sepulchral monuments of Ireland are the cairns, cromlechs, kistvaens, giants' graves, stone circles, and pillar stones, which are formed in the country singly and in groups. In the ancient book of *The Cemeteries* eight great burying-places are named where the kings and nobles of the various provinces were interred. Besides these, there are several other cemeteries of great importance, but not entitled to rank with those eight. Of the first rank Brugh-na-Boinne and Relig-na-ree are well known. Tailtin was another of the great cemeteries, but some doubt exists as to the exact locality where it was situated. The great cemetery of Brugh is situated on the

northern side of the Boyne, between Slane and Netterville, for a distance of three miles long, and one mile broad. There are three great mounds, besides many minor ones, in Brugh. The three principal are New Grange, Dowth, and Nowth. The first two are chambered, and have been thoroughly explored and described. Nowth still remains unexplored, owing to the unwillingness of the proprietor to permit its being opened. Sir Wm. Wyld, in his *Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*, says of New Grange that there are some 180,000 tons weight of stones in the mound of New Grange. It covers nearly two acres, and is 400 paces in circumference, and 80 feet higher than the natural surface of the hill. A few yards from the outer circle of the mound there appears to have stood originally a circle of enormous detached blocks of stone, placed at intervals of about ten yards from each other. Ten of these still stand on the south-eastern side. Dr. Wyld concludes his description of New Grange as follows: "This stupendous relic of ancient pagan times, probably one of the oldest Celtic monuments in the world, which has elicited the wonder and called forth the admiration of all who have visited it, and has engaged the attention of nearly every distinguished antiquary not only in the British Isles, but of Europe generally, which, though little known to our countrymen, has attracted thither pilgrims from every land."—The lecturer proceeded to show a series of photographic views of the exterior of New Grange, the remains of the stone circle, the entrance to the mound, a ground-plan of the mound, showing the arrangement of the stones in the entrance passage and cruciform chamber, the sarcophagus in the eastern chamber, and the spirals, volutes, zigzags, and other symbolic carvings on the stone. The entrance passage through the longer axis of the cross is 63 feet, formed of huge flags set on end, and roofed across with others equally large. One of the roofing stones is 17 feet long by 16 feet broad. The average width of the passage is about 3 feet, and the average height about 6 feet. Close to the entrance some of the side-stones have fallen in, and the principal passage is here very narrow, so that to enter it one has to creep in on all fours. The height of the chamber is 19 feet 6 inches. From the entrance to the hall of the chamber opposite measures 18 feet, and between the extremities of right and left crypts 22 feet. The Mound of Dowth was next described as 300 feet in diameter, and 45 feet in height above the level of the ground. The cruciform chamber was described, together with another chamber quite recently discovered. In Dowth, as in New Grange, the stones are covered with symbolic carvings, and there is one of those basin-shaped stones, or sarcophagus, larger than any in New Grange, being 5 feet in its longest diameter.—*To be continued.*

British Archaeological Association.—March 6.—Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. (Scot.) in the chair.—The Rev. Canon Routledge reported the results of some antiquarian researches which have recently been made in Canterbury Cathedral, by permission of the dean. The west wall of the crypt is found to be of earlier date than the Norman portions, which are partially built upon it. The hardness of its mortar and other indications lead to the supposition that the wall is of Roman date, and part of the ancient

church which Augustine found on the spot on his arrival at Canterbury.—The Chairman exhibited one of the sacramental cakes of the ancient Coptic Church. It has a curious pattern of twelve squares, the four central ones being reserved for the clergy.—A fine series of drawings and rubbings of crosses in Cornwall were exhibited by Mr. Langdon.—Mr. Russell Forbes, of Rome, contributed particulars of the excavations on the site of the ancient Basilica of St. Valentine, two miles beyond the Flaminian Gate, Rome. The east ends of the original church have now been laid bare, and also portions of the nave. The north aisle is the primitive structure erected in the middle of the fourth century, to which a wide nave and a south aisle were added on the south side in later times. An old Christian graveyard was then built over, some of the tombs being discovered in the recent excavations. There is a recess in the central apse for the priest, and the altar here, and to the older apse, being detached from the walls. The tomb of St. Valentine was below the main altar, and the corridor of approach still remains.—Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., in reading the paper in the author's absence, pointed out that this was one of the few churches in Rome that was orientated after the manner usual in England, the axis being very nearly, but not quite, east and west.—A paper was then read by Mr. Langdon on the ornamentation of the Cornish crosses. The material is mainly hard granite, and the patterns resemble as nearly as may be those on examples in Ireland, Wales, and the north of England. The examples at St. Teath, Lanhorne, Cardynham, and St. Clear were minutely described.

March 20.—Allan Wyon, Esq., F.S.A., in the chair.—It was announced that the annual congress would be held at Lincoln at the end of July, and that the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham had been elected president of the meeting.—Various exhibitions were made, among which may be noted an interesting example of Roman Caistor ware, belonging to Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., who described its features. The first paper was read by Miss Russell, of Galashiels, on "The Early History of Cumbria, and the Etymology of the Name of Glasgow," the latter being *Glas*=church, and *gow*=friend. Reference was made to some other place-names, such as Glastonbury, which have the same signification; and the friend was St. Mungo. It was shown that the ancient Diocese of Glasgow was equal in extent to the Kingdom of Cumbria, which extended to the boundary bank, the Catrail or "Battle fence" in Welsh, which was the boundary between Cumbria and Bernicia. Celtic names occur along the line of coast rather than among the hills, and it was suggested from many evidences that the Lowland Scots were of Cymric type.—The second paper was by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. (Scot.), on "The Devil's Fingers and Toe-nails." This was an interesting chapter on "Folk-lore," in which many curious legends and beliefs were discussed. The well-known and common fossils so called, supposed to be either the shed fingers or toe-nails of the Arch Enemy of mankind, are popularly believed to shield their fortunate possessors from all harm.

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.—An ordinary meeting was held at the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral on 4th April, when Mr. G. Birch, F.S.A.,

continued his paper on Round Churches. Mr. Birch commenced by reverting to St. Helena's Church at Trèves, of which he exhibited two plans, one showing the original Byzantine circular church, and the other the mediæval church which is built on the same foundations. The existing church is, properly speaking, a cruciform edifice, and owes its circular shape to the disposition of the apses and chapels. The peculiarity of San Vitale, Ravenna, is that the apsidal chapels which radiate from the centre of the round church are not parallel to the choir. These chapels are circular, with right-angled projections for the altars. This church, which is probably one of the earliest in Christendom, is superbly decorated with mosaics. In Syria there is a group of round churches, all more or less ruined; that of St. George, at Thessalonica, being possibly the earliest. The church on Mount Gerizim is very similar to that of Antioch in plan. The cathedral at Bosrah may be taken as the true model of a round church; that is, the dome is set in a square, the angles of which are utilized as apsidal chapels. A curious point in Syrian architecture is that the chancel apse, while circular within, is angular on the exterior, on the origin of which peculiarity the lecturer offered no opinion. Esrah was another good example of a typical Syrian church, but its dome was octangular, set in a square. It has a lofty arcade, supporting a clerestory, from which an egg-shaped dome, which springs direct from the walls without the intervention of pendentives. Round the apse of this church are three rows of seats, above which is one small window. Among the circular churches of Italy were mentioned those of Nocera and Bologna (St. Stefano). The latter is a group of seven churches, one of which is circular; it may, however, have been originally a baptistery. St. Lorenzo, Milan, is a particularly elegant specimen of a circular church, but of an extremely complicated plan. The lecturer declined to fix its age, but thought that most of the round churches were of the age of Justinian. Brescia he considered was a Norman church. France was peculiarly rich in round churches, although most of them have been more or less destroyed. St. Benigne and the cathedral at Dijon were both, he thought, derived from the destroyed church of St. Martin, at Tours. The ruined Abbey church at Charroux was a magnificent specimen of a circular church, but its destruction was so complete that its eastern termination was a matter of dispute. The arrangement of the rotunda was most extraordinary, consisting of a small centre and three encircling aisles, the separating columns varying in number. Riez was extremely like a Syrian church. After instancing a number of other circular churches, the lecturer passed on to the German group. The cathedral at Aix la Chapelle was said to show the influence of the church at Ravenna, which view he was inclined to combat. The centre is an octagon, carried by sixteen piers, and the external wall has sixteen sides. St. Matthew, Coburn, was one of the finest, as well as one of the latest of the Templar churches. The external wall follows the line of the hexagon. It has six columns, a lofty triforium, and a clerestory. The chancel is almost a circle. There are a number of circular churches in Spain, and one or two in Portugal. Segovia is a Templar church in two stories, the lower in the centre being a representation

of the Holy Sepulchre. The surrounding aisle is extremely lofty, and has a barrel vault. At Salamanca there is a church with a circular exterior wall, but whether it was originally circular within is uncertain, it now being divided by columns into a cruciform church. The lecturer concluded by briefly reviewing the Scandinavian group, and mentioned specimens in Holland, Denmark and Sweden. The lecture was illustrated by a large number of ground-plans which Mr. Birch promised to reproduce for the transactions of the Society.



Reviews.

Old Glasgow: the Place and the People from the Roman Occupation to the Eighteenth Century. By ANDREW MACGEORGE. Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1888.

This is not a model local history, but it contains information of a reliable nature obtained from sources which no one but a local student could have unearthed, and concerning matters which are all too seldom chronicled in the accounts of municipal towns.

Prehistoric Glasgow, like prehistoric London, seems very far off the present thriving centre of commercial activity. But there are records of it left in its religious, its monumental, and its customary antiquities. Its first bishop was the far-famed Kentigern, a contemporary of St. Columba, and an adherent of the British Church as distinct from the Roman Church. The church which Kentigern and his disciples founded was made up not of individuals, but of clans, and the old clan idea, so deeply engrafted in the hearts of the people, refashioned itself under Christian influences into the later monastic life. Chieftains and their clans became monastic settlements. The abbot was the head of the clan, the monks were the members, and in the case of the monastery of Iona we have it on record that it was known as "the family of Hy." Under this system Kentigern and his clan monastery lived at Glasgow, or, as it was then, the banks of the beautiful stream "*vocabulo Melindonor*," maintaining themselves by rural industry and the arts of peaceful life. When we contemplate what an early clan was, made up of men whose view of life did not extend beyond clan rights and clan duties; whose idea of brotherhood could never take them beyond their own fellow-clansmen; whose outlook beyond their clan was one of bitter enmity and deadly feud, we may possibly grasp how necessary this monastic institution was to the spread of Christianity, and how vast an influence it must have had. But it was essentially primitive. The monasteries were villages of huts made of wattle and daub; the monks kept up old tribal practices side by side with their higher religion; as, for instance, the legend of St. Kentigern, which relates how he kindled into flame a frozen branch of wood, in order to keep up the perpetual fire which had been sent from heaven. There is much in these old monkish traditions which needs re-examination, and Mr. MacGeorge has done well in showing how they illustrate the history of Old Glasgow. They very

properly fit in with the evidence as to the weems, or underground houses, the pile dwellings, the dug-out boats; and from the whole evidence we think that Mr. MacGeorge has succeeded in giving a very satisfactory account of the earliest conditions of life upon the site of what was afterwards to grow into the city of Glasgow.

Coming to later times, the chief glory of the city is, of course, its far-famed Cathedral, which was begun to be built by Bishop Bondington, who was consecrated in 1233. In all probability the crypt and choir were completed in his time. Two other of the oldest parts of the Cathedral, the massive square tower at the north-west end of the Cathedral, and the consistory house which stood on the south-west corner of the nave, have, within the last forty years, been pulled down by order of her Majesty's First Commissioner of Works in the course of certain operations, professing to have had for their object the improvement and restoration of the Cathedral! This act of barbarism was instigated by the then Lord Provost and the magistrates of the city, and it is another instance of the absolutely insane way of wasting money in pulling down, while so much money is needed in keeping in repair. These things are enough to make antiquaries despair of ever getting people in authority to suppose that there really are other people who may know better about antiquities than those who do not profess more than a mere passing interest in them.

We believe now that Glasgow is particularly fortunate in the possession of, at least, one enthusiastic student of her Cathedral—a man who knows every stone, and who does much to lead thought into the direction of really preserving, rather than undertaking any sort of work under the specious name of restoration. To Mr. Honeyman, Mr. MacGeorge pays deserved honour and attention in this matter of the Cathedral, and we are pleased to think of this old city of the North possessing amongst its own citizens such competent exponents of its antiquities and history.

Mr. MacGeorge has much to say of manners and customs, municipal antiquities, the tenure of land, corporation property, dress, language, and other minutiae of citizen life; and we lay down this volume with the reflection that it is a sound piece of work taken up for the love of the subject, and carried out with skill, patience and judgment.

Oxfordshire Archaeological Society. Fritwell, ii., Manorial. Banbury. December, 1888.

Scottish Notes and Queries, vol. ii., 1888.

Northern Notes and Queries, 1889.

Yorkshire Genealogist and Yorkshire Bibliographer.

Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, xl., xli.—1888, 1889.

We have before remarked how valuable these local collectors of antiquarian information are to the student of the present day, who learns almost for the first time in the history of knowledge that links in the chain of man's history sometimes depend upon facts which are only to be obtained in out-of-the-way localities of civilized countries. Although no apparent scheme of work is laid down by the conductors of these periodicals, they manage to bring together a remarkable amount of scattered material. The strange custom at St. Briavel's, the dragon of Gloucester, and the supersti-

tion regarding eagles recorded from Gloucestershire, are peculiarly interesting, and we do not remember to have seen them recorded before. The plea for place-names which is made in *Northern Notes and Queries* is very apropos, though we would insert a word of caution on the question of derivation. What we want is, not derivation by untrained philologists, but collected instances of spellings and pronunciations of local names, because these put into the hands of a man like Professor Skeat can be made to reveal many pages of our unwritten history. A great deal of attention is given to family history, and while we do not wish to say one word against this study we rather deprecate so much space being given to it. We also do not see the importance of recording quotations from newspaper articles which do not bear on any special subject under discussion, and, besides, which have no scientific value.

Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, to July, 1885. Part II. Washington, 1886. (Second notice.)

The greater part of this volume is occupied with the George Catlin Indian Gallery. No less than 915 pages of letterpress, besides numerous plates, are devoted to this subject, and it may be safely said that a contribution of great value in the shape of material is here made to anthropological science. Before touching upon the treasures of the Catlin collection, a word as to its vicissitudes may prove interesting. The gallery consisted of a series of paintings, many being portraits, illustrative of the life of the American Indians, at a time when they had not yet felt the effect of the civilization before which they were destined to disappear, and when the white man was almost a stranger. The paintings were made from sketches taken by Catlin in his prolonged and extensive wanderings among the native races of America, and he also published several works which are a mine of information. In the present volume copious extracts are made from these published volumes to illustrate the plates. It may be said, therefore, that we possess in this Smithsonian Report the combined result of Catlin's labours; and students are much indebted to the Board of Regents, and to the editor of this section of the Report, Mr. Donaldson. Catlin's gallery was exhibited in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Boston, etc., from 1837 to 1839; it was brought by Mr. Catlin to London in the latter year, and opened for public view in the Egyptian Hall early in 1840; it remained in England till 1844, when it was taken to Paris, and exhibited, first at the Salle Valentino, and afterwards in the Louvre, at the request of the King. The Revolution of 1848 caused Mr. Catlin to bring his collection back to London, where it was exhibited till 1852. In that year Mr. Catlin entered into speculation, which ended in financial failure, and the seizure of the collection by creditors. The subsequent vicissitudes and recovery of the collection are described by Mr. Donaldson: "Mr. Joseph Harrison, jun., of Philadelphia, a most liberal and patriotic American, being at the time in London, made liberal advances to Mr. Catlin to meet his liabilities, and, as security, took charge of the collection; it was shipped to Philadelphia in 1852-3, where it was stored until the summer of 1879." In that year Mr. Donaldson

applied to Mr. Harrison's executors for the transfer of the collection to the Smithsonian Institution. The executors reported that the collection was in a dilapidated condition, having been through two fires since its arrival from Europe, and that it was stored in several places in the city; but there could be no doubt that its proper destination was the National Museum. On May 19, 1879, the collection was taken possession of by Mr. Donaldson, and removed to the Smithsonian Institution.

Although the gallery was well known to students through Catlin's works and illustrations, the recovery of the original collection, or so much of it as has survived, is a cause for congratulation. In this report Mr. Donaldson has brought together from Catlin's diaries, books, and from other sources, an interesting mass of information on Indian manners and customs (p. 231 *et seq.*), and the Indian games are also described (p. 300 *et seq.*). Students of the totem will be interested in the buffalo dance, and the bear and eagle dances. The implements, arms, and drums of the Indians are amply illustrated; and it need not be said that the pictures and descriptions of George Catlin are unrivalled as sources of information upon Indian costume. The whole social system of these tribes is revealed. The native pictorial art is well represented in a series of paintings on robes.

An interesting memoir of George Catlin is also given in the report. George Catlin lived for posterity, and his time has come. He was penetrated with the most profound sympathy for the native Indian tribes; he foresaw their extinction, and he gave himself up to the work of preserving records of these children of nature, as he was fond of calling them. He was in advance of his generation, and the personal sacrifices which he made should not be forgotten now. Hence, it was fitting that a memoir of him should appear with the description of his gallery.

In some reminiscences of Catlin by George Harvey, the artist, here reproduced, there is a remark which well indicates the value of Catlin's work. "Had there been," says Mr. Harvey, "such a man as Catlin following in the train of Julius Cæsar when he conquered Great Britain, instead of Tacitus, how much richer would be the materials for correct thought and information than those we possess!"



Correspondence.

AN UNIQUE UNKNOWN SEPULCHRAL BRASS.

In the old church of Brown Candover, Hants, there was on the floor a brass of a male and female figure, and there was also an inscription near, in old black letters, recording the death of *Masteris Margate Wylson, bur. at Brown Candover, 1559.*

This brass afterwards was exhibited at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute held in Winchester, 1845, by the late Rev. G. H. Gunner, M.A., tutor and chaplain of Winchester College, who described it

as being removed from the former church of Brown Candover, and it appeared to be the memorial of a gentleman and his wife named Wylson, A.D. 1559.

The writer of this notice was lately permitted to take some rubbings, and the brass was at once seen to be a memorial of the time of Henry VII., if not of an earlier period, most certainly not later, and therefore the inscription of Wylson, 1559, could not belong to the effigies, although it may have belonged to a son, and in the absence of any other information, we may fairly surmise this to be the case. The brass is of extreme interest and rarity, for it is the only known example of a gentleman and lady being depicted arm-in-arm; the short tunic is also remarkable, as it was generally worn long, as in the case of John Bedell, whose brass is in Winchester College. The lily also placed between the couple (the emblem of purity) is very uncommon; he is dressed, presumably, in a brown undercoat, over this a short green tunic lined and edged with fur, round his waist is a steel girdle, attached to it is the gypciere, a large red purse, edged with steel for security, which all gentlemen wore in those days as their pocket; his plaited shirt is showing with a collar low down, exposing the whole of the neck; the hair is long and flowing down to the shoulders, and the face closely shaven. The shoes are very broad at the toes, a fashion lately introduced. It has been remarked that at this period the English dress was so fantastical and absurd that it was difficult to distinguish one sex from the other, and the example on this brass confirms this remark.

The lady is dressed in a long costume, apparently crimson or purple velvet, cut square at the neck, tight sleeves, small in the waist, having a rich girdle with a long metal pendant hanging down in front, attached by a large buckle; she has also a plaited collar low round the neck, like her husband; the head-dress is very peculiar, a high stiff cap with net hanging down to the back of the waist, and over it an embroidered gold veil.

Apart from its archaeological interest, the brass is valuable as an example of the costumes of a Hampshire squire and his lady 400 years ago. This highly-interesting brass will be properly set in a slab and erected in the present church at Brown Candover; in the meantime, it would be valuable if any certain information could be given so as to identify who the effigies are. Endeavours have been made to trace back the family of Wylson, but without success; a clue may be obtained by the finding out the record of any family living at or near Brown Candover at the latter end of the fifteenth century, at the Manor House or at any county seat near; it was surmised that they were of the Worsley family who formerly possessed the Manor House of Chilton Candover, but this occurred a century after the time we are seeking information of.

H. D. C.



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Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Walton (Izaak), The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14B, care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment; price £5 5s.—1B, care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzorah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. The Isiac Tablet Mensa, Isiaca Tabula Bombard of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), £1 1s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

Berjeau's Bookworm, a number of old parts for sale or exchange.—W. E. M., care of Manager.

Dumas' Monte Cristo; édition de luxe; 5 vols.; £2 8s.—2C, care of Manager.

Blades' Enemies of Books; large-paper edition; £2 2s.—3C, care of Manager.

Sexagyma, Esoteric Physiology; a digest of the works of John Davenport, privately printed for subscribers; £3 3s.—5C, care of Manager.

The Dead Leman, by Lang and Sylvester, large paper (only 50 copies), £1 10s.; Obiter Dicta, 1st series, 1st edition, 15s.—M., care of Manager.

Sooner or Later; in original parts; £1 10s.—6C, care of Manager.

Antiquary, complete to date, vols. i.—xiii. in office binding, xiv.—xviii. in parts, perfectly clean; Chronicles of Old London, half calf (Riley); Liber Albus (Riley); Old and New London, complete, half calf; Greater London, half calf; Magazine of Art (Cassell's), 1881 to date, perfectly clean, first 5 vols. in office cases.—Offers by letter to L, 32C, Eden Grove, Holloway, N.

Caldecott, Toy Books, £5; Graphic Pictures, £2 15s., éditions de luxe, new; Early Writings of Thackeray, large paper, £2 5s.; Blades' Enemies of Books, large paper, £1 15s.; Bankside Shakespeare, 3 vols. ready, rest as published. Offers.—33B, care of Manager.

Novum Testamentum Græce, Sedanii, 1628, perfect, very rare, modern binding, £4 10s. Sir J. Thorold's copy was sold by auction for £9.—32B, care of Manager.

WANTED TO PURCHASE.

Hardy's New Testament; The White Cat, illustrated by E. V. B.; Visitation of Pembrokeshire; Hamilton's The Lamp and the Lantern; Gardiner's England, 8vo., vols. 1 and 2; Pleasures of a Book-worm, Roxburgh edition; Ball's State of Man; Lupot on Violin, English edition; Manual of Siege and Garrison Artillery, vol. 7; Notes on Ammunition, 5th edition; Finney's Gospel Themes; Finney's Systematic Theology; Fergusson's Antiquities; Early History of the County of Bedford; Kirk's Light out of Darkness; Bell Scott's The Poet's Harvest-Home; The Laird O'Coul's Ghost; Shakespeare, vol. 7 (1818); Whittingham, Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica, vol. 50; Thomas à Kempis' Works, 2 vols., 32mo., Jones; Thomas à Kempis' Works, Vanderghucht.—Retail Department, Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Berjeau's Bookworm, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; new series, 1869, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; new series, 1870, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12; Printers' Marks, Nos. 5, 6.—Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C.

Casts from Ancient Seals, buy or exchange.—Tunley, Power's Court Road, Landport.

Any books on Shorthand, and any pamphlets or papers relating to North Highmore (1820-4).—R. McCaskie, 110, Iverson Road, West Hampstead.





The Antiquary.



JUNE, 1889.

Orientation.

BY C. A. WARD.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

- 1.—Migné, *Archéologie Sacrée*, 2 vols.
- 2.—Walcott, Mackenzie, E. C., *Sacred Archaeology*.
- 3.—Larousse, *Dict. Universel*.
- 4.—Durandus, Wm., Bishop of Mende, *Symbolism of the Churches*, by J. M. Neale and Webb.
- 5.—Staunton, Rev. Wm., *Ecclesiastical Dictionary*.
- 6.—McBurney and Neil's *Cyc. Univ. Hist.*
- 7.—Dudley, Rev. Jno., *Naology*.
- 8.—Mackenzie, K. R. H., *Masonic Cyc.*
- 9.—Danet, *Dict. Greek and Roman Antig.*
- 10.—Taylor's *Fragments of Calmet*, 2 vols.
- 11.—Auber, Abbé, *Hist. du Symb. Relig.*, 4 vols.
- 12.—Broughton, Thos., *Biblio. Hist. Soc.*, 2 vols., 1737.
- 13.—Antoine, A., *Animaux Célèbres*, 2 vols.
- 14.—Rodwell, Jno., *Koran*, 1876.
- 15.—Mackey, A. G., *Lexicon of Freemasonry*.
- 16.—*Annales de la Philos. Chrétienne*, vol. xix., 1839.
- 17.—Borromeo, C., *Instruct. Fabricæ Eccles.*
- 18.—Willis's *Current Notes*, 1855.
- 19.—Rycaut's *Hist. Popes*.
- 20.—Stanley, Thos., *Hist. Philosophy*, 1701, 3rd. edit.
- 21.—Jones, Rev. A., *Proper Names of Scripture*.
- 22.—Wren's *Parentalia*, 1750.
- 23.—White, H. Kirke, *Poems*, 1836.
- 24.—Phillimore, Lucy, *Sir Christ. Wren*, 1880.

Lord, how mine eyes throw gazes to the East !
My heart doth charge the watch.

Passionate Pilgrim, xi.



WHEN the Oxford movement was set on foot by the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*, Orientation was a good deal talked about, and canvassed also in the press, but almost always in so vague a fashion that a reader of what was printed rose from it with a sense of the most utter bewilderment of mind; and even now when we look for the latest intelligence, hoping that in nearly fifty years something on so interesting a topic may have taken a form that shall be at least comprehensible, if not final, we discover with amazement on turning to the 9th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that there is not a syllable under the heading of *Orientation*. It is possible that under *Chancel*, or *Church*, or *Archi-*

itecture, or *Church Architecture* something may be said; but even then under *Orientation* a reference to such passage or passages ought to have been given. I confess that I did not take the trouble to look any further. Presuming that there was insufficiency of some sort manifest, I concluded, perhaps too hastily, that my search had better be bestowed in other and more likely quarters.

French writers say that from the eleventh century the custom of placing churches with the chancel eastward has been invariably observed (1. M., ii. 473) in France. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, viz., the Castle Chapel at Caen, and St. Bennet's at Paris, together with the Madelaine, which is north and south (2. W., s.v. *East*).^{*} Walcott adds that the entrance and altar in the first two instances are in the west, as also at Haarlem and Seville. It is probable that there are a great many more instances.

It appears that Origen and Tertullian have treated fully of this, and that Tertullian, in his defence of the Christians, says that the faithful have at all times worshipped with their faces towards the east, and that for this reason they were accused by the pagans of worshipping the sun. This can hardly be correct if, as Migné says (1. M., ii. 473), the pagan temples were arranged so that those who prayed were turned towards the east. See also Broughton quoted further on.

St. John Damascenus and Cassiodorus give the mystic reasons for this orientation of churches which prevailed from the fifth century till the Renaissance (3. L. s.v. *Orientation*). They say that Christ on the cross had His face turned towards the west, and that Christians therefore turn east in prayer to see the face of Him crucified. They also generally hold that at his second advent he

^{*} It is curious to note that the importance attached to orientation led to the coinage of a word, *bestourné*, in early French to designate the Church of St. Benoît, at Paris, in the fourteenth century, which had its great altar to the west, and was called St. Benoît mal-tourné (1. M., ii. 473) *Sanctus Benedictus male Versus*. But when the church was rebuilt, in the time of Francis I., with the altar to the east, it was called St. Benoît le Bétourné *Bene Versus*. This is the Abbé Migné's version. Bétourné cannot stand for *Bene* (cf. *Bèvue = mévue*). Bétourné is mal-tourné. Littre, s.v. *Bistourner*, quotes Geraud *Paris sous Philippe le Bel* p. 423, in the sense of distorted, because the choir was in the west. It is obsolete now, but in the Argot of Paris *Bistourné* stands for a French *Cor de Chasse*.

will again appear in the east descending to judge the earth.

Justin Martyr considers that man should dedicate the best to God, and that the east has always been regarded as the best and most noble. Christ is the true Light, the veritable East, so says Chrysostom; in turning from the west we do honour to the Almighty (1. M., ii. 473). The orientation of churches not only fixes towards the east both the altar and the choir, but every other part of the edifice follows from, and is determined by, it.* The west is the abode of shadow, sleep, and the ignorance of Divine things. Over the western door, therefore, Christ is represented as the Truth and Life. The north is the region of thick fog and storms; that is to say, of the passions. A man in the west wants light, but in the north he hugs his chains and thralldom in evil. Hence the terrible scenes of the last Judgment were represented on the northern gates of churches.

Some time since there was at St. Giles-in-the-Fields an elaborate semicircular carving representing the Day of Judgment, which was placed over the northern gate opening upon High Holborn, and then it was in its true and right position; but this has of late years been removed to the western gate, where it is entirely inappropriate and out of place. At St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, there is a very similar stone, and that is still more improperly placed, for it is set facing due east.

Cardinal Bona has a further fancy: he imagines that in turning eastward, pilgrims and exiles as we are, we direct our eyes to the paradise that was lost. St. Basil further confirms this by saying that few know the reason, but the Church had it well in view, and built the most ancient basilicas to the equinoctial east (1. M., ii. 473), because the sun was then supposed to rise over the terrestrial paradise. This shows how entirely these excellent men thrust facts into conformity with their own dreams. If any fact be observable at all in relation to this, it is that all the old basilicas in Rome converted to churches are constructed on the very opposite principle to that stated by St. Basil; it is therefore not very surprising that few should know the reason which the Church had in view.

* Left hand is north. *Aguillon*, Calmet, i. 264. "If thou wilt, take the *left hand*" (Lot), Gen. xiii. 9.

Thus the east stands connected with the Crucifixion, the Ascension, Pentecost, and the Second Advent (2. W., s.v. *Orientation*). Eden, wherein "God planted a garden eastward," is eloquently described by Theophilus as "a place flooded with light, radiant with brilliant air, and most excellent in its forest growths and vegetation."* Eden, or Edem, seems in Hebrew all but equivalent to east, for *qêdhem* is eastward. Amongst the four reasons or *quatuor rationes* of *Damascenus* (4. D., 214) for looking east, one is that "we look upon Christ crucified, who is the true East;" we pray towards paradise the old home. In Luke i. 78 recurs the same idea so grandly rendered in the A.V. as "the day-spring from on high hath visited us." Again, they pointed to that singular passage in Zech. xiv. relating to the mountain opposed to the crucifixion: "His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east," when half is to move northward and half south. Christ is the *Orient* (Zech. vi. 8), which is translated in the A.V.: "Behold the man whose name is the BRANCH;" runs in the Vulgate, *Ecce vir oriens nomen ejus: et subter eum orietur, et ædificabit templum Domino*. This tends far more than our rendering to inculcate a doctrine of orientation, and so does the LXX. Ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ, Ἀναλογή† ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

The Gentiles worshipped towards the east whilst they were yet pagan, for in their earliest temples, "wherever they stood, it was so contrived that the windows being opened might receive the rays of the rising sun‡ (12. B., ii. 453). The most ancient situation was with the front towards the west, and the altars and statues at the east end, it being a custom among the heathens to worship with

* τόπος διάφορος φωτὶ, διανγῆς ἀέρι λαμπροτέρῳ, φυτοῖς παγκάλοις (22. J. 100).

† It is perhaps worth remarking here that in Stephens' *Thesaurus*, by the Dindorffs' Ἀναλογή is said to be properly applied to the sun and moon, or, indeed, to the sun only; and that ἐπιλογή is used for the rising of the stars. Liddell and Scott give no such distinction, and it is not likely that there was any such. The constant use of ἀναλογή ἡλίου shows that it could be applied to other objects. It is used for the source of rivers by Polybius, which of itself seems to settle the question; and, further, ἐπιλογή is used of the sun and moon by the later Greek writers.

‡ It should be remembered that heathen temples were mostly *atria* unroofed with the *cella* of the Deity in the centre.

their faces towards the east." Broughton adds that in after-ages they reversed the situation, that the doors might receive the rising sun. Unfortunately, he gives no authority for either assertion; but his learning was profound, so that we may be sure he had authority of some sort, though we cannot see for ourselves what value is to be attached to it. Balaam came from the mountains of *Kedem* on the east (Numb. xxiii. 7). The Star of Bethlehem brought the Magi from the east; that star which, according to St. Ambrose (11. A., iii. 71), shone in the east, but disappeared near Herod, and stood again visibly over the manger that cradled Christ. Therefore, says this eloquent writer, "The star is the way, and that way is Christ. A star shall come out of Jacob, and a man from Israel, for where Christ is there is the star. He is the star Phosphor of a splendid dawn."

In this endless mystery attaching to the east, Staunton makes a further suggestion (5. S., 281) connecting the ceremonies attending baptism with it in the Early Church. The candidates renounced the devil with their faces to the west, and they then turned about to the east to make their covenant with Christ. He quotes Tertullian (*Contra Valen*, iii.): "The east was the figure of Christ, and therefore both their churches and their prayers were directed that way;" and St. Augustine, in treating of the Sermon on the Mount (ii., c. v.), reiterates the same: "When we stand at our prayers we turn to the east, whence the heavens or the light of heaven arises."

There is a remarkable passage in the Book of Wisdom (xvi. 28): "We must prevent the sun to give Thee thanks, and at the dayspring pray unto Thee." This corresponds with Psalm lxxxviii. 13: "Unto Thee have I cried, O Lord; and in the morning shall my prayer prevent Thee." Now, the Jewish tabernacle and temple had the entrance to the east, and the Holy of Holies to the west, so that in the temple the Jews prayed facing westward, and writers have taken hold of this to point out that the Christians turned to the east, for one of many reasons, in order to differ from the Jews. But here we see that the Jews when not in the temple "prevent the sun" at dayspring with prayers, as nearly all mankind in the east both did and still do. The Mohammedans worship towards the temple at Mecca,

or more specially, the holy *Kaaba*, which was built by the angels first, and afterwards reconstructed, they say, by Abraham (13. A., i. 47), around the wonderful black stone and well Zemzem.* The stone is the most sacred stone in the world, perhaps, and the oldest known site of Boetylia worship (*Beitallah* = House of God: *Bethel*) (12. B., i. 184) on the surface of the earth now remaining. This Mohammed never freed himself from the reverence of. The practice of turning to the *Kaaba* is called *Keblah*, and he had ordered his followers at one time to pray towards the temple of Jerusalem, which was the Keblah of the Jews and Christians (12. B., i. 563). This he changed later on for the temple of Mecca, and when he was upbraided for the inconsistency, he justified it by a fresh verse introduced into the Koran (14. R., 380): "The east and the west is God's, therefore which ever way ye turn, there is the face of God: Truly God is Immense, Knowing." In this we shall see that Vigilius, the Pope, had anticipated him. The worship of the Keblah makes the Mohammedan change his position with every change of place, and must often constitute a great difficulty. The Keblah, so to speak, of the Jew towards Jerusalem was, from what has been remarked above, shown to have been in early times no rule with them further than during the services in the first temple built by Solomon. Where the ark was the presence was. But out of the precinct of the temple the glorious symbol of nature at sunrise would again resume its force. I believe that the Jews now stand upon no refinements as to the position of Jerusalem, but are content broadly to turn to the east at their fasts when they pray, as also when a death occurs they place the lighted lamp at the east end of the room. This Keblah of the Jews must, I think, have commenced to be general at the time of the Babylonish captivity, for in Dan. vi. 10 we read that the windows of the prophet's chamber looked "towards Jerusalem; he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed." The passage in 1 Kings viii. 48 shows that there was a promise attaching, but I doubt if the practice could have been binding universally. Mussulmen often carry a compass with a card in-

* The view given of the temple in Sale's *Koran* gives the black stone as situated to the east.

dicating the position of Mecca upon it. But I do not think that the Jews ever provide themselves with such an indicator.

Mackenzie states (8. M., s.v. *Orientation*), upon what ground I know not, that the ancient Egyptians worshipped to the south, and that the same word stood for the righthand and the west, for the left hand and the east. We are told in the *Pictorial Bible* (1 Kings viii. 8) that the south was the Keblah of the Sabæans, as the east was of the Magi. Their worship seems to have begun in Chaldeæ. They worshipped images and so antagonised the Magi, who worshipped fire, and these two great divisions seem to have divided the early world. The worship of the Sabæans spread into Hindustan and thence perhaps into Egypt. Be this as it may, it was not the practice of the augurs at Rome. When an augur entered his pavilion he drew a line from the east, called *Antica*, to the west, called *Postica*, and then across it, from south to north, lines called *Dextra* and *Sinistra* (9. D., s.v. *Augur*). It is probable from this that the opening in his tent looked eastward like that of the Tabernacle, with the Holy of Holies in the west, as also in the temple of Jerusalem (10. T., i. 492-494). As the Freemasons were the ecclesiastical builders, they oriented their lodges in accordance with the churches (8. M., s.v. *Orientation*), although in cities their lodges are now too numerous to allow of a strict adherence to this rule. But even now the place where a lodge is situated is called its *Orient* (15. M., 238), whilst the seat of the grand lodges is called the *Grand Orient*. In Masonry "the east is the seat of light and of authority." Cruden says that the east is the first of the four cardinal points, where the sun rises at the equinox (s.v. *East*). He says, that *Kedem* is the east, and used for "at the beginning." *Kedem* and *Eden* are one word, so that Paradise was the first spot marked in the history of man, the point of most interest to him in all the earth; and all temples built by Pagan or Christian are a symbol of this—the Λ Ω $\tilde{\omega}$, where the beginning and the end meet together after comprehending all things.

Easter still repeats something of the same tale. It is then the ecclesiastical year commences, and the natal anniversary of the world, whose creation was at the vernal equinox when the sun is due east, and with

this corresponds the Jewish Passover. Bosworth says that the word Easter comes from Eostar or Eostre, who was the Saxon goddess of the east, and of sunrise, of spring and of youth. Her festival fell in April, which month was named *Easter Monadh*.

Orientation has been called the rule of the northern nations. Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture* is said to stretch it even farther, maintaining that it "is wholly a peculiarity of the Gothic races: the Italians never knew nor practised it." Walcott, whilst repeating this (2. W., s.v. *Orientation*), remarked that alone in England Rivalle is built nearly north and south.*

He has not travelled far however in the subject before he lets you know that it is thought that the window in the ark faced the east. Surely we are not to suppose that that great shapeless boat, all through the downpour when the heavens were opened, and the foundations of the great deep broken up, preserved one uniform position through all the stormy period, and if not, what signifies which way the window faced in a rudderless ship?

The *Quarterly Review* repeats Fergusson (vol. lxxv., p. 382), and says that this rule in church building never obtained in Italy, "where the churches are turned indiscriminately towards every quarter of the heavens." This is a very violent assertion, and like the other just mentioned, that orientation is a rule of the northern nations, has originated in a too hasty deduction from Rome itself, where many of the churches, being simply basilicas converted, their position remains much as it was originally, erected, in fact, as chance or convenience had dictated the ground-plan. If it were a rule of the northern nations exclusively, how shall we explain the fact that the rule prevails throughout the Greek Church, and in almost every Catholic country through the whole period of the Middle Ages? (3. L.) The principal churches of Rome are undoubtedly not oriented,† but the

* Does he mean the Cistercian Abbey of Rivaux, in the North Riding? That has a large transept, so can hardly be the place meant by him.

† The altar of St. John Lateran at Rome is to the south, as also in the Church of St. Gregory. Sta. Maria del Popolo, Sta. Maria dei Monti, have it to the north. St. Peter's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and St. Clement have the altar to the west. So that, as the Frenchman puts it, with a sort of Irish Bull (16. A., p. 352), "Tout système d'orientation (?) peut trouver son modèle à Rome."

churches of Italy will, I imagine, be found to correspond very generally with the rule so widely prevalent elsewhere. The rule must also be very prevalent in Spain, seeing that, as mentioned above, Walcott remarks upon the singularity of Seville in its divergence. Walcott himself tells us that the constitutions of the Pope Vigilius (4. D., 214), A.D. 538-555, ordered the priest to celebrate towards the east, remarking in furtherance that, though God is everywhere, the east is "His proper dwelling-place," and that there also the "heaven seems to rise."

Be your procedure, however, as strict as it may—your rules as rigid as law, sanction, and sacred belief can render them—men so love their liberty, even in things indifferent, that they will break through all to create exceptions. Accordingly, we find Walfridus Strabo, the German Benedictine poet, who died A.D. 849, using these words as a form of benediction (1. M., ii.): *Nunc oremus ad omnem partem, quia Deus ubique est*. The Teuton agrees with the Pope and Mohammed that God is everywhere—that his countrymen, apparently, may have the satisfaction of running counter to them in the practice which they sanction and recommend. God is everywhere, truly; but if this sanctions the breaking of the rule, it either proves too much or too little, for the same argument would render churches needless.

The fact is curious, and it seems well attested (2. W., s.v. *East*) that the almost invariable practice of the Jesuits is to place their altar westward, and for this peculiarity no reason has yet been assigned. Is it done in a spirit of antagonism? One cannot attribute it to rationalism, for that would be the last thing likely to influence a Jesuit. Can it be that the first church dedicated at Rome to the use of the order happened to be of that construction, and so the order adhered ever after to that form when it began to erect churches on its own account? Or was it done to copy St. Peter's at Rome? Their great Church of the Oratory at Brompton, on which such huge sums of money have been lavished, is another instance of their indifference as to the position occupied by their churches. It is, in this instance, due north and south. It establishes, however, against Mr. Walcott that the westerly position of their altars is not *invariable*, as he declares it

to be. Mr. W. H. James Weale wrote to *Notes and Queries* (5. S., iii. 37) to entirely disclaim this, saying that such a rule never existed amongst the Jesuits, and such a practice never prevailed. But we have no reason to believe that he speaks with any authority from the Jesuit body, in which case the evidence is but personal.

The Puritans of course went quite another way to work. At Emmanuel College, Cambridge, which was founded in 1584, by Sir Wm. Mildmay, one of the earliest supporters of the Puritan party, we find Evelyn writing in September, 1655: "That zealous house . . . the Chapel (it was but a room) is reformed *ab origine*, built north and south as is the Library." Wren, in 1677, built the present beautiful chapel, and, I believe, in the same position, north and south. Like St. Edmund, the King, in Lombard Street.

The Council of Milan approved of the practice of orientation (2. W.). But Leo I.,* A.D. 443, condemned the custom of the people, who gathered on the steps in the Court of St. Peter's, and used to bow to the rising sun. He attributed it partly to their ignorance, and partly to paganism. Probably at this early date the custom was only taking the form which finally became so universal. We find Durandus (4. D., 214, etc.), to quote Augustine, saying that "no Scripture hath taught us to pray towards the east;" "yet I receive it as proceeding from the Apostles, if the universal Church embrace it" (A.D. 354-430). This was of about the same date as Leo, and shows the question was beginning then to acquire some prominence. The Apostolical constitutions attributed to Clement of Rome (1. M., ii. 473), prescribe this arrangement for the house of prayer. Now, although the authorship of these ordinances by Clement—who was supposed to have committed them to writing from the very mouths of the Apostles—is thought to have been entirely overthrown, yet they are admitted to be very early documents, chiefly (5. S., 63), say the critics, compiled during the second and third centuries. It is noted by Chronologists that the Christians began to build churches on their own account about the year 224 (6. M., 101), so that the question would then begin to be seriously agitated, though it might take a long period before

* St. Leo the Great.

any very wide and general consensus could be arrived at.

Durand, Bishop of Mende (1230-96), who writes on the "Symbolism of the Churches," says (4. D., 21): "The foundation must be so contrived as that the head of the church may point due east—that is, to that point of the heavens wherein the sun riseth at the equinoxes*—to signify that the church militant must behave herself with moderation, both in prosperity and in adversity; and not towards that point where the sun ariseth at the solstices, which is the practice of some."

Now, this is the more important, because in the Tractarian movement at the Universities considerable stress was laid upon the orientation of churches. But it was soon found that the position of a vast number of churches, though in the main they stood east and west, varied a good deal from due east in the disposition of their longitudinal axis; and, further also, it was found that the chancels sometimes deflected a good deal from the line and direction of the nave. Upon this our brisk young Academical Ritualists promptly jumped to the conclusion that such points were determined by the place where the sun rises on the day of the particular saint to whom the church is dedicated. The further irregularity of the chancel deviating from the main line of the nave had already been accounted for by the Romanists, who taught that it symbolized the hanging over to the right of the head of the Saviour after death at the crucifixion. This is so fanciful and poetic that, of course, it was immediately adopted.

* In some papers by the Bedford Archæological Society, now extinct, I believe, the Rev. Wm. Airy contributed one on "Festival Orientation," Nov. 11, 1856 (quoted in *N. and Q.*, 2. s.v. 501, but the original is not in the Brit. Mus.). He writes, "I have never met with one church pointing to the place of sunrise on any day between 1st May and 9th Aug. . . . I have observed but one church diverging more than 30 degrees from the east; not above six or seven diverging more than 20 degrees; and not double of that number diverging above 10 degrees; but hundreds where the divergence from the east is less than 10 degrees, or, I may say, less than 5. This shows there was no rule." But Charles Borromeo (17. B. I., c. 10) also fixes the rule to be *ad equinoctialem orientem*.—*Constit. Apost.*, p. 57. Wren, in building St. Paul's, "laid the middle line of the new work more declining to the north-east than it was before, which was not due east and west" (22. W., 287). Try St. Paul's with a compass now.

Unfortunately, difficulties crop up. Suppose we take St. Barnabas! His day is June 11; but before the change of style, that day fell on what is now June 21, or the longest day—the day of the summer solstice:

"Barnaby bright,
The longest day and the shortest night."

Supposing the church had been adjusted to June 21—old Barnabas Day—as, of course, it would, it would be of no use to try its orientation by that of sunrise on June 11, which is now St. Barnabas Day. Again, the old 21st was the day of the summer solstice; and, according to Durandus, churches were to be set to the equinoctial east, and not the solstitial. Again, if the sun on the saint's day determine the eastern point, it is the saint, and the saint alone, we have to do with; and we cannot in that case consistently explain the chancel's deviation from the line of the nave by any symbolic declination of the head of the Saviour on the cross. That is put quite out of the question, and the sooner we cease to attach high importance to these matters of mere curiosity the better. Symbols that are clear and comprehensible are beautiful, and tend to spirituality and poetry; but intricacies tend to degenerate into conceits that render those who entertain them needlessly ridiculous, and to bring the sacred things themselves into some degree of disrepute.

The Rev. John Dudley says (7. D., s.v.) sadly in the Advertisement to his work, that his studies in theology had afforded him pleasure through a long life; and that when he learned that the Cambridge Camden Society were advocating the symbolic import of the structure of churches, he proposed to show the *rationale* of the symbols, and to dedicate his book to the Society; but when he found how they did their work, and hunted symbols to death, he issued his book in the usual way.

The deflection of chancels from the line of the nave is certainly very remarkable.

Some years ago it led to much correspondence in *Notes and Queries*, several churches are named as having oblique chancels:

St. Peter's, Sudbury (2. S., x. 68).

St. Peter and Paul's, Wantage (2. S., x. 118).

Cathedral of St. Chad, Lichfield „

where civilization, carried beyond sanity, crowds manhood out by overcrowding man. But nothing can alter the beauty of gathering the bodies that sleep about the house of the sleepless one, where the bodies that are silent may vibrate to the organ note, and so take some part, as it were, in the noble old services that in life they perhaps had loved and led. It seems to link the dead and living souls together, and to lessen the distinction between the dust that is living and the dust that has lived. It is useful here to follow our Abbé fancy-fed, as he runs on with :

"Elle a placé ses cimetières soit dans les temples mêmes, soit à l'abri de ces murs bénis, et la l'orientation est encore de principe, sinon toujours observée autant qu'il serait convenable depuis que la liturgie y est malheureusement déléguée aux soins exclusifs d'un fossoyeur. Son intention fut toujours de nous rappeler, par cette identité ou ce voisinage, que la prière est un lien, une communion entre nous et nos frères trépassés. Sur ce point et sur tant d'autres, les usurpations de la société civile ont imposé l'abandon des règles vénérés de nos pères, et bouleversé avec le sol des cimetières, ce qu'ils avaient de profondément religieux.* Qu'eussent dit les païens de l'Égypte ou de la Grèce et de Rome si fidèles à cette observance, et dont les morts ne devaient être couchés qu'en face du soleil levant ? Les Gaulois eux-mêmes tournaient leurs dolmens vers ce point mystérieux, et la plus grande nombre de ces monuments observés en France, en Bretagne, dans les îles de la Manche, et au delà de notre océan, dans celles de Scandinavie, et de l'Irlande, conservent cette position."

The Ancients thought that Christ crucified on Calvary—which lay to the north-west of the temple—turned His back upon Jerusalem and the east, so that His eyes looked forth upon the region whither His religion, rejected by the Jews, was to be carried. John Damascenus and Cassiodorus record this old tradition (I. M., ii. 473), and they point out also that, as we have seen before (Isaiah xli. 2), Christ is called the Orient. Sedulius and the

* In Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, s.v. *Cimetière*, I stumbled on a remark of interest, which, rather than lose, I insert here. "Autrefois les cimetières étaient hors les villes, et sur les grands chemins ; il était défendu d'enterrer dans les églises ; cela fut changé par la nouvelle 820 de l'Empereur Léon, qui permit d'enterrer dans les villes, et même dans les églises." This was at the desire of the Church itself. But the pernicious growth of population around modern cities has rendered it imperative to banish entirely the beautiful sentiment that suggested the original wish. One amongst a thousand of the soul's pearls that progress, so-called, tramples under the feet of swine. Progress is too often a stone running down-hill ; you cannot stop it, but the valley below will. It will stay there, at last, and never move again.

Venerable Bede have also treated of this subject. Sedulius, a priest and poet of the fifth century, in his poem entitled "Carmen Paschale" writes (II. A., iv. 442) :

Arcton dextra tenet, Medium læva erigit axem,
Cunctaque de membris vivit natura creantis,
Et cruce complexum Christus regit undique mundum.
Lib. v., versus 189.*

If the east is of light, the west is of darkness ; and the west accordingly often figures as the reign of Satan, *Prince of Darkness*, and of the world-rulers of darkness. τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους (Eph. vi. 12). But the north is *par excellence* the kingdom of Satan and the spirits of evil, for there the sun never travels, there the cold dominates, cold which is the death of growth. Kirke White who, though fallen now below the horizon, is yet a true poet if seldom quite effectual, places his devils (23. W., 3)

Where the North Pole, in moody solitude,
Spreads her huge tracts.

Lucifer, sun of the morning, is made by Isaiah (xiv. 13), when revolted, to select the north. *Ponam sedem meam ad Aquilonem*, are the words used. The north masonically is a place of darkness (15. M., 232). Observe that a wall built anywhere further north than 23° 28' can receive the rays of the sun only on its south side. Its northern side stands "benighted in the mid-day sun." The north is typically the region of fogs and storms, of angry passions and of sin. Hence

* The right hand holds the north, the left hand lifts the southern axis. All nature takes life from the members of its God, and Christ rules the whole world in the outstretched arms of the Cross. I.N.R.I. are the initials of the Latin words that Pilate placed upon the Cross. The Rosicrucians read them into an hermetic secret of theirs : *Ignem Naturam Renovatur Integra*. Ragon takes the equivalent, יִנְרִי, and these initials give the Hebrew names of the four elements. *Iaminim*, water ; *Nour*, fire ; *Ruach*, air ; and *Iebshah*, earth. The globe, in the Egyptian mysteries, is the emblem of God (15. M., 113), and this curious *cabal* reduces it to the universal elements. Those four elements are much more truly elementary than the seventy (about) of modern chemistry. The chemists' elements are only elements like Fahrenheit's zero, than which they can get no lower just now. The four ancient elements were at least four points fixed in nature, as the boiling and freezing point are in the Centigrade.

† "We are told that at Wakefield Church, built about A.D. 1100, when they enlarged it, they added an aisle on the north side because they then only buried on the south side of the church."—*Builder*, 1889, p. 184.

on the north side of sacred edifices the mediæval sculptors represented the terrors of the last day on the north side of the Cathedral of Rheims; almost every sin is depicted, and with a fervour of broad simplicity that the world now thinks indecent, having lost the proper interpretation with the key of symbolism. Auber (11. A., iv. 442), tells us that the ancient artists were in the habit of placing the sun on the right of the dying Saviour. Now, as all ecclesiastical tradition places him facing the west, the sun that they so depict is in the north, and represents that Nature has thus been overcome by this death supernatural. Iconology here defies Nature to illustrate an idea purely mystical. The north side of churches was reckoned to be accursed, and was set apart for the burial of suicides and the unbaptized (Grose, "Olio").

The Jewish Tabernacle and Temple were set westward (11. A., i. 23; iii. 70-79), because the heathen temples, tombs, and worship were directed eastward. The new Church of the Christians reversed this symbolism in accordance with its tradition of the Crucifixion; and as the Gospel was now to be preached to the Gentile world, and Paradise recovered by it to mankind, the reversal of the Jewish scheme brought things back to the old position of the Pagan temples, tombs, and worship. So that the Almighty might again receive cosmopolitan and not exclusive and sectarian honours only.

The altar deserves a passing remark. In the Apostolic Constitutions the table is called the altar; and the documents are therefore of an earlier date than the institution of *sacrifice* established by order of Pope Leo I. (19. R., 77). Therefore from the earliest periods the word has been of apostolical usage, and does not imply sacrifice. Those who avoid using the word think that error lurks under it; but the idea is groundless. In the Jewish temple there was the altar of *sacrifice*, and the altar of *incense* (Exod. xxx. 9). The latter was specially *not* to be touched of burnt offering, nor by blood. The cubic altar of Masonry is expounded as representative of both these forms (15. M., 14), but in the earliest Church it was certainly not regarded as sacrificial, else the Pope would not have had to institute the sacrifice of the mass afterwards. The great Mede points this out, and says the name

table is not to be found in the first two ages in any author now remaining (12. B., i. 267). At the Reformation, and when the liturgy was revised in 1551, the priest was directed "to stand on the north side of the table;" till that date the word *altar* had been used. From that date till now in the Church of England there has been drawn a foolish distinction between the two words. The Papists have absurdly gloried in the use of the term; the Protestants as absurdly have gloried in its suppression. In this preposterous way do the brethren ignore the aphorism of Ignatius, "one Bishop and one altar," and thus do they interpret the still more solemn prescript, "Love one another." As to the Protestants, you would think this was the altar Paul found at Athens. Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, and that God was unknown to them.

There is an interesting story told of the Earl of Derby (4. D., 214), who was beheaded. When he had ascended the scaffold, he requested them to let him stand on the west side of the block, the church of Bolton being so placed in sight "that the last object on which his eyes were fixed might be God's house." This gentle wish, that could hurt no one, inhumanity, or stolid senselessness, refused. *Homo homini lupus, ubi non, est asinus*. May the ass forgive the allusion, for the ass is the more excellent, and the more innocent beast by far.

I am not at all satisfied with what I have here gathered for this paper; but the mass of allusions that crowd upon the attention when this subject is approached is so heterogeneous as to render it very difficult indeed to keep to any order that shall be lucid.

To follow sense,

You see how short the wings of reason are.*

The subject of Orientation is one that many have run wild upon. It is a topic seductive, beautiful, and apt to lead astray. Some despise it, and that is equally ill-guided. I have tried to let all imagery play its ample and full part, believing, with the Chaldaic oracles (20. S., 42), that

Σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἐσπείρει ταῖς ψυχαῖς

—the mind of God hath sown all symbols in the soul—but, at the same time, I have

* Poi dietro a' sensi

Vedi che la ragione ha corte l'ali.

Dante, *Paradiso*, ii. 57.

striven to rein in the Bucephalus of an obstreperous fancy that reason might direct our equitation. We have now passed through together certain mysteries Eleusinian, of which to reach the end is better far a hundredfold than it is to be hesitating at the point of commencement. It is something if we have come through whole, anyway, at last.

We Westerns, boasting light, should not forget* that we are also the Cimmerians, who lay beyond that ocean fringe of Homer,

"Where sad night canopies the woeful race,"†
Cowper's *Odyssey*, xi. 19.

and that we have lost many knowledges as well as gained a few. We are, however, just as far as the Easterns ever were from solving the great secret of the universe, though possessing a huge apparatus of science that overwhelms its professors. The more foolish sort appear to think they are upon the threshold of discovery. Meanwhile, life is very hard amongst us, and so unhappy that it forces many to think that if we could but orient our lives as well as our churches, it would be the better for us all. If we could but get back a little of the world's youth again—that youth which the old-forgotten Frenchman, Racan, so sweetly designates *l'orient de nos années!* The spirit of the East, believe me, must temper the knowledge of the West; for you may pursue dry knowledge till you turn the soul, stark Niobe, to stone. It is the highest bard that ever sang a note who tells us of the East that "it is there where the world most lives."‡

A quelle parte, ove'l mondo è più vivo.

Dante, *Paradiso*, v. 87.

* Even Napoleon, in the French sentimentality of his youth, and when meditating his Egyptian stroke, would say, "Europe is a mole-hill" (R. W. Phipps, *Memoirs of Napoleon*, 1885, i. 116); and again (p. 111), "Everything wears out here; my glory has already disappeared. This little Europe does not supply enough of it for me. I must seek it in the East, the fountain of glory."

† Ἡέρι καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι.

‡ The disputants upon the meaning of this are numerous, as upon most other points; for where comment becomes possible, dissent becomes certain. Venturi interprets it of the East. Lombardi and Cary think it meant that Beatrice looked upwards—that is to say, to no part of the world at all. Lammenais says it was to "the most elevated spheres." J. C. Wright understands the empyrean. Longfellow takes it as "towards the sun." So on, and so on the diver-

Book Auctioneers and Auctions in the Seventeenth Century.

By JOHN LAWLER.



HE history of the sale of books by public auction remains to be written. The sources of information on the subject are very scanty, and almost unexplored. To many people it will probably appear that the matter is of minor importance, and although of considerable interest to a limited few, not worth the trouble of discussing seriously. And yet we contend that, if beneath the notice of serious literary history, at least no history of book-selling will be complete which does not give an authoritative sketch of the subject.

Lord Macaulay, who knew more about the by-ways of literature than any man of his time, neglected this subject; or, at all events, we find no indication in any of his writings of his acquaintance with it.

And yet, between 1676 and 1700, something like 150 auction sales of books had been held in London and the provinces. It may, perhaps, be necessary that we should endeavour to point out the reasons which convince us that the study of book-auctions must have a place in any future history of book-selling. Since they were first introduced, important changes of fashion in collecting and taste in reading books have taken place—changes which can only be traced in book-auction catalogues. The neglect into which the English literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had fallen in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, is nowhere so plainly indicated as in the prices which the books of that period realized when sold by auction; and the gradual rise in the interest and study of it may be traced in the catalogues as clearly and as unerringly therein as the Indian trailer follows footprints in the primæval forest. In them, also, we can follow the rise and progress of the different phases of collecting as applied to books—the ups and downs of literature, certain groups of it now neglected,

sity grows amusing, if not decisive; but for the nonce and our requirement we will take it to be *the East*, please the pigs!

then rising to a high position in the aristocracy of taste, anon receding, and falling again into forgetfulness. The flourishing and settled state of the colonies can be followed with certainty by the gradually increasing prices of the books which relate to their history.

The beginning of the rage for fine art books and *éditions de luxe*; the deterioration of what were once valuable editions of the classics; the growing interest taken in books of the kind which the French call *livres de fonds*; the literary importance of studying the first edition of a book which has afterwards become a classic—these, and many other interesting and important points may be brought out by the study of auction catalogues. We do not intend to anticipate in this article a sketch of the history of book-auctions, which will be published in the series of the *Book-Lover's Library*, but merely to give a note or two on the auctions and auctioneers of the seventeenth century.

On October 31, 1676, William Cooper announced that he would sell the library of the late Lazarus Seaman, S.T.D., by "the way of auction, or who bids most." "It hath not been usual here in England," says the auctioneer, "to make sale of books by way of auction, but it has been practised in other countries to the advantage both of buyers and sellers." Cooper here refers to the fact of the Dutch booksellers having already had recourse to the method of selling books by auction. So early as 1604 the Elzevir Brothers sold the library of Geo. Dousa; and later some of their surplus stock at Leyden in this manner, and there is evidence, in a sale catalogue issued by them in 1681, that they continued their book auctions at least until that date. That Cooper took his idea from the Dutchmen is certain, from a comparison of the English and Dutch catalogues. The shape, and divisions, classification, and general style of cataloguing, are exactly the same. Between 1676 and 1686, Cooper held some twenty auctions, in which were included libraries of men who had made their mark in the age in which they lived—the libraries of Sir Walter Rea, Rev. Thos. Kidner, Rev. T. Nanton, John Humphrey, of Rowell, in Northampton, Rev. Samuel Brook, etc. As well as the stocks of several booksellers amongst which was that of Richard

Davis, of Oxford (one of the first and largest bookseller's stocks sold by auction). But little is known of Cooper, or, indeed, of any of the other booksellers of the time who combined the business of ordinary book-selling with that of auctioneering. His shop was at the sign of the Pelican, in Little Britain, and he appears to have paid special attention to alchemical books. Of this abstruse class of literature he published an interesting catalogue, in 1673, at the end of a book entitled *The Philosophical Epitaph of W. C.*, which catalogue he afterwards enlarged and published separately in 1675. On the title of his *Philosophical Epitaph* he calls himself 'Esquire.' That he was a scholar is evident from his translations from the Latin of the writings of Helvetius, Glauber, Van Helmont, and other philosophers of the occult school. He was also a thorough believer in the philosopher's stone, as may be gathered from the title of a book he published, in which he asserts that a young philosopher of twenty-three years of age had discovered that much-coveted article. Cooper appears to have taken much pride in the preparation of his catalogues. In the preface to his catalogue of the library of Dr. Thomas Manton, he says, "This catalogue was taken by Phil Briggs, and not by W. Cooper, but afterwards in part methodized by him, wherefore he craves your excuse for the mistakes that have hapned, and desires that the saddle may be laid on the Right Horse."

The last auction held by Cooper appears to have been that of the third part of the stock of Richard Davis, the Oxford bookseller. It was held at Davis's warehouse, near the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, and began June 25, 1688.

"The Introduction of Book-Auctions into University Towns" will be the subject of a subsequent paper, and need not therefore be discussed in this. In regard of book auctioneers of the seventeenth century the information is very small, and not to be found in the sources to which one would naturally turn. If to be found anywhere, one would undoubtedly expect it in the eccentric biography of John Dunton, himself the most active and enterprising bookseller and auctioneer of his time. Yet he passes with a mere mention of their names the

chief auctioneers who were contemporary with him. And Mr. Nichols, in his new edition of *Dunton's Life and Errors*, has very little to add concerning them. Dunton does, however, single out Edward Millington (who, next to Cooper, sold probably more libraries than any other contemporary auctioneer) as worthy of a paragraph. From this paragraph we can gather a general idea of the characteristics of the lively Millington. "There was as much humour in his once, twice, thrice," says Dunton, "as is to be found in many another man's laboured wit." He mentions as a specimen of his humour, his rebuke to Dr. Cave, the author of *Primitive Christianity*, to whom, on an occasion when the Doctor was bidding what Millington thought was too low a price for a book, the auctioneer turned and said, "Dr. Cave, is this your *Primitive Christianity*?"

Most information with regard to Millington is to be found in a Latin poem published at Oxford on the auctions of R. Davis, the Oxford bookseller, entitled *Auctio Davisiana*, which was published with a translation in *Book-Lore* some time ago. Millington's first auction appears to be that of the libraries of the Rev. Dr. Whately, of Banbury, and Dr. Simon Rutland, which he sold together in Cornhill, April 23, 1683. Between this date and June 29, 1698, he appears to have held at least twenty-four auctions, which included the libraries of Dr. R. Cudworth, author of *The Intellectual System*; Archdeacon E. Carter, of St. Albans; Wm. Gulston, Bishop of Bristol; Massovius, Councillor of the Parliament at Montpellier; Dr. Thomas Jacomb, Dr. G. Levinz, Dr. E. Castell (author of the *Heptaglotton* to accompany Walton's *Polyglott*), Dr. John Owen, and others. Millington, like the rest, was a bookseller before he was an auctioneer, and on all his catalogues he calls himself "Bibliopole." He was the first to introduce book-auctions into the University towns, and he also roamed about the country carrying his hammer with him, and sold several libraries in provincial towns. He also held auctions of books at various fairs, and generally did more work in the dissemination of literature than any other auctioneer of his time. The prefaces to his catalogues, besides hinting at the growing satisfaction with the method of selling books by auction,

are sometimes amusingly egoistic, and have one special characteristic, that is, in endeavouring to enhance the value of his catalogues by a sort of negative praise.

The auctioneer of the seventeenth century *par excellence* was undoubtedly John Dunton. Of him more is known than of any other of his day, in consequence of his interesting egoism. A restless, pushing man, flitting here and there like a moth round a candle, he singed his wings more than once, and at last was entirely consumed by the multiplicity of his erratic business transactions. At one time we find him loading a ship with a cargo of books for Holland, many of which were spoiled in transit; at another, braving the dangers of the still more distant journey to Boston. Then he returns to England, and prepares a much larger collection of books for sale by auction in Ireland. There his abruptness and overbearing nature bring him into collision with the booksellers already established there, to one of whom, a Patrick Campbell, he conceived an inveterate hatred, and whom he attacks violently in his book entitled *The Dublin Scuffle*. In this otherwise tedious book he gives an interesting account of his three book-auctions in Ireland in 1686. But Dunton's career as an auctioneer is of sufficient interest to form the subject of a separate article.

Of the minor book-auctioneers of the seventeenth century the following names occur: On May 13, 1678, John Dunmore and Richard Chiswell, booksellers, sold the libraries of Dr. Benjamin Worsley and two other learned men; Nathaniel Ranew, bookseller, that of Brooke, Lord Warwick, and others, December 2, 1678; Thomas Phillipps (who signs himself "Generosus"), the large and interesting library of Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, Lord Privy Seal to Charles II. (one of the first peers who devoted time and money to the formation of a great library); T. Bently and Benjamin Walford, booksellers, on November 21, 1687, books from the library of Cecil, Lord Burghley, many of which contained MS. notes in the great peer's own hand; Walford also sold, between February 3, 1687-88, and October 8, 1689, the collections of Robert Scott, the London bookseller, the library, prints, and drawings of Maitland, Earl of

Lauderdale, and others; Samuel Ravenshaw, bookseller, a miscellaneous collection, on October 9, 1689; John Bullord, two libraries, May 8, 1689, and December 8, 1690. Besides these there were held about thirty auctions of books between 1683 and 1689, of which no names of auctioneers are given.

In succeeding articles we propose to deal with the collectors of the seventeenth century, and the kind of books they amassed, and the means they took in amassing them; the prices at which books were then sold, and their gradual deterioration or rise in value; of the houses at which the auctions were held, and the way they were managed; of the introduction of auctions into the provinces, and the holding of sales at fairs; of trade sales, and other matters which we think will be found to be of great interest to all lovers and collectors of books.



London Sculptured House-Signs.

BY PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A.

(Concluded.)

MAIDEN'S HEAD, IRONMONGER LANE.



HERE is a stone bas-relief of a maiden's head, with date 1668, above the first-floor window of No. 6, Ironmonger Lane, near the Mercers' Hall. It indicates property belonging to the Mercers' Company, and similar carvings are to be seen in many parts of London; but this is the only specimen of any antiquity known to me which is dated, and it is somewhat less stiff in treatment than usual. Heraldically, the arms of the company are: Gules, a demi-*virgin* couped below the shoulders, issuing from clouds, all proper, vested or, crowned with an Eastern crown of the last, her hair dishevelled and wreathed round the temples with roses of the second, all within an orle of clouds proper. The Mercers take the first place among the City companies; their song has the following stanzas:

Advance the *Virgin*, lead the van!

Of all that are in London free,

The Mercer is the foremost man

That founded a society.

Of all the trades that London grace,

We are the first in time and place.

When Nature in perfection was,

And virgin beauty in her prime,

The Mercer gave the nymph a gloss,

And made e'en beauty more sublime.

In this above our brethren blest,

The Virgin's since our *Coat and Crest*.

The Maidenhead was also a badge of the family of Queen Catherine Parr, the sixth and last wife of Henry VIII., and has, perhaps, in a few instances, been set up as a sign out of compliment to her.

THE MITRE, MITRE COURT.

In Mitre Court, a narrow passage between Hatton Garden and Ely Place, Holborn, stands a comparatively modern public-house, let into the front wall of which is a mitre in high relief; on each side is cut or scratched the date 1546, which, however, looks as if it has been added of late years. This is by some thought to be a relic of the town residence of the Bishops of Ely, the remains of which, with the grounds, were conveyed to the Crown in 1772. At that time the hall, seventy-two feet long, and a quadrangular cloister, existed; over the chief entrance the sculptured arms of the See, surmounted by a mitre, were still to be seen, and it is quite possible that this mitre was afterwards converted into the sign in question. The property was shortly afterwards sold to an architect named Cole, who levelled everything except the chapel. This last building, dedicated to St. Etheldreda, is close at hand. The Rev. W. J. Loftie considers it the most complete relic of the fourteenth century in London. In 1772 it stood in an open space of about an acre, planted with trees, and surrounded by a wall. The present town residence of the Bishops of Ely, in Dover Street, has attained a respectable age, having been occupied by them ever since the Holborn property was sold. It has a mitre carved over one of the first-floor windows.

MITRE, BISHOPSGATE STREET.

At the corners of Camomile Street, and of Liverpool Street, Bishopsgate, are bas-reliefs

of mitres, with inscriptions recording the fact that there stood the City gate of that name. I learn that it was sold by the commissioners of the City lands on December 10, 1760, for immediate demolition. It had been rebuilt in 1731 at the expense of the City, and when almost finished the arch fell, but luckily no one was hurt. The rooms in the ancient gateway were appropriated to the Lord Mayor's carvers. The above are, of course, not, in a strict sense, house-signs.

THE NAKED BOY, PIE CORNER.

This curious statuette is placed on a pedestal let into the wall of a public-house at the corner of Giltspur Street and Cock Lane, called the Fortune of War. The spot was known of old as Pie Corner. It is hardly necessary to add that here ended the Great Fire of London. The figure in question was put up after that event, and is, as Pennant says, "wonderfully fat indeed." An engraving of it in his account of London shows the following inscription on the breast and arms :

"This boy is in Memory Put up for the late Fire of London occasioned by the Sin of Gluttony. 1666."

Burn tells us that its propriety was on one occasion thus supported by a nonconforming preacher, on the anniversary of the Fire : he asserted that "the calamity could not be occasioned by the sin of blasphemy, for in that case it would have begun at Billingsgate; nor lewdness, for then Drury Lane would have been first on fire; nor lying, for then the flames had reached them from Westminster Hall; no, my beloved, it was occasioned by the sin of gluttony : for it began at Pudding Lane, and ended at Pie Corner." The inscription has long since been obliterated, and no trace is now to be seen of the little wings with which, in Pennant's illustration, the boy is furnished; in 1816, however, they were still conspicuous, and were painted bright yellow. The Fortune of War is mentioned as a well-known tavern in the *Vade Mecum for Maltworms*, published about the year 1715; within the memory of man it had the unpleasing reputation of being a house of call for resurrectionists, who supplied the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's Hospital with subjects for dissection.

THE PELICAN, ALDERMANBURY.

This sculptured bas-relief is let into the string course above a first-floor window of No. 70, Aldermanbury, and is the crest or badge of two merchants who formerly occupied the house. Their monument is in the neighbouring church of St. Mary Aldermanbury, the inscription being as follows :

Here lyeth the body of Richard Chandler,
Citizen and Haberdasher of London, Esquire,
Who departed this life November 8th, 1691, aged 85.
Also the body of John Chandler, Esq^{re}, his brother,
Citizen and Haberdasher of London,
Who died October 14th, 1686, aged 69 years.

Above is their crest corresponding with the sign. The busts of these two worthy citizens appear in flowing periwigs on each side of the inscription; their names are in the *Little London Directory* of 1677. The church was burnt down in the Great Fire, and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, the parishioners subscribing liberally. Richard Chandler gave the font in 1675.

THE TWO NEGROES' HEADS, CLARE STREET.

Over the doorway of a house at the corner of Clare Street and Vere Street, Clare Market, is a sculptured carving in low relief, of two negroes' heads facing each other, with date 1715, and initials ^{WM}. The design is good, it has not been described before. The house is now occupied by a baker. I tried to get leave to see the deeds, but without success, and the old parish rate-books having been destroyed by fire in 1841, no further information could be obtained. It may be remarked as a curious coincidence that the continuation of Clare Street towards Drury Lane is called Blackmoor (in old maps Blackamore) Street. A seventeenth-century trade-token from Drury Lane is thus described by Boyne :

O. THOMAS . HAYTON . IN . DVRY = a negro's head.
R. LANE . HIS . HALFE . PENNY = an arched crown.

WHITE LION, HIGH STREET, ISLINGTON.

On the north side of Islington High Street, but in the parish of Clerkenwell, between the first-floor windows of No. 23, now a tobacconist's, and next the present White Lion Tavern, is a large boldly-executed sign of a white lion rampant, with date 1724. This

was formerly the sign of an inn which existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, if not earlier. In *Drunken Barnabee's Journal*, 1638, occur the following lines:

Thence to Islington at Lion,
Where a juggling I did spy one,
Nimble with his mates consorting,
Mixing cheating with his sporting.

There is a curious allusion in Pepys' *Diary*, under date January 21, 1667-8: "It seems, on Thursday last, he (Joyce) went sober and quiet and behind one of the inns, the White Lion, did throw himself into a pond." This Anthony Joyce was cousin of Pepys; he had lost money by the Great Fire, and afterwards kept the Three Stags, Holborn Conduit. He was got out before life was extinct, but died soon afterwards. Pepys was under apprehension that his estate would be taken from his widow and children on the ground that he had committed suicide, but the coroner's jury returned a verdict that he had died of a fever. A trade-token gives the name of the landlord at the time:

O. CHRISTOPHER . BUSBEE . AT=a lion passant.
R. WHIT . LYON . IN . ISLINGTON . HIS . HALF .
PENY . 1668.

Cromwell, in his history of Clerkenwell, 1828, tells us how part of the old hostelry was destroyed to make the street running west, which is now called White Lion Street. The sign had been over the gateway, and is probably about in its original position.

WOMAN'S HEAD OR AMAZON'S HEAD, GRESHAM STREET.

This is a well-carved representation of a woman's head as large as life; she has a helmet, or diadem, and various ornaments on her breast; on each side are festoons of fruit and flowers. It is placed outside a modern stuccoed tavern, which a few years ago was called the Three Bucks, and stands at the corner of Old Jewry and Gresham Street. Archer, who drew the sign, thinks that it was a fragment of ornamental sculpture from some building of the beginning of the sixteenth century. He goes on to say, "It is not unlike the medallions of Italian work in terra cotta which ornamented the old building of Hampton Court Palace, but it is so thickly coated with paint as entirely to conceal the original material." In the *Ency-*

clopædia Londinensis, 1816 (vol. xiii., p. 478), it is called the head of Minerva, and we are told that there was then a carving of the Cordwainers' arms on the brick wall below it, so the house has doubtless since been rebuilt. This was, perhaps, the sign of an inn, called the Maidenhead, mentioned by John Taylor, the water poet, in his *Carriers' Cosmographie*. It seems that a little later there was a house in this immediate neighbourhood called the Roxalana or Roxalana's Head, as we learn from a seventeenth-century trade-token lately referred to in *Notes and Queries*, which reads thus:

O. THOMAS . LACY . HIS . $\frac{1}{2}$. PENY=female bust;
around ROXCELLANA.
R. IN . CATEATEN . STREETE=T M L.

Roxalana in the *Siege of Rhodes* was a favourite part of Elizabeth Davenport, the actress, whose sham marriage to the Earl of Oxford, who deceived her by disguising a trumpeter of his troop as a priest, is told in Grammont and by the Countess Dunois: Pepys several times alludes to her. Is it not possible that in consequence of the popularity of the play or the actress the old Maidenhead Inn was rechristened? Perhaps further information on this subject may be forthcoming. The name Cateaton Street—according to Stow, corruptly called Catte Street—was changed to Gresham Street in 1845.

This completes my account of the sculptured house-signs still to be found on houses. It may be observed that those belonging to the City, which have survived till our time, were almost, without exception, put up shortly after the Great Fire—two in Southwark date from similar fires. The others are later, except the Bell in Red Lion Yard, which has probably been moved from the City.

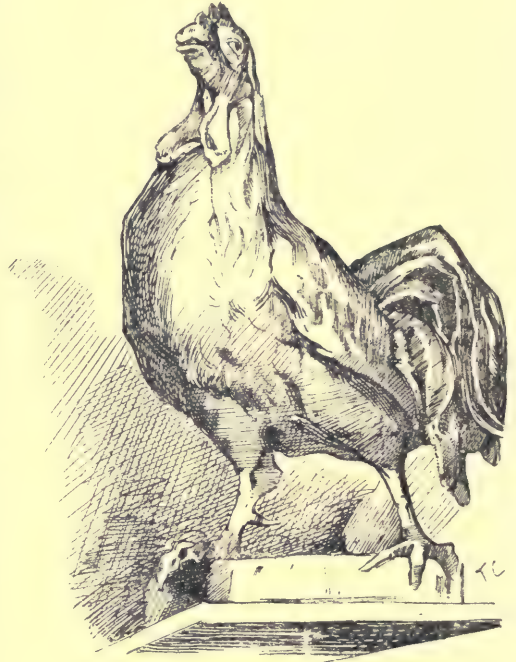
Two bas-reliefs of the character of house-signs have not been included in my list, because they are on quasi-public buildings. The winged horse, or Pegasus, ornaments the well-known gatehouse of the Inner Temple, which was erected in 1607. The Lamb and Flag, or Agnus Dei, dated 1684, is over the entrance to the Middle Temple on a red-brick front with stone dressings, said to have been built by Sir Christopher Wren. These are respectively the heraldic badges of the Societies of the Inner and Middle Temples—

the former is a corruption of the ancient device of Knights Templars riding on one horse—indicative of the original poverty of their order :

As by the Templars' holds you go,
The Horse and Lamb display'd
In emblematic figures show
The merits of their trade.
That clients may infer from thence
How just is their profession,
The Lamb sets forth their innocence,
The Horse their expedition.

The arms of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, are still to be seen in Lincoln's Inn ; and other curious coats-of-arms may be found in various parts of London, the property of City companies being generally indicated in this way ; but I have no space here to describe them further. A Dog's Head in the Pot in front of an ironmonger's shop in the Blackfriars Road, though itself of no antiquity, represents an old London sign. Several eminent banking firms carefully preserve the signs which were used by them before their houses were numbered. The Marygold is in the front shop of Messrs. Child and Co.'s premises ; it is of oak, the ground stained green, with a sun and gilt border ; the motto beneath it is, "Ainsi mon âme." The Three Squirrels of Messrs. Gosling are worked in iron, and attached to the bars which protect their central window. Messrs. Hoare's Golden Bottle hangs over the doorway of the banking-house in Fleet Street. It is unfortunate that the old sign of Messrs. Martin and Co., in Lombard Street, has not been preserved—it was the Grasshopper, the crest of Sir Thomas Gresham, who here carried on his business. A quaint sign is the little carved wooden figure of the Midshipman mentioned in *Dombey and Son* ; it may still be seen in the Minories, to which quarter it migrated from Leadenhall Street some years ago. Messrs. Rivington and Co. have preserved their old Bible and Crown from Paternoster Row. The Goose and Gridiron still surmounts a lamp in front of a tavern in London House Yard, which flourished in the days of Sir Christopher Wren, who was master of the Freemasons' Lodge held there ; a stone let into the front of the building, with sculptured mitre and date, no doubt indicates that it is ecclesiastical property. A medallion head on a little gable-

ended house in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, is a survival of a style of decoration once common. A cock and two serpents, with date 1652, lately put up in front of No. 16, Church Street, is really a casting from the back of an old fireplace taken out when the house was rebuilt. Many interesting dates, inscriptions, and ornamental designs in brick are to be found on old houses ; the best specimen known to me is on No. 41, Mount Pleasant (formerly Dorrington Street). A quaint sign of a mermaid, with date 1688, is to be found



THE COCK, FLEET STREET.

on an old house in Gravesend, the material being brick or terra cotta. I may add that some good sculptured signs have been put up in London of late years. Finally, without going into details about that famous old tavern, the Cock, Fleet Street—now, alas ! no more—I will briefly allude to a relic of it, the carved wooden figure of a cock, which is worthy of Grinling Gibbons, to whom (but without authority) it has been attributed. This formerly stood over the doorway ; a few years ago it was stolen, but

shortly afterwards restored, and it is now to be seen inside the house of entertainment on the opposite side of the street, to which Mr. Colnett, the proprietor, has removed. He has also with pious care preserved the quaint Jacobean mantelpiece and other fittings from his old home.

The following sculptured signs have either disappeared, or are now safely housed in the Guildhall Museum. Many interesting facts could be recorded about them; but I have filled my allotted space, and for the present, at least, must quit the subject—I hope before my friends have got tired of it—or me.

List of Signs which have disappeared.

Adam and Eve, 52, Newgate Street.
Ape, Philip Lane.
Bear, Addle Street or Addle Hill.
Bible and Crown, Little Distaff Lane.
St. George and Dragon, Bennet's Hill.
Griffin's Head, Old Jewry.
Heathcock, Strand.
Helmet, London Wall.
King's Porter and Dwarf, Bull's Head Court, Newgate Street.
Mermaid, Eastcheap.
Mermaid, Miles Street.
Pied Bull, Islington.
Seven Stars, Cheapside.
Sun, Cheapside.
Three Morris-Dancers, 36, Old Change.
Unicorn, Cheapside.

List of Signs in the Guildhall Museum.

Anchor.
Boar's Head, Eastcheap.
Bull and Mouth, St. Martin's-le-Grand.
Bull and Mouth, Angel Street.
Gardiner, Gardiner's Lane.
Lion Passant.
Three Crowns, Lambeth Hill.
Three Kings, Bucklersbury.
Three Kings, Lambeth Hill.



Concerning Anchorites and Anchor-holds.

“**T**HE ancient monks,” observes Joseph Bingham in the second book of his famous work *The Antiquities of the Christian Church*, “were not like the modern, distinguished into orders, and denominated from the founders of them; but they had their names either from the places they inhabited . . . or else they were distinguished by their different ways of living, some in cells, others on pillars, others in societies.”

Those in the first of these divisions were commonly known under the designation of anchorites, from their practice of shunning society, and secluding themselves within “a lodge in some vast wilderness.” By certain authorities on monastic lore, the Greek term *αγκυρωται*, whence we derive our English word “anchorite,” or “anchoret,” is used synonymously with that of *ερημιται*, signifying hermits; but a distinction in accordance with the etymology of the two words is preserved by other writers, who apply the term *anchor-etae* to those who lived the devotional life without entirely severing their connection with the world, and that of *erimite* to such as were wont to pursue the same end in places remote from public view. It is with the former of these that we are concerned in the present paper.

During the early ages of monasticism, the custom arose, in many abbeys and religious houses throughout Europe, of immuring within a separate cell, built frequently underground, but invariably within the precincts, the brother most advanced in asceticism, in order that he might offer perpetual intercession on behalf of the monastery and its inmates, and be enabled to pass the remainder of his earthly life, without distraction, in the contemplation of holy things. His “inclusion,” as it was termed, was accompanied by the performance of a solemn religious ceremony, at the termination of which he was taken to a cell duly prepared and set in order, and there left to himself. The door through which he entered was then closed upon him, not unfrequently bricked up, and sealed with the episcopal ring, which could not be re-

moved unless the recluse had need at any time of assistance, or was dangerously ill. A tiny aperture or window was let in through the wall of the cell, and by means of this he received the consecrated elements in the celebration of the Eucharist, and was supplied from time to time with the bare necessities of life. Similar rites attended the inclusion of " anchoresses," or devout women addicted to the contemplative life in convents.

As a general rule, anchorages or anchor-holds were situated in churches, churchyards, over the church porch, and at town gates. When annexed to the church, they were constructed in such a manner that the recluse was afforded facilities for seeing the altar and hearing the service. Osborn, in his *Life of St. Dunstan*, alludes to a *destina*, another name by which anchor-holds or stalls were known, annexed to the Church of the Virgin Mary at Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, which was occupied by the great Churchman after he became a monk. From his description it would seem to have closely resembled a cave or sepulchre. In course of time regular anchor-holds came to be attached to almost every abbatial or parochial church. The learned ecclesiologist, Mabillon, in his unfinished work on the Benedictine annals, occasionally refers to the inclusion of anchorites, but these were chiefly in various parts of France. He makes mention, however, under date of 793, of a certain Ælfrida who lived as a recluse in a cell situated near the high altar on the south side of the church at Croyland, in Lincolnshire. We are further told, under date of the year 916, that the practice of seclusion was widely prevalent among persons of both sexes. Several Councils of the Church, particularly Trullo (692 A.D.) and Frankfort (787 A.D.), discussed anchorites and their mode of living, and endeavoured to modify and restrict it within certain rules and forms. The Trullan canons enjoined that all those who affected to be anchorites ought first to pass three years within a cell in a monastery, and that if after this course of treatment they still persisted in their profession, they might be examined by a bishop or abbot. They might then be permitted to return to the world for the space of twelve months, and if at the expiration of this period they signified their adherence to their first choice the

Diocesan might confine them to their cells, which they were not permitted to leave again but by his consent. On the other hand, the Gangran canons hurled very fierce anathemas against anchorites. Although the custom had prevailed long before his time, Grimlaicus, a monk of Metz, who flourished about the end of the ninth century, was the first to prescribe a "rule" for those who were desirous of leading an anchoretical or solitary life. According to this rule, the cells of anchorites were to be situated near a church, but they were permitted to join to them small gardens. A community of anchorites might even dwell together in one common enclosure, and hold communication one with another by means of a window, provided that every cell was separate from the other. There they lived, either by the labour of their hands, or by alms, or upon the bounty of some neighbouring abbey or monastery. Their ordinary dress consisted of a frock, but if they had attained unto the order of the priesthood, they could wear a cope, and, moreover, could exercise their right of hearing confessions.

Among the statutes of the synod convened in the year 1246, by Richard, Bishop of Chichester, there was one relating to anchorites. In this they were strictly enjoined to be careful not to admit within their dwellings any person whose behaviour might give rise to suspicion. Their windows were required to be "narrow and convenient;" they were permitted to hold converse with none but those of unblemished life and character; and, except in cases of emergency, the custodianship of the Eucharistic vestments was on no account to be entrusted to anchoresses.

Some anchorites were even placed in churches in order to look after them, boxes being placed at the doors to receive contributions towards their support, a practice noted in the *Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*:

Ne in ancrs there a box hangeth.

The office for the inclusion of anchorites is to be found in the *Pontifical* of Lacy, who filled the See of Exeter during the fourteenth century. From it we gather that, during the course of the ceremony, the sacrament of extreme unction was administered to the

recluse, and the prayer of commendation for his soul was offered, in case of death preventing him from being fortified with the last sacraments of the Church. A certain portion of the Burial Service was also performed, this doubtless being intended to signify that the anchorite, on entering his cell, would henceforth be alive to the world no more.

A careful and diligent study of old county histories and topographical works reveals to us the fact that, during the Middle Ages, recluses, both male and female, were very far from uncommon in England. According to Francis Blomfield, the historian of Norfolk, "there were many of these anchorites and anchoresses in the city of Norwich," and in this learned antiquary's account of its various parishes some exceedingly curious and interesting particulars are furnished respecting them.

In the eastern corner of the churchyard of St. Julian and St. Edward, Norwich, we are informed, there once stood an anchorage, in which an anchoress or recluse dwelt till the dissolution of monasteries, when the house was demolished, though when Blomfield wrote the foundations might still be seen. In 1393 the Lady Julian, described as "one of the greatest holiness," lived as a strict recluse there, and had two servants to attend to her in her old age, *anno* 1443. Blomfield asserts that Peck, the historian of Stamford, had in his possession an old vellum manuscript, of which thirty-six quarto pages were devoted to an account of the wonderful visions beheld by this particular anchoress. There was in ancient times an anchorage in the graveyard adjoining St. Etheldred's Church, Norwich. It was rebuilt A.D. 1305, and an anchorite continually resided within it till the Reformation, soon after which date it was pulled down, and a Grange, or tithe-barn, constructed at Braken-dale with part of its timber. Joining the north side of St. Edward's Church, in the same city, was another cell, the ruins of which were visible so late as the year 1744. Here a female recluse long dwelt, supported by legacies bequeathed for that purpose by wealthy citizens. In 1428 Lady Joan was anchoress there, to whom a certain Walter Sedman left *xxs.* and *xl*d.** to each of her servants. About the year 1300 the

church of St. John the Evangelist, in Southgate, Norwich, was annexed to the parish of St. Peter per Montergate; it was then purchased by the Greyfriars to augment their site, when the whole was demolished, except a small part left for an anchorage, wherein was placed an anker, to whom part of the churchyard was assigned for a garden. Another recluse dwelt in a little cell joining to the north side of the steeple of the church of St. John the Baptist, Timberhill, Norwich, but it was pulled down some time before the Dissolution of Monasteries. In the monastery of the Carmelites, or White Friars, in the same city, there were two anchorages or anker-houses (one for a man who was admitted brother of the house, and the other for a woman who was also admitted sister thereof), situated under the chapel of the Holy Cross, which at the period when Blomfield wrote was still standing, though converted into dwelling-houses; the former stood by St. Martin's Bridge, on the east side of the street, and a small garden belonging to it joined to the river. On December 2, 1442, the Lady Emma, anchoress and religious sister of the Carmelite Order, was buried in their church; and in 1443 Thomas Scroop was anchorite in their house. This worthy, we are told, was originally a Benedictine monk, but in 1430 he took the habit of a Carmelite friar, and led the life of an anchorite in Norwich for many years, seldom going out of his cell except to preach. About the year 1446, the then Pope (Eugenius IV.) elevated Scroop to the bishopric of Down in Ireland. Subsequently he resigned this See, and, returning to his old anchorage, occasionally acted in the capacity of suffragan to the Bishop of Norwich.

It was strictly enacted that neither anchorites nor anchoresses should receive "inclusion" until the express sanction and special license of the diocesan had been obtained. And even this could not be granted until the Bishop was fully satisfied that the candidates themselves had given careful consideration to the matter. At St. Augustine's Priory, Canterbury, "inclusion" could not be granted to anchorites, unless by the ordinary, nor by the ordinary without the consent of the abbot.

In Henry de Knyghton's Chronicle, en-

titled *De Eventibus Angliæ*, it is stated that, in the year 1392, Courtney, who at that time filled the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, visited the diocese of Lincoln, and in due course reached Leicester Abbey, where, in full chapter, he confirmed sentence of excommunication against the Lollards or Wycliffites, and against all who entertained, or might thereafter hold or entertain, the errors and opinions of Maister John Wycliffe throughout the diocese. The following day, being All Saints' Day, the Archbishop hurled the thunders of excommunication, with the cross erect, candles burning, and bells ringing, according to wont, on nine persons of the town of Leicester. About evensong his grace paid a visit to a certain anchoress named Matilda, who dwelt in a *recluserium* situated within the parish church of St. Peter. Having first argued with her on the errors and opinions of the Lollards, which it would appear she had to a certain extent imbibed, he cited her to appear before him the following Sunday at St. James's Abbey, in the town of Northampton. Thither she repaired, and having duly confessed her errors, and penance having been enjoined her, she was permitted to return to Leicester and again enter her anchor-hold. The same chronicler, under date of 1382, furnishes an account of a certain priest, then residing in Leicester, William de Swyndurby, or William the Hermit, by name, who, on account of the saintly character of his life, was received by the canons of Leicester, and lodged in *quâdam camerâ infra ecclesiam*; that is to say, in a certain chamber (anchor-hold) within the church.

We learn from Scrope's *History of Castle Combe* that Henry, third Lord Scrope of Masham, in his will, dated 23rd June, 1415, left several sums of money to the numerous anchorites then living in different parts of England. To John, the anchorite of Westminster, the testator bequeathed *cs.*, and the pair of beads which he was accustomed to use; to Robert, the recluse of Beverley, *xls.*; to a chaplain, residing in a street called Gilligate, in York, in the church of St. Mary, *viijs. ivd.*; to Thomas, the chaplain dwelling in the church of St. Nicholas, Gloucester, *xiijs. ivd.*; to the anchorite of Stafford, *xiijs. ivd.*; of Kurkebisk, *xiijs. ivd.*; of Wath, *xxs.*; of Peesholme, near York, *xiijs. ivd.*;

to the recluse at Newcastle, in the house of the Dominicans, *xiijs. ivd.*; to the recluse at Kenby Ferry, *xiijs. ivd.* To the several anchorites of Wigton, of Castre, of Thorganby near Colyngwith, of Leek near Upsale, of Gainsburgh, of Kneesall near Southwell, of Staunford, living in the parish church there, of Dertford, each *xiijs. ivd.*; also to every anchorite and recluse dwelling in London or its suburbs, *vis. viijd.*; also to every anchorite and recluse dwelling in York and its suburbs (except such as are already named), *vis. viijd.*; to the anchorite of Shrewsbury, at the Dominican convent there, *xxs.*; also to every other anchorite and anchoritess that could be easily found within three months after his decease, *vis. viijd.*

What became of the recluses who were living at the time of the dissolution of monasteries, history does not say. That many were then living seems sufficiently clear from the manner in which Thomas Becon speaks of them in his curious work entitled *Reliques of Rome*, published in 1563. "As touching the monastical sect of recluses," he observes, "and such as be shutte up within walles, there unto death continuall to remayne, giving themselves to the mortification of carnall effectes, to the contemplation of heavenly and spirituall thinges, to abstinence, to prayer, and to such other ghostly exercises as men deade to the worlde, and havynge their lyfe hidden with Christ, I have not to write: forasmuch as I cannot hitherto fynde, probably in any author, whence the profession of anckers and ankresses had the begynnyng and foundation, although in this behalf *I have talked* with men of that profession which could very little or nothing say of the matter. Notwithstanding as the Whyte Fryers father that order on Helias the prophet (but falsly), so likewise do the anckers and ankresses make that holy and virtuous matrone, *Judith*, their patronesse and foundresse." He then proceeds to weigh recluses in the balance, and finds them wanting, so that he concludes by saying, "Our anckers and ankresses professe nothing but a solitary lyfe in their hallowed house wherein they are enclosed, with the vowe of obedience to the pope and to their ordinary bishop. Their apparell is indifferent, so it be dissonant from the laity. No kind of meates they are forbidden to eat. At

midnight they are bound to say certain prayers. Their profession is counted to be among all other professions so hardy and so streight, that they may by no means be suffered to come out of their houses."

There is more than one anchor-hold in existence at the present day. One such chamber, we believe, is built over the re-vestry adjoining the north side of the chancel of Warming-ton Church, near Banbury, and contains in the south wall a small pointed window of the Decorative character, through which the recluse was able to view the high altar in the chancel, and to receive the host at the celebration of the Eucharist. Another anchor-hold formerly existed over the north transept of Clifton Campville Church, near Tamworth, in Staffordshire. Access to it was obtained by means of a staircase, entered by a doorway at the north-east angle of the chancel. A tiny window let into the north side of this chamber afforded its occupant a view of the interior of the sacred edifice. Communicating with the tower of Boyton Church, near Heytesbury, in Wiltshire, is a small chamber traditionally believed to have been at one time permanently tenanted by an anchorite, and having in its north-east angle a fireplace. A similar apartment is said to exist in the tower of Upton Church, Nottinghamshire. Annexed to the west end of the little church dedicated to Saint Patricio, situated about four miles from Crickhowel, in Brecknockshire, is an anchorite's cell, which contains, or formerly did contain, a small stone altar, placed beneath a small aperture, which, no doubt, afforded views of the sanctuary. Over a re-vestry adjoining the north side of the chancel of Chipping Norton Church, Oxfordshire, is a kind of loft approached by a staircase, which evidently once did duty as the cell of a recluse, who was enabled to overlook the chancel and the north aisle through the apertures in the walls. Hasted, in his *History of Kent*, mentions that when he wrote there existed at Bicknor, in that county, a shed or hovel built against the north side of the parish church, with a room nearly projecting across the aisle. It has been conjectured that this apartment may have originally been an anchor-hold. In early times a reclusorium existed in one of the aisles of Westminster Abbey. At Peterborough

Cathedral one stood near the Lady Chapel. Durham Cathedral is stated to have contained an anchorage which was approached by a staircase from the north aisle of the choir. At Kilkenny Cathedral there was one at the north-east angle of the choir, "through which, by a stone placed on the right-hand of the altar, that is, the Gospel side, the anchorite could see the mysteries;" in the parish church of Fore, Ireland, one stood answering to the same description; and another at Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, located in the tower; at Stanton, Somerset, adjoining the church. In the south arm of the transept at Norwich Cathedral there anciently stood an anchor-hold, provided with its altar, crucifix, and images; likewise also one at Othery, near Bridgwater; at Mawgan, in Cornwall, pierced through the wall of the church at the junction of the transept and chancel, and having an external lowside window; and another at Elsfield, in Oxfordshire, furnished with a stone book-desk and seat.

In days gone by, tradition asserted that an anchoress long dwelt in an apartment constructed over the porch of the chapel at Holme, near Newark, in the county of Nottinghamshire, concerning whom William Dickinson thus remarks in his *History of Southwell*, published in 1805: "Over this porch is a chamber, called, as far back as memory or tradition reaches, Nan Scott's chamber. The story of which this lady is the heroine has been handed down with a degree of precision and uniformity which entitles it to more credit than most such tales deserve. The last great plague which visited this kingdom is reported to have made particular havoc in the village of Holme, which is likely enough to have happened from its vicinity to Newark, where it is known to have raged with peculiar violence. During its influence a woman of the name of Ann Scott is said to have retired to this chamber with a sufficient quantity of food to serve her for several weeks. Having remained there unmolested till her provisions were exhausted, she came from her hiding-place either to procure more or to return to her former habitation, as circumstances might direct her choice. To her great surprise she found the village entirely deserted, only one person of its former inhabitants except herself being then alive.

Attached to this asylum, and shocked by the horrors of the scene without, she is said to have returned to her retreat, and to have continued in it till her death, at an advanced period of life. A few years since many of her habiliments were remaining in this chamber, as also a table, the size of which evidently manifested it to have been constructed within the room, with some smaller pieces of furniture."

So far as we have been able to ascertain, the last of the English anchorites was the Rev. John Gibbs, of whom slight mention is made by Blomfield, the historian of Norfolk, in his account of the rectors of the church of St. Mary the Virgin at Gissing, near Diss. The register of this parish, under date of December 24, 1668, contains the following record: "John Gibbs, A.M., presented by King Charles II." Blomfield, when commenting upon this entry, states that Gibbs "continued to be rector till 1690, being then ejected as a non-juror. He was an odd but harmless man, both in life and conversation. After his ejection he dwelt in the north porch chamber, and laid on the stairs that led up to the rood-loft, between the church and chancel, having a window at his head, so that he could lie in his narrow couch and see the altar. He lived to be very old, and at his death was buried at Frenze."

W. SYDNEY.



The Antiquary at the Academy.

"Whatever is to be truly great and truly affecting must have on it the strong stamp of the native land . . . all classicity, all middle-age patent reviving, is utterly vain and absurd; if we are now to do anything great, good, awful, religious, it must be got out of our own little island."—*Mod. Painters*, vol. I.



R. RUSKIN has dealt some sturdy blows in his time against the unrealities of the so-called historical school, and in these sentences he has gone directly to the root of the matter. Judging from the comparatively few subjects dealing with by-gone days to be seen on the walls of recent exhibitions, the truth of these words would seem to be tacitly admitted in

this country, and Mr. Forbes' admirable picture taken from humble Cornish life of our own time—we mean "The Health of the Bride" (655) in this year's Academy—would furnish a striking illustration of what may "be got out of our own little island."

But one cannot help asking what becomes of the claims of the classic art of Jacques Louis David and his compeers, of which our French neighbours are still proud? Armed with this trenchant dictum, daring spirits may even venture to be sceptical about the art value, as distinguished from archæological interest, of an Alma Tadema, since, says the author of *Modern Painters*, "all classicity is utterly vain and absurd;" but to discuss such a question as this in all its bearings would be to launch a lengthy treatise on the ethics of art, and be foreign to the purport of this article, which, following the precedent of past years, aims at being simply an attempt to indicate such pictures now on exhibition at Burlington House as illustrate the past, and, in so doing, help us, in more or less degree, to realize the story of the human race.

Perhaps, without allowing so hard a saying, so sweeping a charge, to interfere with our enjoyment of the annual picture-show at the Royal Academy, it may be well to bear it in mind for once, since it may serve to palliate shortcomings, and it may afford a clue to some failures. At any rate, it will help to remind us of what, in fairness to artists, we should never forget, namely, that to throw one's self into any past age, to read its lessons, and to reproduce its scenes in pictorial or plastic art, requires a combination of mental and manual gifts by no means common. Culture to inform the mind, artistic instinct to select and combine what shall arouse the sympathies of those to whom he appeals, and technical skill to embody and set forth his meaning—all these things an artist who attempts "classicality or middle-age reviving" should possess; and how rarely does the artist possess them! If he lean to "mediæval" subjects, Wardour Street too often bounds his horizon; if he seek classic inspiration, he gets it from an old copy of Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary*, or gives us poor copies of Tadema's marble pavements. If anyone be so indiscreet as

to talk to Dick Tinto, say, about the time of Pericles, or the art of Phidias—in other words, of the most glorious days of Athens, and of the highest art of antiquity—he will probably find that all interest in such matters will be regarded as pedantic folly, or, at best, a harmless craze. Our friend remembers that there are some mutilated fragments from the Parthenon at the British Museum, and he has not forgotten many months' weary copying of the "antique" amongst them in his student days; but, once out of the schools, how often will you find him amongst the Elgin marbles again? "What is he to Hecuba, or Hecuba to him?" No! he can paint. "Now, den, all tum and tee me dump," for one of his own chubby-faced little ones (the fifth) is at this very moment on the stairs: he can paint that eternal precocious terrier, for there, on the mat by his side, is the faithful animal curled up asleep: he can, and does—and let us thank him for it—paint the freshness of English landscape, the sweep of the clouds, and the responsive, changeful waves of the sea, the golden glory of our autumn woods, the sweet silence of our lakes, the solemn stillness of our hills.

But Nausicaa and her maidens (*vide* 1159), or Greek girlhood playing at ball (300), even when treated by such an accomplished hand as that of Sir Frederick Leighton—how lifeless and artificial they seem, with their strained attitudes and impossible drapery! Homer can make them live, and in the pages of Shakespeare, Antony and Cleopatra, "the serpent of Old Nile," stand before us; but they, and others of the mighty dead, and the pomp and glitter of the days in which they lived and moved, seem to defy the painter's brush. Or, to come to later times, who has painted for us the field of Senlac, or Bosworth, or Marston Moor (though Mr. Crofts essays the last in this year's exhibition)? Or who has adequately told upon canvas the fateful story of the "boasted armament, the fam'd Armada"? But recollections of the recent tercentenary have apparently inspired Mr. Seymour Lucas in "The Surrender" (67), wherein we see Pedro de Valdez yielding up, with a pretty speech, his sword to the fiery Drake ("ever terrible," says the catalogue, "to the Spaniards"). We see the Spanish

Don, and the back (for the artist avoids showing us much of the face) of the daring English adventurer, but where are his "sea dogs"? In their place we have groups of theatrical "supers." Even more disappointing is the large canvas by Vicat Cole (343), called the "Summons to Surrender." Here we have great galleons, and a "painty," choppy sea. Were it not for the extract from *Westward Ho!* in the catalogue, the picture would lack meaning altogether, so unimpressive is it, and so little does it tell its own story.

Among subjects "taken from English history," we find three pictures by E. Crofts. The first is called "The Knight's Farewell" (82), and purports to be the morning of Marston Moor. "White Guy," his steed, is at the door, and on the step there stands the lady Alice. In Præd's poem we read—

"And mournful was the smile
Which o'er those lovely features ran."

We are glad to know, and upon such good authority, that the features were lovely. We should not have divined as much from Mr. Crofts' picture. Upon the helmet of the trooper who holds the horse's bridle, there plays a ruddy light: whence this comes it is hard to say. If it be the roseate hue of dawn, it seems strange that the lady Alice should be in full evening attire. Technically speaking, this picture is, like "Hampden riding away from Chalgrove Field" (523), and "The Boscobel Oak" (164), of an unpleasant woolliness and sameness of texture.

Friends of "the royal house of Stuart" will observe with alarm how, in the latter picture, Charles is exposing himself amidst the branches of a stunted oak in the most reckless and improbable way. Another subject chosen from the stirring times of the great Rebellion is Mr. Gow's picture—his only contribution, by the way—"The Visit of Charles I. to Kingston-on-Hull" (No. 260). Here we see the gates shut, the moat full, and the walls manned. A brilliant cavalcade is drawn up outside, mounted on modern thoroughbred-looking horses, capitally painted, but not, one cannot help thinking, the chargers of those days, when armour was still partly worn—indeed, as someone has pointed out, if Mr. Gow be right in the stamp of animal on which the royal party is mounted, then Vandyke was wrong, as all may see by look-

ing at the equestrian portrait of Charles I., which came from Blenheim, and cost the nation such a pretty penny. Mr. Gow has done such good work before, that this picture, attractive though it can hardly fail of being, is surely not up to his own standard.

Let us now turn to two paintings dissimilar in almost every respect, but emphatically pictures of the year. Both are of large size, and have places of honour justly assigned to them. Both, moreover, are by artists of established reputation. Both, again, come, by virtue of their subject, under the category of such as *The Antiquary* may be expected to be interested in, and one may be said to be the antithesis of the other. These are, "The Passing of Arthur" (150), by Frank Dicksee, A.R.A., and "The Young Duke," (243), by W. Q. Orchardson, R.A. The one picture is purely imaginative and poetic; the other is purely realistic and prosaic. In the one we see "Flos regum Arthurus," "the moony vapour," as Guinevere elsewhere calls it, rolling around him and the "dusky barge" which bears his pale face away propelled by shapes, "black, stolid, black-hooded, like a dream," with the dim forms of the three queens bending over him. The water is a sheet of molten silver, and all is gray, and dank, and ghost-like. In the other picture we see, in a gilded chamber, suffused with the soft light of tapers, a young prodigal, upon whose brow "ennui" seems writ already, surrounded by sycophants and boon companions. Judging by the costumes, the figures are those of the "noblesse" of the period of Louis XV. The whole scene is redolent, so to say, of the luxury and extravagance of the time. The picture is full of detail, which is admirably painted. Note the "nef," or ship (of an earlier date, by the way, to the other things wherewith the tables are crowded), used to collect contributions to the Church, an ingenious reminder of the burdens which, with the exactions of the nobility, caused the upheaval which convulsed France and Europe.

The handling of both these important pictures leaves something to be desired. In Mr. Orchardson's we have a predominating yellow tone carried to excess; in the "Passing of Arthur," a green opacity arising from the "impasto" being overcharged with paint, to the great detriment of ærial effect.

Near the "Young Duke" there hangs a

composition which is, at any rate, novel in subject. Emerging from a wood are several men in armour whose steeds are thrown into wild antics by the apparition of a fool in motley with cap and bells, astride on a donkey. It is by Briton Riviere, and exhibits all his wonted cleverness with a welcome originality and spirit in treating the startled animals.

On the other side we come to one of those insipid pictures by Long, with which we are now so familiar. He, too, paints animals this time, but with a difference, and we have a gigantic greyhound, and a learned jackal, etc.; it is called (255), "Preparing for the Festival of Anubis."

Truth compels us to say that, neither from the President nor from Mr. Long are there any works which will detain us long—the decorative character, unreal smoothness of the one, and the tame repetitions of the other, being of the usual pattern.

No. 291 presents another vivid picture of ancient life, entitled, "A Corner of the Villa" (291). It is the work of E. J. Poynter, and mindful of "Israel in Egypt," and other work of that calibre, we examine it with interest; but it is hard indeed to summon up any enthusiasm, the figures being especially weak, and the flesh-tints of the child almost dirty. Its marble floors provoke comparison with the sole example of Alma Tadema, which hangs on the same wall, and is called "The Shrine of Venus" (313).

Here another disappointment is in store. Venus is conspicuous by her absence, though, if one looks very closely, one may discern a small statue in the background; but the picture is virtually two modern-looking damsels lolling on a couch, filling all the foreground. It goes without saying that the accessories are exquisitely painted, and the picture is very pleasing, the ladies being far comelier than of yore.

The deserted Campagna will long remain full of fascination, and we have several illustrations of it in this Exhibition. One, a sunny picture by Lord Carlisle (No. 1151), showing ruins of the Palace of Septimius Severus, on which the lizards bask, with the blue Alban Hills in the distance. Another, a lonely scene, sketchily yet broadly painted by Arthur Lemon (1085), in which two Gauls on horseback have halted, uncertain of their

way. Next to the latter hangs a little picture in which the "motif" is distinctly classic: it is called the "Dancing Faun" (No. 1084), and is by C. F. Ulrich. Ensconced in a shady bower, a laughing "contadinella" strums her mandola, with the joyous bronze figure sole, but sufficient, audience. If, in place of the back-view of a poorly-drawn and coloured female form, which Mr. R. W. Macbeth calls "Diana" (699), the artist had given us a gillie in charge of the very Scotch-deerhound-like animals splashing about in the burn, we should have probably liked his picture better. As it is, one has to make-believe very much to accept this as Artemis; and where are her nymphs?

"In His Father's Footsteps" (682) is a highly conventional work by Mr. Waller, which compares unfavourably with an analogous subject, viz., "Little Fauntleroy's Birthday Present" (1295), a freshly and vigorously-painted water-colour by A. W. Strutt. The pony is excellent.

Here we may remark upon the excellence of many of the water-colours. Want of space forbids us doing more than mention a few of them. There is a highly-dramatic "Banquet" scene from "Macbeth," by Carl Gehrts (No. 1441), full of clever characterization in the faces, and it is well and effectively grouped.

Surely amongst the richest legacies of the past are the edifices which the pride or piety of our ancestors has bequeathed us. Mellowed by the touch of time, fraught with deathless memories, what can exceed their beauty and their interest? And yet our survey of this year's Academy has not revealed a single picture of first-rate importance in which the poetry of old buildings is so much as attempted to be expressed—perhaps, in this age of "restoration," it is too much to expect. Amongst the water-colours, however, are a few "bits," which serve, as it were, to whet the appetite for more. We may instance a charming little doorway by Frank Dicksee (1543). "In Morlaix," it is called, and shows us a thirteenth century porch, beyond which, in dim religious light, old stained glass glows gem-like.

From Cambridge we find the President's Gallery, Queen's College (1458), painted by R. Dudley.

From Oxford we have a delightful little picture of "Oriel Quad," by Harry Goodwin

(1348). It is the end of the long vacation, and the scene of cheerful quiet is gay with flowers. The venerable stones speak peace, and make us envy the learned leisure of those who dwell within such walls. 1349 is the west front of St. Denis, by Jules Lessore—an inky, sombre exterior.

From our own often-painted Westminster Abbey, Miss Flack has given us a bit of Henry VII.'s Chapel (1520). It is a corner of the south aisle; the lighting is cleverly managed, and, though somewhat weak, this unpretentious little drawing shows promise and feeling for the nameless charm of the spot, with its

Antique pillars massy proof.

A word or two about the miniatures, which hang in the same room, and we must bring these jottings to a conclusion. It is disheartening to find that, with an undoubted revival in the interest felt in this beautiful art, in which our countrymen have won such deserved renown in the past, so little good work is to be seen; but patience, and a persistent demand, will lead to better results in time. So difficult an art cannot be resuscitated all at once.

We ought not to omit to mention that many of the etchings this year are fine, and the sculpture is unusually good and interesting, especially noteworthy being Mr. Onslow Ford's "The Singer" (2,195), a statuette in bronze of a young Egyptian girl, of the time of the Ptolemies if you will. The slight nude form strikes one as truly admirable for its unaffected ease of pose and fine modelling, and the whole work bears a welcome impress of learned taste and artistic completeness, extending to the detail of the base on which the figure is placed.


J. J. FOSTER.



Church Restoration in Essex.

By J. A. SPARVEL-BAYLY.

"There's nought so sacred with us, but may find a sacrilegious person." —BEN JONSON.

" HERE is nothing new under the sun," said Solomon; but there must be a beginning for all things—a commencement even

for repairs.

The antiquary, the reveller in dust and

rubbish, likes, above all things, to have the first look in at any work of destruction which may happen to be going on near him. He is conservative himself, truly, but his occupation would be gone, like that of the Ministry, if there was no opposition; and so it is only in the work of restoration and demolition that the antiquary has his opportunity.

The end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century was essentially a church-building, church-restoring age, in which the earlier structures of rude masonry were rebuilt from their very foundations. We do not immediately realize the immense amount of energy that was thus expended during the century that succeeded the advent of the Conqueror—when, in addition to the huge castles that were everywhere rising, a stronghold and a house of defence being the first essential in those days of incessant strife and warfare, nearly every cathedral and great abbey was rebuilt on a stupendous scale, new cathedrals and new abbeys were founded, and churches of all grades, from these vast temples down to the very smallest village church, were erected throughout the length and breadth of England.

The Normans were essentially a building people: architecture was with them a passion. Mr. Freeman in his *Norman Conquest* says: "A Norman noble of that age thought that his estate lacked its chief ornament if he failed to plant a colony of monks in some corner of his possessions."

No doubt the fashion of founding monasteries and churches became little more than a fashion. Many a man must have founded a religious house, not from any special devotion, or any special liberality, but because it was the regular thing for a man in his position to do. But when we reckon up the long series of great architectural works belonging to this epoch, not in one district only, but in every part of the kingdom, from Durham to Exeter, from the historic fane at Canterbury to the monastic church at Chester elevated by Henry VIII. to cathedral rank, and survey the massive solidity of their workmanship, we cannot but feel astonished at the indomitable energy, and apparently inexhaustible resources, such building implies. The thirteenth century was also an age marked by immense activity in ecclesiastical architecture;

and the parish churches of this county, as of all others, show much work of this date. Indeed, a large number of village churches, as we now see them, appear to have been built, or rebuilt, in the early English style, and though altered in many cases at later periods, still its characteristic features may be discovered under the later work of the building. When we come to the fourteenth century, we are again met with evidence of great activity in church work; though there are but few churches, as might be expected, whose entire structure is of this period, yet so much was altered during that portion of it when the Decorated style prevailed, that some of our churches seem to be entirely in this style of architecture. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have, of course, left their mark upon the old churches of Essex, and then apparently commenced a long period of gross neglect: the violent demolition of altars and the flagrant spoliation of churches led to further desecration, and so on to acts of irreverence, neglect, and contempt, perhaps not even yet obliterated. In 1562 it was found necessary to call attention to the repairing and keeping clean of the sacred edifices: "It is a sin and a shame" (runs one of the homilies) "to see so many churches so ruinous and foully decayed in almost every corner." Weever, writing in 1631, says: "We have not heard of any hanging of church robbers in these our days, for what man will venture a turn at the gallows for a little silver chalice, a beaten-out pulpit cushion, an over-worn communion cloth, and a coarse surplice? These are all the riches and ornaments of most of our churches. Such is now the slight regard we have of the decent setting forth of sacred religion."

Though it is too true that very many, if not all, our Essex churches were slighted, neglected, and suffered to fall into a lamentably ruinous condition, history has again repeated itself, and since 1840 Essex must indeed have been the happy hunting-ground of wandering antiquaries, because, since that period, nearly all its ancient churches have passed through the hands of the so-called restorer, who, in the earlier days of this much-to-be-deplored rage for falsely-termed church-restoration, seems to have been bent on destroying all that was good, and noble, and

venerable. The utterly wanton destruction that, under the guise of improvement, has been, and may be even now, hourly perpetrated, is most lamentable. In the craze for church restoration, the main idea seems to be to have everything spick and span new; and everything that stands, or stood, in the way of this idea, is to be obliterated, thereby destroying the individual characteristics of each building, and sweeping away from the walls and floors of our ancient churches the principal part of the sculptured and graven history that does not happen to come within the charmed Gothic period. We are perfectly willing to admit the frightful violations of artistic taste and religious decorum into which some monuments ran, and that far too many of our churches were crowded and choked with ostentatious monuments, sometimes, even, as at Rettenden, occupying the most sacred places, and interfering with the decorous performance of public worship, and filling space required for the living. We can, therefore, justify the removal of such incongruous memorials to a more fitting position; but that is a totally different matter to the wholesale elimination of mural tablets and flat grave-stones from the walls and floors of our parish churches, any one of which may have been of more historic value than an acre of encaustic tiles, be they never so garish and slippery; at any rate, they gave an interest to the building which all the crude vulgarities of modern tiling never can or will. What is to be said on behalf of the authorities of the church of Low Leyton, who have buried the sepulchral slab of the Rev. John Strype, the great historian, beneath a new pavement? At the restoration of South Weald Church, a few years since, the monumental brasses were removed from their slabs and given away as so much rubbish. The altar-tomb of Sir Anthony Browne, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, inlaid with brasses, was destroyed. He will, however, be remembered as the munificent founder of the richly-endowed Brentwood Grammar School. The paths of the churchyard are paved with sepulchral slabs removed from the church, and their inscriptions are now, as a matter of course, nearly or quite illegible. At Prittlewell, a churchwarden removed the slabs from the church to a farmhouse more

than a mile distant, and used them for paving his back yard. At Leigh, we find the mural tablet commemorating the renowned Admiral Haddock, son of the even more celebrated Admiral Sir Richard Haddock, Comptroller of the Navy, totally destroyed. The tablet, with arms and inscription, to Captain Sir John Rogers, a very brave and distinguished commander during the Dutch wars of the seventeenth century, was removed from the church and subsequently destroyed. Two tablets, with arms of the mother and other ancestors of the learned theologian, Dr. Francis Hare, Dean of Worcester, Dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, and of Chichester—the only ancestral monuments of the family known to be extant—are gone. The altar-tomb of John Sym, rector, a learned divine and author of the seventeenth century, with its long legible Latin inscription, destroyed with the knowledge of the rector against public remonstrance and a statement of historic evidence. The whole of these inscriptions, which have been inquired for again and again by descendants, by historians, and by theologians, were totally destroyed, and nearly all the rest removed from their sites, the rector (now a bishop) and his churchwardens disregarding and defying all remonstrance. In the neighbouring church of Hadleigh, a slab bearing the name of Beauchamp, not of an early date, but of the close of the seventeenth century, was, with some others unrecorded, buried beneath the new ornate pavement when the church was restored.

When Downham Church was rebuilt in 1874, all the monumental inscriptions were removed, and are now indiscriminately placed beneath the tower. Among them is an altar-tomb of the Disbrowe family, commemorating a son of the famous Cromwellian, General Desborough, or Disbrowe; and the sepulchral stone of that eminent judge, Sir Thomas Raymond, father of the even more distinguished Baron Raymond, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, with many others, which, though they may commemorate merely the "rude forefathers" of the parish, possess an interest and a value which surely should have preserved them from desecration and relegation to such unseemly dark corners. And yet one more instance: When Bowers Gifford Church was pulled down, the military brass

of almost national interest, representing Sir John Gifford, *temp.* Edward II., was removed to a neighbouring farmhouse, where for a long time it did patchwork duty on a broken shelf in a store-room. Fortunately it was by the merest chance in the world, some twenty-five years later, restored to its original position in the present apology for a chancel.

What call unknown, what charms presume,
To break the quiet of the tomb?

Truly we may say with Weever, "Alas! our own noble monuments and precyouses antiquities wch are the great bewtie of our lande, we as little regarde as the parynges of our nayles."

Another notable feature in the work of church restoration in Essex is that no less than thirty-eight old churches have literally been levelled to the ground. Far be it from the writer to impute for one moment that such destruction was unnecessary, because he is painfully aware that, owing to the shameful neglect of past generations and mutilation by ignorant village carpenters and bricklayers, many of these churches, like Pitsea, Ramsden Bellhouse, Rawreth, West Tilbury, and others, had fallen into so sad a condition of decay that probably nothing could be done to save them; still it must ever be a matter for regret that such necessity has arisen. Although it is quite true that most of the churches of Essex, owing to the lack of stone and other natural causes, cannot be compared with the magnificent edifices of Norfolk and Suffolk, Lincolnshire and Kent, still they contained many marked and prominent features—some exceptional, some characteristic, and many eccentric—now utterly lost, with all record of changes and alterations which form the history and interest of such buildings. Village churches have no written history, but undying associations cling about their walls, and from their very stones we can generally read their history—the history of the parish and its people. An ancient village church must ever command the sympathetic respect of all. Some remember with reverence the scenes which have been enacted within its walls in the days that have gone by, and hope that yet once more it will be the home of the ancient faith. All know that beneath its shadow the ashes of their forefathers are laid in peace. Hence it is that the total destruction of the following churches, humble both

in dimensions and architecture though they were, will continue a source of grief to many of the sons and daughters of Essex. (An asterisk denotes the preservation of the ancient tower): Aldham, Arkesden, Birch, Bowers Gifford,* St. Runwald, Colchester, St. Mary, Colchester, Cold Norton, Cricksea, Downham,* Dunton, South Fambridge, Farnham, Foulness, Great Hallingbury,* Hanningfield, Havering atte Bower, Hutton, Latchingdon, Loughton, Markshall, Matching,* Mayland, Myland, Mucking, Little Parndon, Pitsea,* Quendon, Ramsden Bellhouse, Rawreth,* Rayne, Romford, Stour, St. Lawrence, Newland, Stapleford Abbots, Theydon Bois, Thorpe le Soken, West Tilbury, Upminster,* Weeley, Walton, Wickford, Wickham Bishops, and Widford. While entirely new chancels have been substituted at Ardleigh, Ashen, North Benfleet, Little Canfield, Canvey Island, Great Clacton, Frinton, Littlebury, Radwinter, Great Saling, Salcott, Stock, Ulting, North Weald, and Wimbish, and new towers at Hempstead, Inworth, Mount Bures, Newport, Ongar, Shellow Bowles, Stansted Mountfichet, Tendring, Ulting, Widdington, and Willingale Doe. The towers at Wix and Wrabness are detached.

Of the restored churches we have little to say. They are like others in all parts of the kingdom. In some the old local character is preserved; in others it is lost, and when this is the case, even when the new work is good, it is most distressing; but when that new work is bad, what can be said for it? In some of them are to be found fine oak seats copied from an original Perpendicular pew; but most of them are flooded with the varnished pitch-pine benches now so fashionable—the wood itself unpolished is not unpleasant, but the effect of brightly varnished benches is a discordant contrast to the old work, and utterly destructive of the quiet repose of an ancient church. Many of them conform to the practice, now so generally followed in church restorations, of skinning the internal walls of the plaster-coating, with which it is absolutely certain that, except where they were of dressed stone, they were covered by the original builders, and expose the rubble walls in all their bare ugliness, or, perhaps, that kind of rough walling having the appearance of rock-work, which, though

suitable to railway-stations and park-walls, is terribly out of character in an old church. It seems to be forgotten that the plastering of the inside walls of a church and their pictorial adornment afterwards, though "simple and rude the graphic art displayed," was as much part and parcel of the original design as the roof which was to cover all; and that, in the absence of printed books, it was to these mural paintings the priests taught their hearers to look and read in them the story, the life and death of our Saviour, and the events recorded in the Gospels, and so see the stories they had heard.

If we have ventured to find fault with what has been done in some of the old churches of the county, yet, on the other hand, we must acknowledge that very many of the restorations show that loving care and reverence for the "old paths" has evidently been the first thought in the work, and that the best work both in design and execution has been bestowed with no sparing hand. When so much conservative restoration has been effected, it may seem invidious to particularize any place or places, but among the numerous instances of such good work we cannot forbear mentioning Feering, Foxearth, and Mayland. In these churches we seem carried back to the days before the faith was well-nigh lost and love waxed cold, the days when churches were really used, and when God's altar was the point from which and around which all the beauties of the building centred. This in these and similar restorations is the cause and reason of the wealth displayed in painted walls, and windows bright with the figures of saint and angel, with as their centre the effigy of Him in whose honour all this care has been lavished, all this love and skill in providing rich hangings and fair embroideries has been so freely given and so fairly done. Gazing upon such a renovated building, we are at once reminded of the almost prophetic words of Webster :

"Now shall the Sanctuary

And the House of the Most High be newly built;
The ancient honours due unto the Church
Buried within the ruined monasteries,
Shall lift their stately heads, and rise again
To astonish the destroyer's wondering eyes.
Zeal shall be decked in gold; Religion,
Not like a virgin robbed of all her pomp,
But bravely shining in her gems of state,
Like a fair Bride be offered to the Lord."

Customs, etc., of Weardale, in Durham.

FOREST COURT IN WEARDALE.



HEREAS it was given us in charge, at the Forest Court at Stanhope, holden the 5th day of May, amongst other things, to cause the tenants of Weardale to set down their custom under their hands in writing :

Imprimis. We find and present that the custom of tenant right used within the forest and parke of Weardale, is, and time out of mind hath been, that after the death of any customary tenant dying seized of a tenement, his wife, by the custom, during her widows estate, is to have her widow right of the tenement, and after her death or marriage then the tenement to descend and come to the eldest son, if the tenant have any son, and through default of a son, to the eldest daughter, and through default of daughter to the next of the kin.

We find that it is accustomed, that if the younger brother do agree with the elder brother, in the life time of the father, for all or any part of the tenement, that then the agreement shall stand in effect to exclude the younger brother who takes the composition.

Item. We find that it hath been accustomed, that every customary tenant within the forest and parke of Weardale, may at his pleasure, lett, sett, grant or sell his tenement, or any part thereof to any person or persons; and after the sale so made of any tenant right, the buyers thereof have used to come in at some court after then kept within the said forest, and to be set tenant and to pay a take penny or custom penny.

Item. We find any tenant may, upon his death-bed, give his tenement to any of his younger sons, with the consent of the eldest, and not otherwise.

Item. We find that the customary tenants within the said forest and park are to pay their yearly rent two times in the year unto the bishop of Durham for the time being; that is to say, at the Feast of Pentecost or before Magdalene Day then next, the one the said park and forest of Weardale the watches are already appointed, according to

their use, and as they have been accustomed, and are to be continued as need requireth.

Item. We find, that the tenants of the said forest and park, according to their several rents, are reasonably furnished and provided for her majestie's service or otherwise as need requireth, according as heretofore hath been accustomed.

Item. We find the overplus of horses yearly pastured within the firth, both summer and winter, is a great decay and very hurtful to the game and deer there, for that the said horses have commonly eaten up the most part of the best and smallest grass, whereby the meaner could lesser nurish and feed the said deer, and likewise through the great chasing for taking the said horses or some of them, in the time of fawning, sundry of the young fawns are thereby overran and killed.

Item. We do likewise find, that the deer hay ought all and every part of it, to be mowen a week before Magdalen Day, for the better feeding of the game; and likewise we find the wall about the firth not good, but in decay, and that thereby by sheep comes great annoyance and hurt unto the game.

Item. We find, that master forester hath usually had two horses yearly pastured in the said firth, and every of the keepers do claim a saddle horse yearly within the said firth, and also the officers there do claim that they and every of them, for the winning and getting the deer hay, have heretofore had ten shillings, or one horse gate, allowed them within the said firth.

Item. We do likewise find that within the said firth there belongeth dale of meadow to the master forester half, and at the feast of Saint Martin the Bishop in winter, or before Saint Andrews Day then next, the other half; and through default of payment of the said rent, in manner as is aforesaid, the officer may distrain any such tenants goods as do not pay the same accordingly, at the days and times aforesaid.

Item. We find that the said tenants within the said forests and park, in consideration of these customs, have besides the yearly payment of their rent as aforesaid, to do suit at Court two times a year, and pay yearly, at every foster court next after Easter kept within the said forest, a custom penny, and to do their service unto her majestie upon

the borders against Scotland, at such time and times as they shall be thereunto called for the defence of the said borders; that is to say, fourteen days of their own cost and charges, whereof they have two days to go to the said borders and ten days there to remain, if need so require, and two days to come home again from the said borders.

Item. We find, that the said tenants from Lammas to St. Andrew's Day, do yearly for the most part and need requireth, observe both a night and day watching at divers and sundry fords and rakes, for resisting the Scots, and safeguard of themselves and their goods, and also to make their appearance at musters, at frays and following the thief, and withstanding and repelling the enemy, some with good horses, some with meaner, some on foot; and some have used the said horses on the said borders for their own ease, and others of them have sometimes done their service upon the said borders on their best horse, for their better abilities and their own pleasure.

Item. We find, there is a Slough-hound which now is, and heretofore hath been kept and maintained within containing fifteen days work or thereabouts. We do likewise find, that George Em'son and Robert Em'son have belonging to them one dale of meadow containing about sixteen days works.

Item. We do likewise find that there is belonging to Ralph Trotter the elder, one dale of meadow, containing about eighteen days works.

Item. The Pallices hath usually had 13s. 4d. as a yearly fee for repairing and making the pails or fence to the said firth belonging, and parcel of ground containing about five days works.

Item. We do not find any to have overplus in stint.

Item. Whereas heretofore divers and sundry intakes have been inclosed and houses lately builded within the said forest, etc. We find that the said intakes have been inclosed, and houses builded by the several owners thereof, without license, and by and according to the custom within the said forest.

Item. We find, to that master forester belongeth the keeping of the lords court, two times in the year, and also to him

belongeth twenty nobles fee yearly, and also one dale of meadow, containing as aforesaid about fifteen day works, and is called Foster Dale; and also there is belonging to the master forester two horse gates, as is aforesaid, in the firth.

Item. Whereas there was an article given our charges unto us for setting down what belongeth to Mr. Morent, we can have no evidence in effect for the same, whereby we can any way present, therefore we humbly devise and crave respect until the next court for the same.

Item. Whereas we have given in our charge for the maintaining of Slough-hound, so it is that we have had and already have had, and keepers upon the costs and charges of the park and forest only.

Now there is sundry that would withdraw themselves from bearing and maintaining the said Slough-hound, and some of them do deny any payment for the maintenance of the said Slough-hound, the payment is denied by George Emerson of East Yeat, and of his tenant and man, Leonard Lyttell of Smallborns.

Therefore we do humbly crave your lawful favour that we be not separated, but continue on maintenance in the said Slough-hound as ever heretofore it hath been used and continued. In testimony of this our deed and act, we have subscribed our names, the 26th day of May, 1601.

[From Watkin's *Treatise on Copyholds*, third edition, by Robert Studley Vidal; London, 1821, vol. ii., pages 247-255 (Appendix).]



The Extinct Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Doncaster: Award respecting a Chantry there.

BY JOHN TOMLINSON.



IN the market-place of Doncaster, where the Market Hall now stands, there flourished for centuries a church of no mean pretensions. Amongst local archaeologists it has long been a question of debate whether St. Mary's or

St. George's had the greater antiquity, many inclining to an opinion that the former was the original parish church. Our earliest information respecting the rectory of Doncaster is that the living was in two moieties, Hugo and Peter reaping the profits conjointly; but whether they performed their offices in amalgamated buildings does not appear; probably they did, which will account for two influential churches co-existing in a comparatively small town.

In most places little of Mediæval Church history has survived, except particulars of income—whence derived, and how distributed or appropriated. St. Mary Magdalene had three chantries, with separate priests attached. The revenues were confiscated in the second year of Edward VI. Not the least important of those chantries was one founded by a William Aston in the year 1413, who gave certain messuages and lands for a priest to celebrate Mass for his own and his ancestors' souls at an altar of St. John within the said church for ever. Some few years after this grant was made, a dispute arose among Aston's descendants that the founder had devised to his chantry more property than belonged to him. In 1844, when Mayor of Doncaster, I carefully searched every muniment box, chest, or shelf belonging to the Corporation, where any record, roll, or book could be found. Amidst a heap of miscellaneous bills and accounts was a parchment deed, the writing being much faded, and in some parts almost illegible. Besides having special value in reference to a desecrated church at Doncaster, the orthography and quaint phraseology of this document afford interesting evidence of our literature four and a half centuries ago, since it is natural to infer that the clerk and warden of Henry VI.'s Rolls would be a scholarly man:

"Be Itt knowen to all cristien pple yat thes p'sent Wrytyng is seen or herd that John Storynden, clke and Warden of the Kinge's Rolles, and other bokes of the Chauncerye, not long ago indifferently chosen by Abney, son of Richard Smith of Tikle [Tickhill] on the oen parte, and Sr william ffoye of Doncaster, prest, on thatt other parte, for to Decide, determine and awarde vppon c'tain debates, quarrells, and discencans that of long time haue been mooved and hangyng

between ye said parties concernyng ye foundacon of a c'tain chauntre vpon Maria Magdalen Chappelle In Doncaster, and Di'use landes and tent's appertenynge to ye same Chauntre lying vpon Doncastre and other places, now in ye possession of the forsaid Sr william ffoye, as of ye ryght of ye said Chauntre, which he saith hym self Chauntre [*sic*], p'te of which same landes and tent's the said Richard Smyth also claymeth for his, and to be dissesed by ye said Sr William, and other of ye Toun of Doncastre; vppon which debates, quarrelles, and discensions the said Sr William on that oen side, and ye said Richard on that other side, are bound eche to other by seuales obligacons on ech to abide ye juggement, ordenaunce and awarde of me forsaid Vmpire chosen as aboue is said, so yt ytt be made by me before ye feste of Pentecoste next followyng as ye Daie of this myn juggement, ordenaunce and Award, as in ye said obligacions plainly appereth. Where vppon I ye said Vmpire, askyng god to sove myn eyhen [*sauve my eyes*], willing and desy'eng pees, tranquillite and reste to be had betwen ye said parties, hauyng notice of ye long continuance of trouble, paynes and expenses that hath been hangyng, and to ye Inconueniences that of time might follow, here vppon this same Friday next before ye said feste of pentecost, ye xxii yere of Kyng henry the sixt, for the grete differences that I fynde In ye evidence both of the oen parte and on yat other, Deme, ordaine and award to ye Worship of god and of both parties In ye Wise as followeth: *Item*, I deme, ordain and award that when so eu' ytt happ'neth ye said Richard to come here to ye Toun of Doncaster, or any of his Kennesmen or frends that hath been laborers with hym, they may be frendly recuied and entreated by ye said Sr william and other of ye Toun, as he was of old tyme ere yis Discention bygan, with out any occasion geuyng for ought yat hath been doon here before touchyng yis matter. And like wise yat ye said Richard, his kyn and his ffrendes afore said, to entreat ye said Sr william, and all other of ye Toun that also hath been [concerned] in this same matter, when so eu' eac or any of yam hadde to come to Tikill, or elles mete in any other place, and frendly ete and drynk to gythe [together] as neghbores and frends shold doo. *Item*, for asmuch as

I, the said Vmpier, considering the grete differences In ye evidences of both parties, and, not rightly Kan discerne ye treu part, In my symplesite p'ferryng yerefore godde's part, and ye welfare of the soules of ye auncestres of ye said Richard that willed and ordeined the said landes and tent's to ye said Chauntre, as ytt is alegged (how be hit his title goode to the same), Deme, ordeine and award yat ye said landes and tent's, now beying In ye possession of ye said Sr william ffoy to ye use of the said chauntre, abide and remaigne to hym and to his successors, as p'tres of ye same chauntre for eu'; and so to all ye successors of ye said Sr william, p'tres yat shall be of ye same chauntre, withouten end. Also ye ferme and mano', as ytt is said yat ytt was ordeined too. *Item*, ye said Vmpier deme, ordeine and award that ye said Richard Smyth, for his title of ryght that he claymeth for ye said lands and t'ms shall haue xxⁱⁱ li of sterlyng, to be payed at tymes specified by ye hands of ye said Sr William, or other of ye said Toun of Doncastre, or by [qr. security?] for yat money he and such as clayme or would claym by hym shall make or do make sufficient releffe, which warrance by hym o' for other by dede enrolled vnto the possession of ye said Sr William, of all ye lands and tent's soo possessed to ye oose of ye said Chauntre, and hers of ye said Sr William, or p'ties of ye same Chauntre. And further, the same Richard shall deliue, or do deliue vnto ye said Sr William, or to his successors or asseigns att Doncastre or Tickle, all ye Dedes, evidences, muniments concenyng to ye said lands and tent's of which he is now possessed of, without any such reteynyng that toucheth ye same landes and tent's, vppon his oath Duely taken and to be made her vppon. And also att his peril haue any effects by hym, if any such bee [or] in any maner exi[s]t. And his said relese and deliuanee of ye same, And also deliuanee of ye said Dedes, evidences and muniments, to be doon by fore [done before] ye feste of saint John ye Baptist next comyng, if ytt may goodly be doon so sone, or elles vpon xiiii Dayes yan next folleyng, seen alway yat if any of ye said Dedes, evidences and muniments comp'hend or extend to any other landes yan yoe afore-said (as touchyng any other enh'taunce of ye

said Richard) that than alsuch Dedes shall indifferently be put in a cofie vpon ye said Chapell of Myary magdalen, whose ye said Sr william, or any of his successors, shall haue oon key, and ye said Richard, his herys or assigns shall haue an other key, for to haue fredom at all tymes to haue recours to such dedes, in time of nede, w'out any Intr'pocon of ye said Sr William, or any of his successors, always wyth eu' ryght of ye same Sr William, or of his said successors. And I ye said Vmpier Deme, ordeine and award that also sone within ye said Time and feste of Seint John ye Baptist aforesaid, or xiiii Dayes after, as ye said Richard Smyth maketh redy his said relese sufficient, and deliu'reth ytt forth wt all ye euidences as before is decayred, w'out any lev'yn behind to hys knowledge, to ye said Sr William, or to his successors, or to yair attorneyes, that yan ye same Sr william shall fynde sufficient suretee of ye Toun of Doncastre, or other such as ye said Richard, his heirs or assigns at Doncastre, or Tikle before said, of ye said some of xx^{li} li sterlyng. And for ye residue of ye said some of xx^{li} li nott paid, the said Sr william shall fynde sufficient suretie of ye Toun of Doncaster, or other such as ye said Richard, his heirs or assigns, woll agree 'hem too, for to pay to ye said Richard, or to Sr John ffishelake, or to yeir heirs or attorneyes, at two times att poules [St. Paul's], in ye Citie of London—that is to say, half of ye said residue to be payed at C'strs [Christmas] next comyng after ye date of thys, and yatt other halfe of the said residue to be recond due ye feste of Crist-masse yen next folevyng, With out more or other delay. *Item*, yt the said Vmpier Deme, ordeine and award that all ye cheftes louse tymbre, and other mo'eble goodes, as is p'tended by ye said Richard Smyth to be left in som of ye said ten'ts at Doncastre, that were oen Johans, somtyme wyf of William Aston, ye day of ye entre of ye said Sr William (as and euer as moch as kan be truely and verriely p'ued were left in yam), the said Sr William shall doe his treve delegece to be restored, in who eu' hands they may be found, or any p'cell th'rof; And yf any part be lost in his default, to make a reasonable amendes. [Here nearly a line of the document is totally illegible.] *Item*, I ye said Vmpier Deme, ordeine and award yatt

ye said Sr william ffoy and his successors, att such tymes yan [appointed] be bound to pray for ye ffounder of ye said Chauntre, William Aston, and Johane, his wyf; and new b'nfactors shall haue in mynd, and pray for ye state of ye said Richard Smyth, and Sr John ffishlake, his brother, duryng yare bothe lyues, And for yare soules after yare decease; and for ye soule of Jayne Smyth, yare moodir. And yat thes diurs Acts tovyng his prayer be put in writyng.

In london the forsaid friday the xxix day of May, the xxii yere of oure sou'en lord the King aforesaid." [Inscription round seal:—"SIGELLUM JOHIS STORYNDEN," with the device in centre—a phoenix mounting.]

The stages of desecration respecting that old church in the market-place are noteworthy. The chantry property was sold and resold to persons who took advantage of the times to make great bargains. The building and ground (the latter being chiefly a cemetery, full of human bones) came first into the hands of George Cotton and Thomas Reeve, who resold them to Ralph Bosville, who transferred them for a consideration to John Symkinson, mercer and mayor, who conveyed the old church and site to the corporation of Doncaster. After the ancient fabric had been permitted to go still further into decay, the mayor and his brethren proceeded to erect on the site a town-hall and court of justice, which were finished in 1575, the ground-floor becoming utilized for the Grammar School. Those arrangements continued until 1846, when the ground being required for market improvements, the town-hall, surmounted by the figure of Justice, had to be pulled down. The workmen had not proceeded far in their task of demolition, however, before it became apparent that a large portion of an earlier erection was encased within the ponderous walls; and as the outer shell of brickwork and inner plaster were gradually removed, pillars, arches, and ancient mouldings of stone were disclosed in the same position they had occupied for seven centuries or more. Although a vigorous protest was made by local archaeologists and several learned societies against such vandal destruction, the only answer returned by the Corporation was that necessity has no law.

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

A Sun Dance among the Blackfoot Indians.—At a recent meeting of the Canadian Institute of Toronto, the Rev. John M'Lean, a missionary to the Canadian Indians, gave an account of the barbarous dances of the Blackfoot Indians. One of the most interesting is the sun dance, which is celebrated every summer; one of the strangest features of which is the self-torture of those who are admitted as warriors. Dr. M'Lean witnessed one of these ceremonies. A young man with wreaths of leaves around his head, ankles, and wrists stepped into the centre of the lodge. A blanket and pillow were laid upon the ground, on which he stretched himself. An old man came and stood over him, and in an earnest speech told the people of the brave deeds and noble heart of the young man. After each statement of his virtues and noble deeds, the musicians beat applause. When the orator ceased, the young man rose, placed his hands upon the old man's shoulders, and drew them downwards as a sign of gratitude for the favourable things said about him. He then lay down and four men held him, while a fifth made incisions in his breast and back. Two places were marked on each breast denoting the position and width of each incision. This being done, and wooden skewers being in readiness, a double-edged knife was held in the hand, the point touching the flesh. A small piece of wood was placed on the underside to receive the point of the knife when it had gone through, and the flesh was drawn out the desired length for the knife to pierce. A quick pressure and the incision was made, the piece of wood removed, and the skewer inserted from the underside as the knife was being taken out. When the skewer was properly inserted it was beaten down with the palm of the hand of the operator, that it might remain firmly in its place. This being done to each breast, with a single skewer for each, strong enough to tear away the flesh, and long enough to hold the lariats fastened to the top of the sacred pole, a double incision was made on the back of the left shoulder, to the skewer of which was fastened a drum. The young man then rose, and one of the operators fastened the

lariats, and the victim went up to the sacred pole, looking exceedingly pale, and threw his arms around it, praying earnestly for strength to pass successfully through the trying ordeal. The prayer ended, he moved backward until the flesh was fully extended, and placing a small bone whistle in his mouth, he blew continuously upon it a series of short sharp sounds, while he threw himself backward and danced until the flesh gave way and he fell. Before tearing himself from the lariats he seized the drum with both hands, and with a sudden pull tore the flesh on his back, dashing the drum to the ground amid the applause of the people. The flesh that was hanging was then cut off, and the ceremony was at an end. From two to five persons underwent this torture every sun dance. They were afterwards admitted to the band of noble warriors. Frequently it is done in pursuance of a vow to the sun, made in the time of danger and distress.—*Times*.

A Suggestive Sword.—In the library at the Guildhall may be seen the sword which belonged to M. Blanquet, the commanding French Admiral at the Battle of the Nile. This sword, which was surrendered to Nelson, and presented by him to the city of London, has inscribed upon it, "Vivre libre ou mourir pour la nation la loi & le ..." (the last word, which there can be no doubt was "roi," is obliterated). The sword was no longer to be drawn for the king. What a stern reality does this simple fact give to the French Revolution! It speaks volumes, bringing back to one's memory those scenes of bloodshed and butchery which took place in Paris a hundred years ago.—H. E. COLES.



Antiquarian News.

THE following letter from Mr. M. Pope, of Streatham, appeared in the *Standard* recently: "On the invitation of a member of the Corporation of Croydon, I this day paid a visit to their Sewage Farm at Beddington, where, in ploughing, they have come upon some solid brickwork, in shape like to the usual apparatus for heating a bath, as found in discoveries elsewhere. It is in two compartments, about six feet in width. Further excavation may lead to the unearthing of a Roman villa, as happened in 1860 about

one mile from this spot, and on the same farm, and I trust the Croydon authorities will give facility to the Surrey Archæological Society to pursue the exploration. Your readers who desire to inspect it can readily do so by alighting at Hackbridge Station (L. B. and S. C. Railway), and, taking a private road adjoining to Dibbens' Dairy Farm, five minutes will bring them to the spot; but Mr. George Horsley, the manager of the farm, will be most willing to point it out, and, I believe, would allow excavation. It is about twenty yards from the wire fence on the right hand of the private road." Mr. Pope has since written to us, informing us that permission to excavate is freely granted, and that some dozen antiquaries are at work upon the subject. It is to be hoped that an official record will be made of the finds as they occur.

The trustees of the British Museum have purchased the second edition of the Indian Bible, translated by John Eliot into the language of the Virginian Indians, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1680-1685—a book of extreme rarity.

The Oxford Philological Society is going to issue very shortly an album of photographs of the eighty-two Herculanean papyri preserved in facsimiles in the Bodleian Library and the Clarendon Press. The reproductions will occupy 838 pages, and prefixed to them is a short preface by Mr. F. Madan, sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library, which will give the history of these facsimiles, and a bibliography by the late Rev. John Hayter, Prof. Gomperz, of Vienna, and Prof. Scott, of Sydney.

A sale of old furniture took place at the Hôtel Drouot in April, and, although there were not many lots, it produced the sum of 334,351 francs. One of the most important lots was a drawing-room suite, carved and inlaid, of the Louis XVI. period. It only included a large sofa, two armchairs, and four ordinary chairs, upholstered in cream-coloured Genoa velvet, with flowers. This suite was sold for 24,500 francs. A Sedan chair, in the Louis XV. style, with decorated panels attributed to Coppel, realized 90,000 francs. These seem high prices compared to those which similarly antique furniture fetches in England.

The bones of a large-sized beaver have recently been discovered in a small wood known as Lynch Hill, on the banks of the river Wey, at Alton. Mr. Thomas, of the Osteological Department in the Natural History Section of the British Museum, reports that they are in the sub-fossil state of preservation—half fossilized—and a remarkable feature in remains so ancient is that the orange colouring on the front enamel of the great teeth is brighter than that upon any of the teeth of animals shot in Canada and France recently. The bones will probably be preserved in the local museum.

A very interesting and valuable "find" of ancient coins and jewellery has just been made in a moss in the island of Burray, Orkney. The articles when found were in a wooden vessel or bowl, which fell to pieces when taken up. The contents of the bowl, which weighed four pounds avoirdupois, consisted of three coins, remnants of others, and torques or collars, made of silver wire, one of two strands and the other of six strands, of a twisted pattern similar to the collar found at Skail, Sandwick, Orkney, in 1858. There were also twenty-five armlets or bangles and pieces of other twenty, some of round silver run in a mould graduated to the points, and others square. Some of the heaviest armlets were apparently for men, the lighter for the women, and the small ones for children. The heaviest weigh over two ounces troy, and the smallest about half an ounce. They are crescent-shaped or semi-lunar, not unlike the old iron handles that were formerly to be seen on small trunks. The coins were in good preservation and belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries, being of the reigns of Ethelred II., Edward, and Edgar; the other pieces have not as yet been authenticated. The articles are on view in Kirkwall, and are retained on account of the Queen and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer. All the articles found are of solid silver.

During the past few weeks several interesting discoveries have been made on the ground being excavated for railway extension in Newcastle. The site is one of the oldest portions of the old town, and here and there large blocks of masonry and other portions of the massive old town wall have been uncovered. Between Orchard Street and Hanover Square the remains of a Gothic structure, supposed to have been a church, have been disclosed. A small arch in an excellent state of preservation is at present to be seen, partially hidden from view by alterations which have made portions of the ancient structure do for modern habitations. Old coins, stones bearing curious workmanship, and carved woodwork, have also been dug up. In the ground surrounding the building supposed to have been a church, a large number of human bones have at various times been found, and this would lead to the supposition that the site has been the burial-ground in connection with the sacred edifice. A large oak coffin has been unearthed near the railway wall in Orchard Street. The coffin was found seven feet below the surface of the ground. The workmen took off the lid, which was of an arched shape, and found the skeleton of a full-grown person inside. The coffin and remains were conveyed to the tool-house.

Some discoveries of great importance have just been made at Pompeii, on the site of the supposed Greek temple in the triangular forum. Excavations were

being carried out there in the presence of Herr von Duhn, professor of archaeology at Heidelberg, and a party of students. The vases and other objects found prove that the so-called Temple of Hercules, hitherto supposed to belong to the Greek period 600 B.C., is of much later origin, dating from about 400 B.C. The full results of the discoveries will first be published in the Italian archaeological journals.

While excavations were being made recently at Eastbourne, in the garden of the Hon. Charlotte Ellis, a cinerary urn was turned up at a depth of 3 ft. 6 in. It is black in colour, and about 10 in. in height, and contained a quantity of calcined bones. Another urn, some 2½ in. high, and of a greenish colour, was also found. Besides some fragments forming the handles of a large vase, a bronze pin, supposed to be Etruscan, has been dug up in a good state of preservation.

The Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon has communicated to the *Times* the following interesting news respecting "Shakespeare's Church": "Antiquaries will be interested to know of a discovery we have just made in 'Shakespeare's Church.' The old chapel of St. Thomas à Becket is being prepared to receive the organ, and, as dry rot was discovered in the floor, it was necessary to remove the boards. While I was watching this being done yesterday, I saw, about 2 ft. below, a small corner of what was apparently a large stone slab sticking out from under the bricks and rubble. I asked the men to clear this, and soon saw a cross cut on it, which marked it as an altar slab. We have since had it completely uncovered, and find that it is undoubtedly the old altar slab of the chapel. The centre cross and two end ones are quite plain, but the remaining two have perished. The masons say the slab is of Wilmcote stone, and it is beautifully polished in front, but much defaced on the top. Its dimensions are 9 ft. 6 in. long, 3 ft. 4½ in. wide, and about 5 in. thick. It lies east and west about 2 ft. from the east wall of the chapel. Of course we shall have it raised, and I hope Messrs. Bodley and Garner will find a proper use for it when our church restoration is completed."

The following letter appeared in the *Manchester City News* of April 27: "There is reported to be a probability of the Old Hall at Ashton being sold to the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company as the site for a goods station. May I put in an urgent plea for its prevention? The Old Hall is the focus round which the earliest reliable history of the town and parish is gathered. But it is not difficult to imagine an earlier importance attaching to the site than is actually indicated in historical remains. The commanding position at the crown of the knoll which overlooked the ford by which entrance

into this corner of Lancashire was attained must in the earliest times have caused its being fortified. There may have been here, perhaps, an outpost of the kingdom of Northumbria, as perhaps an outpost of the kingdom of Mercia occupied Hall Green in Dukinfield, dominating the southern side of the road from the ford. The round towers on the south side of the hall, which it is alleged were put to base uses, were probably at one time also used as an outlook against the attack of neighbouring feudal lords. Butterworth's *Historical Account of the Town of Ashton-under-Lyne*, tells us how there was certainly a complete Hall and yard 500 years ago; and interesting notices of the building and its surroundings are to be found in Aiken's *Description of the Country Round Manchester*, in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, and in Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*. I should like to suggest through you the advisability of the borough securing this fine old hall, if the lords-lieutenant of the manor are not anxious to hand it down unimpaired to their successors. It might possibly attract some future lord of the manor to make the hall his residence if it were retained in the hands of the estate (if one may use such an expression), but rather than that it should be removed to make place for goods sidings—'O, what a fall was there'—let the town be possessed of it. For what use? Perhaps it is too far out of the way to come into competition for the Free Library site, though something from the student's point of view might be urged even for such an object. For a local museum to absorb and supersede the museum in the park, I fear our neighbouring citizens of Stalybridge would not say 'Aye.' Yet how well adapted the building might be made for such a purpose without in any way damaging its antique appearance! Its old-world look would rather enhance its value for an institution of such a character, or a blending of library and museum in one. To whatever use, however, the old hall may hereafter be turned, I trust that it will long remain standing, and judiciously preserved from decay, to testify to men of the nineteenth and succeeding centuries that there was an Ashton in the older time, of which its present and future burgesses need not be ashamed, whose lords of the manor took their share in the stirring events of their day at the head of their lieges, ready to serve what they believed to be the good old cause of freedom and right."

Lambeth Palace Library, open daily (Saturdays excepted), is accessible in the months of *May, June, July*, until 5 p.m. Antiquarian students will find several items of ancient lore, and to those searching mediæval church history no better field can be explored than some of the MSS. in this famous library. In connection with these MSS. a pamphlet collec-

tion on monastic annals has been formed, and help is asked by all writers on this subject to add to this series. There is also a Kentish and Diocesan Library of books and prints of increasing value and interest, which should be supported by all who can consult in one place the writers and essayists of the earliest founded See in this kingdom.

At Manchester the Arts Club celebrated the anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, in accordance with a custom which has prevailed with them for three years, and which we hope may continue. Professor Lobenhoffer delivered an interesting address upon Germany's appreciation of the poet, which he urged was warm and widespread at a time when in England the study of Shakespeare was very limited; he also dwelt on the cementing influence of our great poet between Germany and this country.—In Birmingham the study of Shakespeare has become very general. The 8,368 volumes which make up the Shakespearean memorial library at Birmingham are a cosmopolitan collection, and show how widely the poet's fame has spread. They comprise 5,124 English books, 2,144 German, 519 French, twenty-one Bohemian, two Croatian, thirty-four Danish, ninety-two Dutch, eight Finnic, one Flemish, two Frisian, fourteen Modern Greek, two Hebrew, forty-five Hungarian, six Icelandic, 156 Italian, eight Latin, five Norwegian, twenty-nine Polish, five Portuguese, two Roumanian, sixty-six Russian, ninety-two Spanish, fifty-seven Swedish, one Uhraïne, one Wallachian, and two Welsh.

Shakespeare's birthday was celebrated at Stratford-on-Avon much in the usual way. The play given in the Memorial Theatre was the *First Part of Henry VI.* This gave rise to mistaken statements by the press concerning the former stage productions of the play, some stating that it had not been acted since Shakespeare's time; others vaguely that it had not been revived since the Restoration. Mr. F. A. Marshall, whose careful accounts of the stage history of Shakespeare's plays in the *Henry Irving Shakespeare* should have made the repetition of such mistakes impossible, communicated the following interesting note to the *Standard*, in correction of the misstatements that had been published: "If the Shakespearians of Stratford-on-Avon, who manage the Memorial Theatre, had taken the trouble to refer to the first volume of the *Henry Irving Shakespeare*, in their library, they would have seen in the introduction to that play (p. 260) a record taken from Genest of a performance at Covent Garden, March 13, 1738, 'By desire of several Ladies of Quality, for Delane's benefit, and not acted for fifty years, *Henry VI., Part I.*' Delane himself taking the part of Talbot, while Suffolk was played by Walker, and La Pucelle

by Mrs. Hallam. Who those 'Ladies of Quality' were I have been unable to discover; but, as I pointed out in that Introduction, it is much to their credit that we owe to their initiative the revival at that period of several of Shakespeare's plays, 'which had never been represented since the re-establishment of theatres at the Restoration.' An account of 'Richard Duke of York,' which is chiefly taken from the three parts of *Henry VI.*, by Mr. Herman Merivale's grandfather, will be found at pages 9-10 of Vol. II. of the *Henry Irving Shakespeare*, and, in the same volume, the condensed version of the three plays, by Charles Kemble (which was never put on the stage), will also be found. In neither of these plays does Talbot or Joan of Arc, who may be called respectively the hero and heroine of the *First Part of Henry VI.*, appear; and it is in the representation of these two characters that the chief interest of the revival of the *First Part of Henry VI.* must centre."

A curious discovery has just been made in the neighbourhood of one of the Spithead forts. The tender of the *Excellent* was at gunnery practice, when the crew, while engaged in grappling for shot, found a 12-pounder gun, which has been got up, and turns out to be at least 100 years old. How the gun, which was brought to the Gun Wharf at Portsmouth, got to where it was found is a mystery, as no vessel carrying such armament could have approached such a spot.

The birthplace of Mrs. Barrett Browning, the poetess, has been finally set at rest, the Rev. Canon Barrett, rector of Kelloe, having discovered the entry of her baptism in the Church Kelloe Registers. There Elizabeth Barrett was born on March 6, 1806. She was privately baptised, but was received into the church at Kelloe on February 10, 1808, when her brother Edward Barrett Moulton-Barrett was baptised.

We have received a copy of the "Appeal," issued by the Rev. T. H. Le Bœuf, Rector of Croyland, Lincolnshire, in behalf of Croyland Abbey. The sum required to preserve this interesting ruin for transmission to posterity is £3,000, of which £534 has been received. The report of Mr. J. L. Pearson, which is circulated with the Appeal, clearly and emphatically shows that the movements and cracks in the ancient building are due to drainage by canals and wells in the neighbourhood, causing subsidence both in the peat on which the fabric was founded, and also in the gravel-bed beneath the peat. In short, the Abbey is undermined, and can only be saved by artificial means. The rector will receive donations.

The famous old Manor-house of Wandsworth is threatened with destruction, and appeals have been

published in the *Times*, which it is to be hoped may stay the hand of the destroyer, although the fate of Fairfax House, Putney, may cause some to despair. The first letter on the subject, by Mr. E. W. Garden, gives some particulars of the old house: "Wandsworth Manor-house was designed by Wren, and presented by Charles II. to his niece, the Princess Anne of York, on her marriage with Prince George of Denmark. Princess Anne lived here for eighteen years before she became Queen of England. The royal arms can still be seen before the central gable. The hall and staircases are magnificently decorated; there are carvings in the best style of Grinling Gibbons, and on one of the panels is an original portrait of Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, and mother of both Queen Mary and Queen Anne. The ceiling of the staircase and the wall panels are painted by Sir James Thornhill, and the place is altogether full of interest. The house forms part of an estate of about six acres, and within a few weeks a board has been erected, announcing the whole to be let or sold for building purposes. It would be almost too much to hope that any one person could be found to purchase it on his own account, for the sake of its past; but the house, which is in splendid preservation, would make a very admirable institution, and it might prove a great acquisition to any one of the numerous organizations or societies that exist, as a centre for its operations, or as an establishment suited to the object for which it was formed." A subsequent letter to the *Times* contained some useful suggestions: "May we not appeal to Mr. William Morris, the honorary secretary to the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, or to the well-known liberality of one of the City companies to help us? The property about to be sold adjoins the Institution of the Fishmongers' Company. This comfortable home for the aged, with its beautiful grounds, is so well ordered that we are glad to have it in our midst, although it occupies a large space from which the inhabitants of Wandsworth are practically excluded. Is it too much to hope, in these times when some of the City companies are doing so much for London, that, if properly approached, this great company would, by securing the old Manor-house, confer a great benefit upon the neighbourhood in which so much of their property is situated?"

Concerning the recent discovery of the foundations of an old apse at Rochester, the Rev. Greville M. Livett has written to the *Times*, stating that the foundations have been traced running under and through the foundations which underlie the Norman west front of the Cathedral Church. The rev. gentleman continues: "I do not hold the opinion, which I

am reported to hold, that this apse belongs to what was once a 'small Roman temple.' I do not know that I am yet in a position to hold any opinion at all about the remains; but I am inclined to think they belong to the church of stone which King Æthelbert built here in 604, the year in which St. Augustin established the sees of London and Rochester, Mellitus and Justus being the first bishops. That there was already a Roman Basilica in use as a church at Canterbury is almost certain, and that the Rochester church was therefore built upon the Basilican type is at least likely. If our apsidal remains really belong to Æthelbert's church, we have found one of the very first stone churches that the Saxons built in our country. Later on they gave up the Basilican plan, and built their chancels with square ends, which have ever since been characteristic of pure English style. But it is not my wish to write an essay—only to call attention to a discovery which, if its clues are properly followed up, may prove to be one of great historical value."

We learn from the *Builder* that the fine stone-built Elizabethan house, known as Wakehurst Place, situated a short distance northwards from Ardingley (*præ*viously Earthingley), in Lewes Rape, Sussex, is about to be sold. This house, famed for its interior, was built in 1590 by Sir Edward Culpeper. The property had passed by marriage into his family from the Wakehursts, of whom Richard was made a knight banneret at the siege of Caerlaverock Castle, by Edward I. in 1300. Sir William Culpeper sold it, in 1694, to Dennis Lyddell. In 1776 it was bought by Admiral Peyton, and of late years it has been occupied by the Marchioness (Dowager) of Downshire. In Ardingley parish church, of *temp.* Edward III., and restored by Sir G. G. Scott in 1853, are some old brasses to members of the Wakehurst and Culpeper families, including one to Nicholas Culpeper (1510) and his wife Elizabeth (1500). Wakehurst Place, having been for some years previously untenanted and neglected, was rehabilitated about fifty-five years ago. The estate is more than 1,090 acres in extent, under cultivation.

A leaden coffin containing a skeleton was recently found in Mina Road, Baptist Mills, Bristol. The city coroner, Mr. H. S. Wasbrough, accompanied by Mr. E. M. Harwood, deputy coroner, Dr. Beddoe, Mr. Paul Bush, surgeon to the Bristol police force, Dr. Swain, house-surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and Mr. J. Latimer, author of *The Annals of Bristol*, inspected the remains, which, by direction of the coroner, had been carefully cleansed by the workmen in the employ of Mr. Bryant. We gather from the reports in the *Bristol Mercury* that the "find" was photographed before being dealt with in this practical

way. The coffin was pronounced to be of very primitive construction, and the lead was found to be considerably oxidized. Owing to the fragmentary remains of the skeleton, it was difficult to determine whether it was that of a male or female, but it was evidently that of a person about twenty years of age. All present were of opinion that the remains dated from a very remote period, and from the fact that the head was placed to the east, one of the authorities considered it almost certain that the interment could not have been made in Christian times. The bones were removed, so that they may be more carefully examined than would be the case in the shed in which they have been kept, and a hope was expressed that Mr. Bryant, the proprietor of the works, would retain possession of the coffin, as it might eventually be purchased by some museum. Not many feet from the site another remarkable discovery has been made, as there are indications of a stone coffin, and instructions have been given to have the ground carefully excavated, and preserve any relics that may be exhumed. Should further remains be found, the presumption will be that a remarkably ancient cemetery has been accidentally discovered. Mr. F. Ellis, of Bristol, who assumes the remains to be Roman, sent the following protest to the *Bristol Mercury*: "I went to the scene of the discovery of the Roman remains this evening, hoping to hear that the coffin and its contents had been safely removed to the Museum, just as it was found, for proper scientific examination by competent authorities and safe preservation, as Bristol boasts so very few Roman remains. But, alas! I have arrived too late. What am I told? That the coroner has viewed the skeleton; ordered the bones to be washed and buried, and the lead case to be handed over to the proprietor of the works! This reminds one of the coroner who held an inquest over an Egyptian mummy, as these remains have now been buried about 1600 years. All this, after begging our local antiquarians to intercede! I ask, would any other town in England have suffered this to be? Would Bath have suffered it? Are there no Latin scholars amongst us? None sufficiently in local history to stretch forth a hand to save this earliest of relics? Had I the time and money, I would have purchased it and presented it to our struggling Museum; but when I raise a voice against this barbaric ignorance, I am threatened by the workmen, who have earned a few pence by the exhibition of it." Mr. J. E. Pritchard, of Bristol, has sent us a communication on this, and also a further discovery that has been made. He writes: "On May 1, the same workmen came upon a 'stone-cist,' measuring inside 7 feet long, by 22 inches wide, by 20 inches deep, composed of slabs 2 to 3 inches thick, the largest being 5 feet by 30 inches. In this grave, also,

human remains were visible, though in a very decomposed state. They were evidently the bones of a man of great proportions. Two nails, about 6 inches long, were found at each corner inside the cist, proving that the body was put into a wooden coffin prior to interment; head to the east. On May 14, a second 'stone-cist' was dug out very similar to the one described, and containing a skeleton—head to the north-east. These burials were made close together, almost in a direct line, and all found about 5 feet below the surface. Roman coins have been picked up in the neighbourhood."

The *Scottish Leader* reports that a curious little copper safe has been discovered in the wall of an old house in Stevenlaw's Close, which is at present undergoing reconstruction.

The clearance of the Pyramid of Amenemhat III. is described by a correspondent in the *Times*. The work was carried out by Mr. Petrie. Every nook and crannie of the pyramid has been searched, and has thus been made to give up its last secrets; and these, if not startling, are historically and archaeologically interesting. A large alabaster vessel eighteen inches in length, curiously carved in the shape of half a trussed duck, and engraved with a hieroglyphic inscription signifying "The Royal Daughter Ptahnefru," was found in one of the passages a day or two after the opening of the pyramid, and with it three similar vessels, smaller and quite plain. Two days later, as the work of clearance went on, a superb alabaster table of offerings, surrounded by the broken fragments of nine more alabaster duck-vases, was unearthed from beneath the rubbish in a kind of anteroom adjoining the sepulchral chamber. Around the table are lists of between seventy and eighty varieties of wines, poultry, cakes, etc., and placing us in possession of the complete *menu* of a royal funerary feast *circa* B.C. 2800. Oddly enough, the ducks, geese, and other birds shown in this interesting list are represented without legs, probably for economy of space. The sepulchral chamber of Amenemhat III. proves to have no door or entrance. The large sarcophagus must have been placed in position, and the smaller one constructed, before the whole of the roofing slabs were laid on, the exit having been closed when the funerary rites were ended by dropping the last slab into its place. As these slabs weigh from forty to fifty tons each, the security of the dead might well be deemed eternal.

The exhibition of antique shoes organized by Mrs. Joseph Box is now open at 187, Regent Street. Out of 212 specimens, varying in form from the Anglo-Saxon unshaped leather covering to the mediæval embroidered velvet heeless shoe, from the Early Tudor velvet broad-toed shoe with slashes of silk,

down to the dainty modern shoe and slipper, the influence of woman is unmistakably apparent. Ladies have an infinite variety of choice in colour and in decoration with ribbons and bows, while gentlemen are limited to the everlasting sombre black. Of foreign shoes, there are Chinese, Indian, Turkish, Norwegian, Armenian, and French, and clogs from Damascus. Next, there are Canadian, Persian, Rhodian, Greek, and Papal shoes; and a great variety, furnishing a complete history of the boot as worn in England from the earliest down to the new shoe of yesterday. A quaint pair of foreign shoes are numbered 52-3, Dutch, with embroidered tops, pointed with tips of silver. The shamrock-tongue boot (74) was made by a man who put sixty stitches into every inch of work, and the figure of the shamrock was worked with a single hair. The high-heeled shoes are no modern invention; they go back to the earliest Henry, and the top-piece is often no bigger than a shilling, shaped like a heart. Three and a half inches is the fashionable height of a heel now; but specimens are shown with heels one inch higher, though the top-piece is larger, measuring one and a quarter inches by one and one-eighth inches. The curvature of the heel is now very graceful, and a great advance as an art study of the earlier form. There may be traced amongst the exhibits the gradual growth of the heel. In the time of Charles I. there sprang into existence the terrible Jack-boot, the picturesque boot of the Cavalier, and the formidable boot of the Puritan, with prodigious top. The heel reappeared in the lady's boot of the time of Charles II.; and a curious specimen has a prodigious bow like the bands of a Puritan preacher fastened with a buckle on the instep. There was no decisive form of toe until quite modern times. In the reign of Richard II. all boots and shoes were peaked, the points being stuffed with wool; and, from six inches in length, they grew so long as to be fastened round the knee. In early Tudor times the toes were allowed plenty of room, and the boots and shoes were of softest velvets, often padded with wool; in the time of the two Charles's the toes were made square; in Georgian times the pointed form became prevalent; five years ago the fashion was for square toes; but now the pointed toe is again most favoured. How the boot, the shoe, and the slipper came to be in the exact form now worn may be very pleasantly traced amongst the two hundred odd specimens on exhibition. Amongst the curiosities are the first pair—the baby shoes—worn by George III., made of satin; a shoe of the Duchesse de Longueville, three inches in length; Queen Adelaide's slipper, Queen Anne's shoe, William IV.'s coronation shoe, Queen Elizabeth's shoes, and a shoe of Mary Queen of Scots—a very pretty thing in stamped leather. Perhaps the most remarkable boots are those once belonging

to Henry VIII., and worn by him at his meeting with Francis of France, on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The upper portions are of crimson velvet embroidered in gold; the soles are shod with wrought-iron, full of hobnails, and there are hinges to allow of the play of the soles; the sides of the shoes and heels are of silver. Hogarth's shoe is there, between Queen Adelaide's slipper and the Claimant's "last," which was produced at the trial. Many pretty shoes are there belonging to well-known ladies of a former century: Miss Wescoat's, Mrs. Geldart's, Miss Lucy Nunn's wedding-shoes of 1756; Lady Rodney's silk shoes; Miss Ogilvy's mauve kid shoes, bearing her name on the lining; and Rosie Anderson's shoe. A beaded shoe—the beads being threaded on horse-hair—of the time of Charles II. has the name "Blanche" on the lining. A pair of Cromwell's Jack-boots, which he left behind him after the sack of Ockwell Manor House, are hanging up—most formidable boots, from which relic-hunters have cut bits; the heels are made of twenty separate pieces of leather, fastened together with spikes of wood. There are interesting collections also of bows worn on the shoes of ladies, of buckles worn by both sexes, and of spurs, as well as crusading shoes, worn by men.

The ancient and interesting church at Lambourne, in Essex, is now undergoing reparation; and when a few weeks since the workmen removed the floor-boards in an old pew, they found a brass consisting of full-length male and female figures with a plate bearing the following inscription: "Of your charity pray for the souls of Robert Barfott, citizen and mercer of London, and Katherine his wife, which Robert deceased xxv day of June in the year of our Lord God MCCCCXLVI., on whose soul Jesu have mercy." This church is very small, and consists of chancel and nave with a turret containing three bells. The north doorway has a fine Norman arch. Thomas Wynnyffe, Bishop of Lincoln, 1642-54, was for some time rector, and with his father, John Wynnyffe, gent., of Sherborne in Dorset, who died in 1630, is buried within its walls.—Communicated by Mr. Sparvel-Bayly.

During the ensuing month there will be sold at Messrs. Sotheby's rooms a large part of the library of the late J. O. Halliwell-Phillips. The legatee of the library, who, we take it, is responsible for the dispersion, prints in some "Notes" a memorandum of the late owner in justification of this intention. The memorandum is dated in November last, and is characteristic of the collector: "Pray sell no books, nor engravings, nor manuscripts, nor old deeds, by private contract. If you do, you will be 'done' as sure as a whistle. I am continually adding rarities that are not in the printed catalogue referred to in my

will, and most of these are of a class the value of which is known to very few people indeed. If sold by private contract, they are certain to be sacrificed. If sold by auction their value is pretty sure to be ascertained by some one or other, and bidded for accordingly. Sell at Sotheby's." The books described in the "Notes" circulated by the legatee, Mr. Ernest E. Baker, F.S.A., are all noteworthy, and the sale will surely be an interesting event.

The *Scotsman* reports as follows: Several important additions have been made to the Museum of Science and Art. The most striking on entering the Great Hall is a cast of the central pillar of the door of Amiens Cathedral, the principal feature of which is a noble statue of Christ, of colossal size, represented in the attitude of blessing. In the lower part of the pillar is a statuette of King Philip Augustus. The original, of stone, forms part of the principal doorway of the west end of the cathedral, erected, perhaps, by Robert de Luzarches in A.D. 1220. The height of the cast, which was made by M. Pouzadoux, of the Paris Museum of Comparative Sculpture, is 28 feet.—Another important acquisition is a reproduction of the pulpit in the baptistery at Pisa. The original, by Niccola Pisano, was finished in A.D. 1260, as shown by the following lines engraved under one of the panels:

Anno milleno bis centum bisque tricens
Hoc opus insigne sculpsit Nicola Pisanus
Laudetur digne tam bene docta manus.

The pulpit, which is hexagonal in form, is supported on pillars connected with each other by arches. The panels on five sides of the hexagon (the sixth being the entrance) are sculptured in high relief, with representations of (1) the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Shepherds; (2) the Adoration of the Magi; (3) the Presentation in the Temple; (4) the Crucifixion; (5) the Last Judgment. In the spandrels of the arches are figures of the four Evangelists, with their respective symbols, two kings, probably David and Solomon, and four prophets. Between the arches are figures representing the four cardinal virtues, with St. John the Baptist and an angel bearing a bas-relief of the Crucifixion. The centre pillar rests on a base composed of crouching figures of men and animals, and three of the surrounding six on the backs of lions. Half-way up the steps (which are not reproduced) is a lectern for the Epistle, and on an angle of the pulpit supported by an eagle is another for the Gospel.—Of very different interest are six terra-cotta Babylonian tablets covered with cuneiform inscriptions discovered at Sippara (Sepharvaim). For the deciphering of these interesting inscriptions the Director is indebted to the well-known Assyriologist, Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum. The tablets are legal documents recording contracts or other commer-

cial operations, and give us an interesting glimpse of the everyday life of Babylon at the time of the Jewish captivity.

The parish church of Wingrave has been reopened by the Bishop of Oxford after restoration. The church consists of chancel, nave, with clerestory, and aisles, the tower being at the west end of the building. The earliest work is in the chancel, in which are some remains of specimens of Norman architecture. Decorated and Perpendicular windows have been inserted in various parts; the piers and arches of the nave are late Decorated. The general design of the exterior, which is embattled throughout, is late Perpendicular, with good windows; the south porch is modern. The restoration has been very extensive; but those responsible for it claim that in every case the ancient detail has been carefully reproduced. The *Bucks Advertiser* published the following note on an interesting fact in the history of the church: There was a bequest made many years ago to Wingrave Church, but at so early a date that the donor's name is not now well remembered. The object of the gift was for providing rushes on the dedication festival Sunday wherewith to strew the church. On the inclosure of the open fields in 1798 three roods of meadow were set out in Wingrave in lieu of the ancient rushlands. The three roods were formerly let at 21s. per year, which rent was paid to the parish clerk to provide grass or rushes to strew the church on the village feast-day, which is, or should be, the first Sunday after St. Peter's Day, Wingrave Church being dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. In many villages in the South of England it was usual to observe some Sunday in a more particular manner than others, *i.e.*, the Sunday after the day of dedication, or day of the Saint to whom their church was dedicated. The villagers on that day dressed themselves in their best, opened their houses, and entertained their relatives and friends who were invited on the occasion from the neighbouring villages. In the *Herball to the Bible*, 1587, mention is made of "Sedge and rushes, the whiche manie in the cuntry doe use in summer-time to strew their parlors or churches, as well for coolness as for pleasant smell." Provision was made for strewing the earthen or paved floors of churches with straw or rushes, according to the season of the year. Strewing was in use also in private houses in ages long before the introduction of carpets. It was even used in the bed-chambers. The Manor of Osterasfee, in Aylesbury, was held under the Conqueror, and amongst other conditions, that of finding straw and rushes for the king's bed-chamber whenever he visited that manor. It is somewhat doubtful whether originally this strewing of rushes was not with a view of keeping the church clean, the rushes taking the place of mats. When roads were bad, and villagers had

some distance to walk to church, probably they unintentionally brought a good deal of dirt into the building. This supposition arises from entries in some old churchwarden's accounts, where particular attention appears to be given to the *new pews*. In 1504, the churchwardens of St. Mary-at-Hill pay for "Two Berden Rysshes for the strewing the *new pews*, 3d." In 1493, "for 3 burdens of rushes for ye *new pews*, 3d." In other old parish accounts similar entries are to be found. At Middleton Cheney, in Northamptonshire, it was customary to strew the church in summer with hay gathered from land left for that purpose. This ancient custom grew into a religious festival, dressed up in all that picturesque circumstance wherewith the old Church well knew how to array its ritual. Remains of it linger in remote parts of England. In Westmoreland, Lancashire, and districts in Yorkshire there is still observed between haymaking and harvest a village fête called the "Rushbearing."

At the sale of the pictures from Rathfarn Hall, Ruthin, which took place at Messrs. Foster's in Pall Mall on May 15th, a half-length portrait of a lady, by Romney, was bought by Mr. Charles Wertheimer for £2,850. The picture was put up at 50 guineas.

We have received a prospectus of a further course of lectures on Greek subjects to be given by Mr. Talfourd Ely, M.A., F.S.A., whose recent valuable papers in the *Antiquary*, entitled "Recent Archaeological Discoveries," will be in the recollection of our readers. The forthcoming series will consist of six lectures on Mr. Ely's travels in Greece, and will be delivered in University Hall, Gorden Square. Applications may be made to Mr. Ely at University Hall, or at 73, Parliament Hill Road, N.W. The lectures will be illustrated by lantern-slides specially prepared for this series.

The following curious "find" has been reported: An ancient Japanese coat-of-mail has recently been unearthed in the vicinity of Victoria, British Columbia. Some workmen engaged in digging a well came upon this interesting relic 4 feet below the surface. It is a complete piece of chain armour, consisting of thousands of links of diminutive iron rings the diameter of a common pencil. When worn the coat covered the breast, back, and right side, leaving the left side, where it was fastened, to be protected by the shield. The right sleeve extended to the elbow. From the neck to the end of the skirt the length is 20½ inches. In the side of the coat below the arm is a gash 2 inches long, resembling a cut from a heavy weapon, which has been repaired by what appears to be a piece of native silver. Such armour was made by the Japanese two or three hundred years ago. It is impossible to explain how this interesting object came there, but

there are other evidences of early Japanese occupancy in the surrounding part of the country. A few years ago a large number of ancient Japanese coins were found in cairns, or stone graves in the neighbourhood of Victoria.

The following satisfactory notice with regard to the Newcastle Chapter Library has been published: To increase the usefulness of this library both in the city and in the diocese generally, the committee has decided to issue books on application being made by letter to the sub-librarian (the Rev. E. B. Hicks), the books to be either called for at the vestry, or forwarded by post or rail, the cost of conveyance being paid by the borrower. A librarian will also be in attendance every Monday (instead of Tuesday and Saturday) from 1 till 2.30 p.m. to receive and issue books. A new and complete catalogue will be issued, if possible, before the end of July. The library is open not only for the clergy, but for any person presenting a written recommendation from a member of the chapter; that is, from any one of the hon. canons of the cathedral. By these means it is hoped that the very valuable collection of books may have a wider use. The sub-librarian will be glad to give any information, and will forward a copy of rules and a catalogue as soon as possible on application. The committee are receiving, and will gladly receive, gifts, of useful books.

May Day was celebrated this year in Richmond by a conversazione and exhibition organized by the Richmond Athenæum and the Lower Thames Valley Branch of the Selborne Society. The exhibition embraced the Hilditch Collection of pictures, representing local scenes, other pictures less directly local, antiquities, specimens of the natural history of the Thames Valley, and local bibliography. The antiquities of the Lower Thames Valley were represented by collections sent in by three exhibitors—Mr. J. Cockburn (of Richmond), Mr. Thomas Layton (of Brentford), and Mr. J. Allen Brown (of Ealing). Mr. Cockburn lent some curious halfpenny tokens, issued by tradesmen in Richmond and the neighbourhood in the time of Charles I. Mr. Layton's collection included some very fine specimens of arrow, or javelin, heads, a great variety of ancient bits and stirrups, some good specimens of stone hammers, four bone hammers (the largest being herring-boned), two curious wooden hammers, various articles belonging to the bronze period, a number of ancient weapons, ancient Roman coins, etc. Most of these were found in the bed of the Thames near Brentford. Mr. J. Allen Brown exhibited a large collection of palæolithic implements found in the neighbourhood of Ealing, and on these he discoursed at length to inquiring visitors.

Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Belfast Natural History and Philosophic Society.—March 5 (continued from the *Antiquary*, p. 228).—Another of the great cemeteries of ancient Ireland was Tailtin, where the Ultonian or Ulster kings were buried. Up to about twenty-five years ago it was believed that a place called Telltown, situated about midway between Navan and Kells, was the ancient Tailtin. The absence of sepulchral monuments at Telltown, and the discoveries of Mr. Eugene Conwell, have led many archaeologists to look elsewhere for this ancient burial-place. About twelve miles from Telltown there is a range of hills, known as the Lough Crew Hills, on which Mr. Conwell, twenty-five years ago, discovered some thirty cairns, several of which contained chambers with sculptured carvings somewhat like those at New Grange. Mr. James Ferguson visited this district with Mr. Conwell, and was impressed very strongly with the idea that these cairns and chambered tumuli formed the ancient pagan cemetery, so famous in Irish history. Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Conwell have made out a very strong case to support this theory. The late president of the Royal Irish Academy, Sir Samuel Ferguson, contributed a paper on the transactions of that society, in which he freely criticised the arguments for and against the theory of Mr. Conwell. The lecturer proceeded to describe and show views of the cairns and chambers on the Slieve na Calliagh Hills, near Lough Crew. An *anach*, or fair, was held at Tailtin from B.C. 1200, to the eleventh century of our era. These *anachs*, or fairs, originated in funeral feasts and games, given in honour of deceased kings and chiefs, and were celebrated annually or triannually afterwards to perpetuate the memory of the person for whom they were originally instituted. The fair of Tailtin commenced in the middle of July, and lasted about three weeks. There were sports and contests similar to those held at the Olympic Games, as wrestling, boxing, running, also horse and chariot races. The people were entertained with shows and rude theatrical exhibitions. The king and chiefs sat on the burial mounds as judges, and afterwards distributed the prizes to the victors. These fairs were attended by the men and women of a province, both married and single, who pitched their tents or booths, in which to live during the period of the fair. The laws that regulated them were strictly observed. The women had separate quarters assigned them during the fair, from which the opposite sex were prohibited, the penalty for violating the rule being death. The last great fair of Tailtin was held in the reign of Roderick O'Conner, last monarch of Ireland. The annals of the Four Masters record: "On this occasion the fair of Tailtin was celebrated by the King of Ireland and the people of Leath Chuin (northern half of Ireland), and their horses and their cavalry were spread out on the space extending from Mullaghaidi to Mullagh Tailtin." A description of the fair was given, including the betrothal of the young men and maidens, which was one of the events of the fair looked forward to with the greatest interest. The cemetery of Relig-

na-Ree, the burial-place of the kings of Connaught, was next described, and a view shown of the tomb of Dathi, the last pagan monarch of Ireland. The other celebrated cemeteries were referred to—*Enach Ailbhe*, *Enach Culi*, *Enach Colmain*, *Teamhair Erann*. Killeen Cormac was referred to, and photograph shown of it. Here the first ogham stone with bilingual inscription was found. There were three principal modes of burying the dead in pagan times. First, cremation. After the body had been burned on a funeral-pile the calcined bones and ashes were collected, and placed in an urn of either stone or baked clay. This urn was deposited in a small stone cist or chamber, formed in the ground by flagstones set on end, and covered across the top by another flag, and earth piled over all. Second, simple burial or interment in the earth. A grave large enough to hold the body was dug. The sides of the grave were protected by stones placed on edge, or a wall built of dry masonry, and covered across the top by one or more stones. The third mode was rather exceptional: the body, armed as in life, was placed in a standing or sitting position on the ground, or in a chamber or cist, over which a cairn of stones or earth was heaped. Cremation was referred to, and cemeteries exclusively devoted to persons who had been cremated were mentioned, as at Ballonhill, in County Carlow, and Drumnakilly, near Omagh. A photo was shown of an urn found in the latter place, once in Mr. Milligan's possession, but which had unfortunately got broken, said to be one of the finest ever found in Ireland. With one exception, there are no references about cremation in any of our ancient manuscripts, though urns containing calcined human bones have been found in great numbers in every part of Ireland. A report of the recent find of an urn near the Belfast waterworks, at Woodburn, was given. It was from a description supplied by Mr. George Reilly. The urn was found in a stone cist, covered by a large flagstone. It was placed mouth upwards, and contained ashes and calcined bones, which were shown. The customs connected with cremation in Ancient Greece were referred to, and from the fact that many of the other social customs were so similar to the Irish it was inferred that cremation in Ireland was attended with similar ceremonies. The burial of Patroclus was referred to as an illustration of the ancient ceremonial, the oldest record of cremation extant. The mode of burial varied in Ireland at different periods. One of the most ancient was to make a hollow pit in the ground, in which the body was laid, rolled in a garment called a *rochull*. Dr. Keating describes this: they used to make a fert in the earth corresponding in length and breadth with the corpse. They then deposited the corpse therein, with the soles of his feet turned to the east, and the crown of the head to the west, and put stones over it, which was called a *leacht*. Dr. Sullivan says the word "*leacht*" seems to have been a general term, applied to stone sepulchral monuments, consisting of either unfashioned stones of every size, piled up over a simple grave, or over an *Indeith Cloich*, or stone chamber, or of a number of large upright flags, upon which was placed a great block of stone. The latter kind of *leacht* is the monument popularly known as a *cromlech*. A simple flag marking a grave was called a "*leac*." Dr. Sullivan says, further, when a num-

ber of persons were buried beside each other their leaca were placed in a circle around their graves. Similar circles of leaca or upright flags were put around the leachts, formed of piles of stones. This explains the origin of stone circles, and also of the standing stones placed around mounds and cairns similar to those shown around New Grange. Those who died of the plague were buried in what was called a Mur. These were well known, and could not be opened for several years. The Mur was constructed of dry masonry, not less than two feet high, which covered the whole grave, and where stones could not be obtained, a similar block was built of square sods over the grave. So late as 1847 it is said some of those who died of famine-fever in Ireland had their graves covered with a Mur, as an indication that it should not be opened for a long period. The construction of cairns, kistvaens, cromlechs, and other ancient monuments were minutely described, and a great many photographic views of the finest examples were shown. These included some shown for the first time that had been brought under the notice of archaeologists by Mr. Milligan. Our modern sepulchral monuments are copies of the pagan tombs on a small scale. The flat covering stone, supported by four uprights, is a cromlech. The headstone is copied from the ancient Dallan, or pillar-stone, the ogham inscription being replaced by one more intelligible to the people of to-day. The enclosed kist is a copy of the more ancient kistvaen. Even the cross is not a modern emblem, as it was known in pagan times, in both the Old World and the New. Small incised crosses as monuments of the dead were shown, as well as the beautifully-carved flags which covered the tombs of The Mac Swyne, of Bauagh, and The Mac Swyne, of Doe. The Caione, or funeral chorus of the dead, was referred to, and the ceremonies attending it, both in ancient and modern times, were described. Several translations from the Irish of these death-songs were read, showing deep pathos and a true poetic spirit. Wakes and funerals are still largely attended in country districts, but they differ considerably from those described by Carleton. We hope the change is in the right direction, and that it will tend to the welfare and social improvement of the people. We may study the bent and genius of our race through her ancient monuments, her works of art, and her code of laws. We look back at the various phases of a past civilization as embodied in these memorials with some degree of pride, and to the future with a hope that brighter days are in store for our country than any experienced in the past.

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

—The council have arranged a five days' excursion into Cumberland for Whit-week. Starting on Whit-Wednesday afternoon, they proceed to Penrith, visit the castle, and the parish church, to view the ancient crosses and hog-back stones known as the "Giant's Grave" and the "Giant's Thumb." On Thursday drive by way of Eden Hall, when the church will be visited, Langwathby, and Little Salkeld. Near the latter village the fine stone circle, Long Meg and her Daughters, will be seen. Thence to Kirkoswald, visit the ruins of the castle, and afterwards the church; then *via* Lazonby to Plumpton to see the Roman station Vereda. Friday, drive to Broug-

ham Castle, Brougham Hall and chapel, King Arthur's Round Table, Maryborough, Yanwath Hall, and thence continue through Tirril and Pooley Bridge; then by steamer across the lake to Ullswater Hotel. Those of the party who feel inclined will leave the steamer at How Town and ascend High Street (2,663 feet), where the Roman road, which was carried along the summit, can be distinctly traced. Saturday, drive to Lyulph's Tower, walk through the park to Aira Force, then take the train to Keswick and visit the Keswick stone circle, and home to Manchester. Those staying until Monday may spend the Sunday at Keswick, and return by way of Thirlmere, Grasmere, Rydal, and Ambleside to Windermere. Other summer meetings are being arranged for—Sandbach and its crosses, Clitheroe and district, Middleton Church, Ribchester (on which occasion it is expected special excavations will be made), and several interesting old halls of Lancashire and Cheshire.

Archæological Institute.—May 2.—Mr. J. L. André read a paper "On Ritualistic Ecclesiology in North-East Norfolk." Touching first upon the examples of combined monastic and parochial churches as shown at Weybourne, he commented on and explained the great width of the nave in some of the smaller aisleless churches. The singular feature of a chapel raised one story above the floor of the collegiate church of Ingham, the relic chamber at the east end of Tunstead Church, and the remarkable arrangement at Rollesly for the support of a *chaise* under which a diseased person might sit in order for his healing, were then spoken of. Passing on to the consideration of the enrichment of western doorways, and parvises over porches, he treated of stoups, altars, piscinas, low side-windows, and sculptured fonts and their canopies successively. At Barningham Northwood a "wheel of fortune" marked in the floor in brick and stone 5 feet in diameter, and popularly known as the memorial of a coachman, was described. The Norfolk rood-screens and their magnificent and varied decorations formed a large item in Mr. André's paper, and a careful analysis of the different arrangements of the saints, prophets, and other holy persons upon these ornate barriers, brought seeming chaos into order. Further remarks were added upon bell solars, rood-loft stairs, consecration crosses, stone seats, painted glass, alms-boxes, and charnel chapels.—Rev. G. I. Chester exhibited a collection of early Greek scarabæoid gems. Mr. Chester announced that he had discovered at Tel-el-Amarna a papyrus of a portion of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books of Homer, believed to be of the first century.—Mr. A. Oliver exhibited earthenware and glass bottles, and other vessels of pewter and bronze.

Huguenot Society of London.—May 8.—A paper was read by Mr. G. H. Overend on "Strangers at Dover, 1558-1646." Commencing with the arrival of refugees after the surrender of Calais, he traced the history of the several foreign communities formed in the town at various times prior to the civil war. Of these settlers but two groups founded churches—the refugees from the Low Countries in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, and the fugitives who found shelter at the port during the progress of the religious war which broke out in France in 1621. The history of the Walloon Church

founded in 1646, and of the French Church established in 1685, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he reserved for a subsequent paper. In the course of his remarks he dwelt at some length upon the doings of the foreign Protestant privateers who cruised in the English Channel in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., the reception accorded to the French refugees after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the dispute between the Protestant and Roman Catholic strangers settled at Dover in the reign of Charles I. He also gave a full explanation of the circumstances which led to the compilation of returns of the names of aliens in 1571, 1572, 1621, 1622, 1635, and 1636.



Reviews.

The Earlier History of English Bookselling. By W. ROBERTS. London: Sampson Low, 1889. 8vo., pp. xii., 341. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Roberts, by his articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and elsewhere, has won a right to be listened to when he speaks of bookselling, and this volume will in no way impair his reputation, for in it he has gathered together a large mass of facts relative to bookselling and booksellers which have previously been scattered over a wide range of books and MSS., many of which are not easy to inspect or obtain. The author's desire has been, to use his own words, "to write a readable book on an interesting subject;" in other phrase, to appeal to the general reader and not to the specialist. Accordingly the specialist will not rejoice overmuch over this contribution to literary history, but perhaps it is better that the bibliographical tyro should be provided with a cheap and ready manual than that the past master of the craft should be afforded another coin of vantage.

In the preface the author describes the alternative method he might have adopted in writing the work. "The History," he says, "would have consisted of a complete list of booksellers, with bibliographies of each, and full extracts from the Stationers' Registers, an account of the company's masters and other officers, and verbatim reprints of the charters granted at different times to the fraternity—to individual members as well as to the company. Biographical data of the earlier booksellers would also have had to be considered." On the ground of the want of finality in a subject so wide and so apt to change from the frequent appearance of previously unknown facts and books, Mr. Roberts excuses himself from adopting this more scientific method, and the plea is not without weight.

Out of the 341 pages which contain the subject-matter of the book, nearly 200 are devoted to biographical accounts of five booksellers, viz., Tonson, Lintot, Curll, Dunton, and Guy, and of the remainder, three chapters are devoted to bookselling in various localities in London. The author barely mentions bookselling outside London. As a matter of fact, he is not ignorant that in many of the larger towns book-vending and book-printing was a recognised trade, although never one of large dimensions; for example, about 1660 there were presses at York, Gateside,

Hereford, and other places besides those of the two Universities, which did not wholly confine themselves to professional publications, but he passes them by till a more convenient season. He promises that should the work under review be favourably received he will supplement it by a second volume, and if he will give in it an account of country presses, it will enhance the value extremely, for while London bookselling has been dealt with by many authors, that of provincial towns still cries loudly for a competent editor. Should the present volume run to a second edition, we would suggest that he should add as an appendix a list of booksellers and the more important of their works, and such biographical details as he can procure; a list of provincial presses, notices of charters—not of necessity full—and an account of the Stationers' Company, which, while not requiring to be "digested into a readable form," will render the book yet more valuable to the student without detracting from its interest to the general reader.

The first chapter, which deals with "bookselling before printing," is perhaps the most interesting in the book, for it gives a pleasant and concise account of a matter on which little is generally known; and out of a considerable mass of information the author has chosen not only the most picturesque but the most striking and important facts. The account, too, of the dawn of bookselling is of great value, but we regret that when dealing with bookselling in the time of Shakespeare, Mr. Roberts has not been able to afford space to discuss his subject more fully; we miss several names of whom we should have liked to have heard something, and a list of bookvendors would have been an invaluable addition. In the seventeenth century the trades of publisher, bookseller, and printer still usually continued to be vested in one and the same person; but the latter was not infrequently separated, and we wish Mr. Roberts had informed us what booksellers were not printers. Some occasionally employed others to print for them; and this seems to have frequently been the case with sectarian pamphlets, a fact which is apparent in the pages of *Antiquarianism*, and which is not a little suggestive.

As before mentioned, the greater part of the book is taken up by five excellent biographies of notable booksellers. These lives may have been told before, but they bear telling again, and if Mr. Roberts will recount those of a few others less known in his next volume, he will be doing yeoman service to all book-lovers whose sympathies extend from the book itself to all who had to do with its production. The relations of authors with their publishers are always fascinating, and it is not too much to say that even the most casual reader will be delighted with Mr. Roberts' picturesque sketches of the calamities and struggles of literary life in the seventeenth century, and not a few will be disposed to quarrel with the author because his "Earlier History" is not longer. We may remark that the book is cased rather than bound, and the covers are so weak as to suggest that the intention was to issue it in "boards"; but if so, more margin should have been allowed, for when the shears have been at work the book will be practically marginless. We can hardly believe that the present cover was intended to be permanent, if so, it promises to be a failure.

Media, Babylon, and Persia, including a Study of the Zend-Avesta, or Religion of Zoroaster. By ZENAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. T. Fisher Unwin. (Pp. 430. ("The Story of the Nations."))

The boundaries of the ancient country of Media are difficult to determine, they differed so much at various times. Strabo was satisfied with Great Media and Media Atropatene.

The writer of the work before us is far more eclectic, for, beginning with Irán, or Erân, as he prefers it (it is a mere question of pronouncing the "i" soft), and the Aryas, Arians, or Araniahs, he carries us to the last days of Judah; to Lydia and Asia Minor, to Babylon—its Median wall, and its banking-house of Egibi, with an account of the firm; the rise of Persia, and the epoch of Darius, or Dareios, as he calls him after the Greek fashion, including the conquest of Egypt by Kambyases, the revolt of Media under Dareios I., descriptions of Susa and Persepolis, and the invasion of Scythia.

Equally eclectic is the writer in respect to the philosophy of religion. Writing of the Zend-Avesta (incorrectly so-called), and its author (in part), Zoroaster, or Zarathushtra, as she writes the name, she remarks:

"Such utter surrender of man's most cherished rights—the right of thought and independent action—such unreasoning obedience, amounting almost to the abolition of individual will and intellect, could never be demanded or obtained by mere man—either the wisest or the most despotic. Man will obey his fellow-man from choice and as long as he thinks it to his own advantage to do so, but never admit that such obedience is a paramount and indisputable duty.

"Every religion, therefore, that has sacred books claims for them a superhuman origin: they are the Divine word and the Divine law, revealed supernaturally, imparted directly by the Deity through the medium of some chosen man or men, who become the prophets, teachers, and lawgivers of their people, but spoke not from themselves but in the name and, as it were, under the dictation of the Deity, with whom they are supposed to have miraculous face to face intercourse.

"In remote antiquity men were more simple-minded than they are now, and, being devoid of all positive (*i.e.*, scientific) knowledge, found no difficulty in believing wonders. Knowing nothing of the laws of nature, deviations from those laws would not startle them in the same way that they do us, but would strike them at most as extraordinary occurrences, fraught with some portentous significance. They were the more willing to admit the divine origin claimed for the law offered to them, that the best of every religion, being glimpses of eternal truths opened by the noblest and wisest thinkers of a race, has always been so far above the average standard of the times as to appear to the mass unattainable by the unassisted efforts of the human mind."

Mr. Rich, formerly resident at Bagdad, used to think the numerous mounds, or "tels," seen on the plain at the foot of the hills which stretch from nigh that city to Kîr-Kûk, and there joins the Kurdistan mountains, to have been ancient dakhmas or burial-places of the Medes and Persians. Madame Ragozin's remarks upon this peculiar manner of disposing of the dead are well worth quoting:

"The Dakhma, also called by the modern Parsis 'the tower of silence' is the burying-place, or rather the cemetery, for the name of 'burial' would ill-become the singular and, to us, revolting way in which the Mazdayasians of Northern Erân disposed of their dead, religiously followed therein by their Parsi descendants. This brings us to the contemplation of the most extraordinary refinement of logical consistency ever achieved by human brains.

"Given the two absolute premises: 1. That the elements are pure and holy and must not be defiled; 2. That the essence of all impurity is death as the work of the Angra-Mainyu—the spirit who is all death—and who takes undisputed possession of the human body the moment that the breath of life—the gift of Ahura-Mazda—has left it, the question, 'What is to be done

with the dead?' becomes an exceedingly complicated and difficult one. The presence of a corpse pollutes the air; to bury it in the earth or sink it into the water were equally sacrilegious; to burn it in the fire, after the manner of the Hindus and so many Indo-European nations, would be the height of impiety—an inextinguishable crime—involving no end of calamities to the whole country. Only one way is open—to let the bodies of the dead be devoured by wild animals or birds.

"Such, indeed, is the law: the corpses shall be taken to a distance from human dwellings and holy things—if possible into the wilderness, where no men or cattle pass—and be exposed 'on the highest summits where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds,' and there fastened by the feet and by the hair with weights of brass, stone, or lead, lest the dogs and birds carry portions of the flesh or bones to the water and the trees, and thus defile them.

"The worshippers of Mazda are enjoined, 'if they can afford it,' to erect a building, for the purpose of exposing the dead, of stone and mortar, out of reach of the dog, the wolf, the fox, and wherein rain-water cannot stay; if they cannot afford it they shall lay down the dead man on the ground, on his carpet and his pillow, clothed with the light of heaven (*i.e.*, naked) and beholding the sun."

This last paragraph of instructions differs, it will be seen, materially from those given before, and, indeed, the priestly lawgivers were involved in such endless contradictions in the attempt to carry out the exaggerated notion of the purity of the elements and the impurity of death with the most rigorous consistency, that Madame Ragozin says they were obliged to give an extra revelation in a special chapter of the Vendidad (Fargard V.), wherein Zarathushtra is made to propound nice and puzzling points in the form of hypothetical cases for Ahura Mazda to solve.

The author illustrates the Kústi, or Kosti, as she writes it, as a sacred girdle worn by Parsis while praying, or during any sacred ceremony; but all children were bound to wear it, after a certain age, in one form or other.

We have remarked of previous works of the author in this series that they are almost purely historical; and the remark applies to the present book. The author has apparently no personal acquaintance with the countries she is supposed to describe, or, at all events, to give some account of. Anyone, then, looking for a description of Media as it was, or as the different regions which came under that title in ancient times still are, will be sorely disappointed.

The materials of the volume are chiefly derived from Continental sources, and are therefore valuable. Ferguson, Max Müller, Sayce, Vaux, West, and Professor Rawlinson have been appealed to as British authors, but no notice is taken of Hyde's invaluable work, *De Religione Veterum Persarum*. Various essays and papers have also been studied; yet Sir Henry Rawlinson's learned essay on the "Acbatana of Atropatene," is, at the best, superficially epitomised.

On the other hand, there is much in a summary of the kind that cannot fail to be of use to the reader. With the fusion of the Medes and Persians, Pasargadæ or Persæpolis came into prominence, and the ruins are well described. The sculptures at Behistûn are noticed, as is also the road across Zagras. The latest discoveries at Susa are further recorded. Viewed, however, simply as a work of historical research, recording the labours—albeit, as a first essay, very faulty—of Anquetil, of Burnouf, of Harlez, and others, the account of the Avesta-u-Zend, as it should be strictly called, is well worthy of perusal. Modern Europe is supposed to be placed in an un-

* It would seem as if the contempt in which the dog—man's most faithful companion—is held in most parts of the East, had its origin in this tradition of corpse-eating dogs.

assailable position from being favoured with the truth as handed down to us in the Old and the New Testaments; but that is no reason why the wisdom and piety, however mixed up with things that are utterly unacceptable, of the Ancients, coeval with the Jews, should not also be studied. There is no more real monopoly in religion than there is of human thought and human wisdom, and many would find their ideas much enlarged by the perusal of traditions, outside of what constitutes their habitual *pabulum*.

A History of Taxation and Taxes in England from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885. By STEPHEN DOWELL. London: Longmans, 1888. Four vols.

There are few subjects, we suppose, more intricate than the history of taxation, or more dependent upon exact knowledge of a mass of detailed information not readily to be obtained. It seems to us, therefore, singularly fortunate that a man like Mr. Dowell, who combines unwearied powers of research, acute legal knowledge, and official experience, has attempted and carried out satisfactorily so laborious an undertaking. No doubt there are many passages in these four volumes which may not bear the criticism of such a specialist as Mr. Thorold Rogers, who, in his latest work on the economical interpretation of history, brings to bear a knowledge as minute as Mr. Dowell's, with more than Mr. Dowell's capacity for placing that knowledge graphically and succinctly before the student. But we hold, none the less, that Mr. Dowell's work is a masterly performance. No source of information seems lost to him. He quotes from old plays as from old taxation-lists, and he places his materials before us in a simple, clear way, which of itself seems to conquer difficulties. Mr. Dowell should, however, have qualified his use of the word "taxation." His work deals only with imperial taxes, not local; and after Mr. Goschen's very important report upon this subject, in 1869, we cannot admit that it can be ignored or passed over, even in a title-page.

Mr. Dowell first gives us the general history of the subject, commencing before the Conquest. It is one of the most telling facts against those who would suggest that Roman civilization has so much to do with our history, that the advent of the Teutonic conquerors was marked with the absolute non-existence of any system of taxation. The revenue of the English king was derived from his vast possession of land, just like any other landed chieftain. The proceeds of fines in the king's courts of justice were soon added to the revenue, but it was long after the Saxons had become settled that anything like taxes were levied. Mr. Dowell next discusses the history of taxation from the Norman Conquest to the settlement of the Fifteenth and Tenth, in 1334. The next section takes us to 1642, and from that time onwards to the present day.

The third volume commences the history of the taxes. The direct taxes are first treated of, namely, taxes on persons, on property, analogous taxes, and the stamp duties; we then have taxes on eatables, drinks, tobacco, and other articles of consumption. Throughout the pages telling us about these taxes and their products, we constantly find Mr. Dowell dipping into facts about the history of the articles he is dealing with, and his observations on beer and brewing are very interesting. The contest between

sack and beer as a popular beverage is well illustrated by some passages from the drama, and it is pointed out that ale was worsted at some points; and it is singular that during the Commonwealth, when this battle of the drinks was going on, more drunkards appeared in the parish stocks than at any previous period of our history. The notices of vineyards in this country are very curious, and William of Malmesbury records of the wine of Gloucestershire, that it was *sapere jucundior* than that of any other vines in England, because you could drink it without making a wry face.

But the book is crowded with details which, beyond their value in an historical and statistical sense, are of much general interest in tracing out the growing trade of the country and its relationship to the Continent. Between the lines of the history of taxation are also to be read some of those important phases of the early economical conditions of this country which are so fascinating to many of us who have made Mr. Seebohm's work a study, and we record our opinion of Mr. Dowell's labours in no halting words. They are volumes which will remain the standard work of reference upon the many questions which float round taxation.



Correspondence.

THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Since the introduction of the new rules for visitors to this national monument some years ago, the public has not on the whole much reason to complain of the arrangements for seeing the various treasures deposited here, unless it be that the worthy *buffetier* is rather too fond of regaling you with exploded *canards*.

But there are two points to which I beg to draw the attention of the authorities. The first, a very important one in my estimation, relates to the mode in which the invaluable collection of antique armour and weapons is kept ruthlessly polished by certain subordinate officials specially told off for the duty, and to the great injury which will be found, when it is too late, to have accrued to specimens, which by reason of their rarity and artistic beauty, are simply irreplaceable. I would personally prefer to see these relics a little toned by time; but if it is deemed expedient to present them in a bright condition to sightseers, some system of careful varnishing would be found far more conducive to their preservation; whereas the existing method of treatment strikes me as most prejudicial.

My second point, a small one, is a very distinct objection which I see to the principle under which every person entering the Tower as a visitor, when he has secured his ticket, has to pass through its refreshment-room, apparently with no other object than that of playing into the hands of a contractor. This is a little bit of "shop" which is not at all creditable, and the sooner it is countermanded the better.

W. CAREW HAZLITT.

Barnes Common, Surrey,
May 9, 1889.

The Antiquary Exchange.

Enclose 4d. for the First 12 Words, and 1d. for each Additional Three Words. All replies to a number should be enclosed in a blank envelope, with a loose Stamp, and sent to the Manager.

NOTE.—All Advertisements to reach the office by the 15th of the month, and to be addressed—The Manager, EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT, THE ANTIQUARY OFFICE, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

FOR SALE.

Walton (Izaak), *The Compleat Angler*, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation; facsimile, produced in photo-lithography by Mr. Griggs; yellow cloth. Published by Quaritch, 1882; 12s.—14B, care of Manager.

Ancient English Metrical Romances, selected and published by Joseph Ritson, and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.; 3 vols., in 14 parts, 4to., large paper, bound in vegetable parchment; price £5 5s.—1B, care of Manager.

Sepher Yetzarah, the Book of Formation, and the thirty-two Paths of Wisdom. Translated from the Hebrew and collated with Latin versions by Dr. W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 30 pp., paper covers (100 only printed), 5s. 6d. The Isiac Tablet Mensa, Isiaca Tabula Bombard of Cardinal Bembo, its History and Occult Signification, by W. Wynn Westcott, 1887, 20 pp., plates, etc., cloth (100 copies only), £1 1s. net.—M., care of Manager.

The Book of Archery, by George Agar Hansard (Gwent Bowman), Bohn, 1841, numerous plates, 8s.—M., care of Manager.

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